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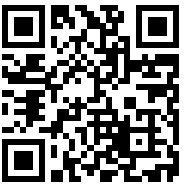

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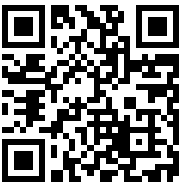

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The Journal
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OCTOBER, 1923

DOCUMENT

ORIGEN *SCHOLIA IN APOCALYPSIN*

XXVIII

(Μετὰ τὸ ἐγνωκέναι μέ, φησιν, ὅτι ἡ ῥίζα Δαυείδ, ὁ νικήσας λέων ἐκ τῆς φυλῆς Ἰούδα, εἴληφεν τὸ βιβλίον ἐπὶ τ⟨ῷ⟩ λῦσαι τὰς σφραγῖδας αὐτοῦ) Εἶδον ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ ⟨θ⟩ρ⟨ό⟩νου καὶ τῶν τεσσάρων ζῴων καὶ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων ἀρνίον ἑστηκὸς ⟨ὡς⟩ ἐσφαγμένον. μετὰ τὴν ἀνάστασιν καὶ ἀνάληψιν ὀφθὲν τὸ ἀρνίον οὐκέτι ἐσφαγμένον ⟨ἀλλ' ὡς ἐσφαγμένον⟩ ὤφθη καὶ ἔ⟨τ⟩ι ἑστός, τουτέστιν οὐκέτι ἀλλοιούμενον.

⟨εἰ⟩ οὖν κατὰ καιν⟨ὴ⟩ν στάσιν ἔχει λοιπὸν ἑπτὰ κ⟨έ⟩ρατα, ἁγίαν βασιλείαν καὶ εὐλογημένην ἔχει, ταύτης γὰρ σύμβολον τὰ ⟨ἑ⟩πτά.

XXVIII. 1. Apoc. v 5, 7 2. Apoc. v 6 7. Gen. ii 3 = Exod. xx 11

XXVIII. 2. *τῷ scripsi*: *τό cod.* I think the dative is more natural. 3. *θρόνου* Wohlenberg: *οὐρανου cod* 4. ὡς Diobouniotis: *om cod* (lost between -oc and εc-), but it is not only part of the text of Apoc. but is implied in Origen's comment, if I have interpreted that rightly. 5. *ἀλλ' ὡς ἐσφαγμένον supplevi*: *om cod.* The text of the comment as it stands in the MS contradicts the text of Apoc., as Harnack rightly sees (p. 58): but when, instead of mistrusting the comment as it stands, he says that Origen here developes a favourite thought of his own 'in opposition to the text' 'im Gegensatz zum Text', his explanation is surely quite impossible. Origen may allegorize his text, and allegorize its plain meaning away: but he would never have dreamed of contradicting his text. The suggestion of an omission by *homoeoteleuton* seems to me to dispose of the difficulty. 5. *ἔτι ἑστός scripsi*: *ἐπιεστος cod*, but this is a *vox nihili.* *ἑστός* is a variant and more correct form for *ἑστηκός*: *ἔτι* is a very simple correction of *ἐπί*, though I admit that *προσέτι* would be more natural, as the sense wanted is 'furthermore'. 6. *ἀλλοιούμενον cod*: if correct, this must mean 'subject to change'; the sense is good enough, but it is not easy to see why 'standing' should mean 'no longer subject to change'. 7. *εἰ* H.: *η cod* *κατὰ καινήν* H.: *κατάκαινον cod* *κέρατα* H.: *καιρετα cod* *ἁγίαν . . . καὶ εὐλογημένην*: Harnack has noted that the same combination of epithets is found in Schol. ix, but he has not apparently realised that Origen is referring us to the 'blessing and hallowing' of the seventh day, that is, of the number seven. 8. *ἑπτά*

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πρὸς τοῖς ἑπτὰ κέρασι καὶ ὀφθαλμοὺς ἑπτὰ ἔχει, οὐκ ἄλλους ὄντας τῶν ἑπτὰ τοῦ θεοῦ πνευμάτων ἃ πορεύεται ⟨ἐ⟩π⟨ὶ⟩ τῆς γῆς ἐπισκοποῦντα τὰ πρὸς ἀνθρώπων πραττόμενα· συνᾴδει τούτοις τὸ Ἑπτὰ ὀφθαλμοὶ Κυρίου εἰσὶν ἐπιβλέποντες ἐπὶ πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν.

XXIX

Εἴρηταί που Κατευθυνθήτω ἡ προσευχή μου ὡς θυμίαμα ἐνώπιόν σου· πλήρεις τούτων τῶν θυμιαμάτων φιάλαι τυγχάνουσι τὰ ἡγεμονικὰ τῶν γνησίως εὐχομένων Χριστῷ. ἐρεῖς δὲ καὶ τὰς κιθάρας τὴν ἁρμοσμένην εὐμούσως καὶ εὐμελῶς δύναμιν αὐτῶν καθ' ἣν νοοῦσι καὶ ἀγαπῶσιν Χριστόν.

τί δὲ ⟨κα⟩τὰ τὸ ᾄδειν τὴν καινὴν ᾠδὴν λέγουσιν ἢ τό Ἄξιος εἶ, ὦ δέσποτα σωτήρ, λαβεῖν τὸ βιβλίον καὶ τὰ ἑξῆς; προφανῶς δὲ περὶ τοῦ σταυρωθέντος ἐστὶ ταῦτα, ἐχθέντος ὡς πρόβατον ἐπὶ σφαγήν· ἐκ τῆς οὕτω γεναμένης σφαγῆς τὸ ῥεῦσαν αἷμα τιμ⟨ὴ δί⟩δοτ⟨αι⟩ ὑπὲρ τῶν σεσωσμένων.

καὶ ἐπειδὴ μὴ ὑπὲρ μέρους ἢ ἑνὸς ἔθνους τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐσταυρώθη, ἠγόρασεν τῷ αἵματι αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ πάσης φυλῆς Ἰσραὴλ καὶ διαλέκτου πάσης τῶν ἀνθρώπων. ἔτι μὴν καὶ λαοῦ καὶ ἔθνους διαφορὰν διαφόρ⟨ως ἔστι⟩ λαβεῖν

11. Zach. iv 10

XXIX. 1. Ps. cxl (cxli) 2. 2, 3. Apoc. v 8 5, 10, 11. *ib.* v 9. 7 Is. liii 7

scripsi: πνευματα *cod.* In the light of what I have urged in the preceding note, I cannot doubt that not 'spirits' but 'seven' is the symbol of the kingdom that is 'blessed and hallowed'; and if, as I suspect, some abbreviation for πνεύματα is either in our MS or was in its ancestor, the change is not a serious one. I should prefer τὸ ἑπτά to τὰ ἑπτά, but have not ventured to make the change. 10. ἐπί Harnack (in the notes, but not in the text): ἀπο *cod*

XXIX. 5. κατά *scripsi*: μετά *cod*, but according to the text of Apoc. the 'new song' was the Ἄξιος εἶ κτλ. If μετά is right, Origen must have read καὶ λέγουσιν instead of λέγοντες, and have treated what follows as something different from the 'new song'. 6. δέ *cod*: possibly δή. 7. γεναμένης *cod*: γενομένης H. But there is no justification for altering what is a known form (Moulton *Grammar of N. T. Greek*, Prolegomena p. 51 n. 2, and vol. ii p. 213). 8. τιμὴ δίδοται *scripsi*: τιμιονδοτε *cod*, τίμιον δέδοται H. Origen is expounding the words ἠγόρασας ἐν τῷ αἵματι, and his meaning must surely be that the blood is the 'price given' for the purchase or redemption of the σεσωσμένοι. If τίμιον is really the MS reading, the scribe's thought may have been running on the τιμίῳ αἵματι ὡς ἀμνοῦ of 1 Pet. i 19. 10. διαλέκτου: substituted by Origen for the γλώσσης of Apoc. Was γλῶσσα going out of use in the sense of 'language'? 11. ἔτι μήν: I think that this phrase must introduce a new thought, and that therefore a full-stop must be placed before it. What the new thought is I think the words ἡ προτέρα ὑπόθεσις in *l.* 14 make clear: Origen has given alternative explanations of the contrast of λαός and ἔθνος, first the literal view that

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φάσκοντα ὅ⟨τ⟩ι ἐκ τῶν καθαρίων καὶ σοφῶν ἀνθρώπων ληφθέντες ἀπὸ λαοῦ, οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν χυδαιοτέρων καὶ πολλῶν ἀπὸ ἔθνους ἠγοράσθησαν. πιστοῦτ⟨αι⟩ ἡ προτέρα ⟨ὑ⟩πόθεσις τὸν ἀριθμὸν τῶν εἴκοσι τεσσάρων πρεσβυτέρων ἐκ τῆς προκειμένης λέξεως· αὐτοὶ γὰρ ⟨ὡ⟩μολόγησαν ὡς ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἠγοράσθη- 15
σαν καὶ ἐξελέγησαν.

ἡμεῖς οὖν οἱ ἀναγιν⟨ώ⟩σκοντες ταῦτα καὶ μαθόντες ὅτι τὰ θυμιάματά εἰσιν

15. Apoc. xiv 4 17. Apoc. v 8

λαός like φυλή refers to Israel, ἔθνος like γλῶσσα (διάλεκτος) to the Gentiles (*l.* 10), secondly the more remote idea that the λαός are the more advanced, the ἔθνος the more ordinary Christians. That being so, if the MS reads και λαου και εθνους και λαου it is simpler to omit και λαου once than with Diobouniotis and Harnack to add καὶ ἔθνους ἐστί. διαφορὰν διαφόρ⟨ως ἔστι⟩ λαβεῖν *scripsi* ('it is possible to interpret differently the difference between λαός and ἔθνος'): διαφοραν διαφοραν *cod*, διαφοράν H. There seems reason to suppose that at certain parts of the MS or its ancestor four or five letters were mutilated or illegible: cf. xxx 1 ἁγίαι (ἐνεργίαι?) 12. φάσκοντα ὅτι *scripsi*: φασκοντα οι *cod*, τὸν φάσκοντα οἱ H. The insertion of τόν is unnecessary, once the drift of the sentence is grasped: 'it is possible to interpret . . . if one says', 'by saying'. ὅτι seems to be essential: it may either replace οἱ, with which I think Origen's style could dispense (if οἱ were right, one would expect οἱ μέν), or be inserted before it 13. πιστοῦται H.: πιστουτε *cod*. The word is a favourite of Origen's: cf. Schol. xxv *l.* 9. 14. ὑπόθεσις H.: ἀποθεσις *cod*. The first of the two 'hypotheses' is that λαός and ἔθνος are the chosen race and the peoples of mankind: and this tallies with the number of 24 πρεσβύτεροι, since 24 suggests two groups of 12. And the πρεσβύτεροι must somehow represent humanity, since we are told that they were 'redeemed from among men', ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων (cf. *l.* 15), Apoc. xiv 4 15. ὁμολογησαν *cod* 17. ἀναγινοσκοντες *cod*. Obviously 'we who read' must mean 'we who study the scriptures', not 'we who read the scriptures to the congregation'. It is quite true that ἀναγινώσκειν means 'to read aloud': but it does not necessarily mean 'read aloud to others'. If St Mark wrote (xiii 14) 'when ye see the abomination of desolation standing where it ought not (let him that readeth detect what is meant) . . .', he was not thinking about the order of Readers. Even if the Gospel had been written for the purpose of being read in church, the evangelist certainly did not intend to suggest that the Reader should understand and the congregation should not. He wanted every one who read his Gospel to understand that at this point he meant something that he could not afford to say. Just as in Apoc. xiii 18, the Roman power is referred to in veiled language, and νοεῖν νοῦς is in each case the capacity to read between the lines, to solve the riddle. τὰ θυμιάματα κτλ: the punctuation

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αἱ προσευχαὶ τῶν ἁγίων, καὶ πνευματικαὶ θυσίαι καὶ εὐπρόσδεκτ(ο)ι θεῷ αἱ ἀγαθαὶ πράξεις, ὁρῶμεν ὅτι ἀπὸ τῆς Χριστοῦ ἐπιδημίας ἐν παντὶ τόπῳ θυμίαμα προ(σ)άγεται τῷ ὀνόματι Κυρίου καὶ θυσία καθαρά· μέγα γὰρ αὐτοῦ τὸ ὄνομά ἐστιν ν τοῖς ἔθνεσι, διὰ τὴν τοῦ Χριστοῦ διδασκαλίαν, ὡς φησὶν ὁ προφήτης.

XXX

Ἐκ τῶν γραφῶν ἔστιν εὑρεῖν ὡς ⟨ὥσ⟩περ σῶμα θεοῦ ⟨ἐνερ⟩γίαι εἰσί τινες, οἷον αἱ ὑπηρετικαὶ χεῖρε(ς), καὶ ἐποπτικαὶ ὀφθαλμοί, καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν εὐχῶν τεταγμέναι

19. Mal. i 11

XXX. 2. cf. Ps. cxviii (cxix) 73 cf. Ps. xxxiii (xxxiv) 16

of this passage follows from the recognition of its dependence on 1 Pet. ii 5; 'we who learn from Scripture that "incense" means the prayers of the saints, and "spiritual and acceptable sacrifices" mean good actions . . .' Harnack, failing to see this, has divided the words wrongly, and inserted an unnecessary ὅτι. 18. εὐπροσδεκτει *cod* 20. προαγεται *cod*

XXX. Harnack (p. 60) expresses doubt both as to the appropriateness and the intelligibility of this long comment, and would attribute it to some other commentary of Origen's. I do not share his doubts. The subject is the great judgement that brings to an end this present age. The comment comes in as an explanation of the 'great day of the wrath of God and the Lamb' (vi 17), and the point of the first part is to draw a sharp distinction between the 'wrath of God' elsewhere mentioned, and this 'great wrath'. The former is external and accidental: the latter is not. I do not indeed feel clear as to the connexion of the first sentence with what succeeds: but I think Origen means that, just as Scripture uses the material terms of the parts of a human body, hands, eyes, ears, feet, to express corresponding spiritual actions of God's providence, so terms of human emotion, like 'anger', may be used to express aspects of His nature. But here we must carefully distinguish between this ultimate judgement and the O. T. employment of the phrase 'the wrath of God' on particular occasions, where it is really equivalent to 'the devil'. 1. ὡς ὥσπερ σῶμα θεοῦ ἐνεργίαι εἰσί τινες *scripsi*: ὡσπερ σωμα θεου ἁγιαι εἰσι τινες *cod*; ὥσπερ σῶμα θεοῦ ἅγιον, ἅγιαι καί εἰσι . . . τινες H. It is so clear that ἅγιαι is wrong, and that an abstract noun is wanted, that I make no apology for ἐνεργίαι. Certain workings of God in relation to men are expressed anthropomorphically, in terms of a human body. If this is right, ὡς seems to be required before ὥσπερ: it could easily have dropped out. 2. χεῖρες H.: χειρει *cod*. Note the numerous occasions on which sense can be restored to our text by assuming a confusion of ς and ι. I cannot profess to explain it palaeographically: but the fact is beyond dispute:

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ὦτα, καὶ ⟨ἀ⟩πελαστικαὶ προνοία⟨ς⟩ θεοῦ πόδες, τοῖς κατὰ γῆν διαιτωμένοις. ἐπ⟨ε⟩ὶ οὖν μέλλει ⟨ἐ⟩ρεῖν ὀργὴν θεοῦ μεγάλην, οὐ τ⟨ὸ⟩ συμβεβηκὸς πάθος ὀνομάζεται, θεοῦ ὀργὴ καλούμενον, ἔξω ὑπάρχ⟨ο⟩ν αὐτοῦ, πλὴν εἰς χρείαν κατατασσόμενον τοῖς δεομένοις, ᾧ καὶ παραδίδονται, ὡς ἀνάξιο⟨ι⟩ θεοῦ, ἵνα ποθήσ⟨ω⟩σι τὸν θεὸν οὗ καταπεφρονήκασιν ὅτε ὑπὸ τὴν τοῦ χείρονος ἐξουσίαν γίνονται. καί ἐστιν ὀργὴ θεοῦ ὁ διάβολος. καὶ γὰρ ἐν ⟨τ⟩ῇ δευτέρᾳ τῶν Βασιλειῶν εἴρηται Καὶ προσέθετο ὀργὴν Κυρίου ἐκκαῆναι ἐπὶ Ἰσραὴλ καὶ ἐπέ⟨σει⟩σε τὸν Δαγὶδ λέγων· Βάδιζε καὶ ἀρίθμησον τὸν Ἰσραὴλ καὶ τὸν Ἰούδαν. καί ἐστιν ἡ ὀργὴ τοῦ θεοῦ ἡ ἐπισείσασα τὸν Δαγὶδ οὐχὶ λέγουσα ἀλλὰ λέγων· παρὰ αὐτὸν ἄρα τὸν θεόν, τὸν λεγόμενον εἰρηκέναι πολλά τινα πρὸς τοὺς ἁγίους, ἑτέρα τίς ἐστιν ἡ ὀργὴ αὐτοῦ ἡ ⟨ταῦ⟩τα λέγουσα καὶ κελεύουσα ἁμαρτάνειν ἁμαρτίαν

3. cf. Ps. cix (cx) 1 ? 4. Apoc. vi 17 9. 2 Reg. xxiv 1

cf. inf. *l.* 3 προνοιᾳ, προνοίας; *l.* 9 επειοσε, ἐπέσεισε: ix *supra l.* 3 λυχνιας ου, λυχνιαίου: ix 10 ἐπι λυχνιᾳ, ἐπὶ λυχνίας: xxxiii 2 αἱ, ἅς, etc. ἐποπτικαὶ . . . τεταγμέναι . . . ἀπελαστικαί: H., not seeing that the feminine adjectives are in agreement not with the nouns that follow but with the abstract noun (ἐνεργίαι or whatever word may be preferred), causelessly alters to masculine, neuter, masculine. 3. ἀπελαστικαὶ προνοίας θεοῦ *scripsi*: ἐπελαστικαι προνοιᾳ θεου *cod.* L.S. give no such word as ἐπελαστικός: for ἀπελαστικός see appended note on p. 15. And the purpose of 'feet' in this connexion must presumably be for pushing away: I conjecture therefore 'function of driving away from the providence of God', e.g. 'make thine enemies the footstool of thy feet'. 4. ἐπεί H.: ἐπι *cod* ἐρεῖν H.: αἰρειν *cod* οὐ τό *optime* H.: οὑτω *cod.* What is called the 'wrath of God' during the present dispensation is something non-essential to God and external to Him, but used by Him for the purpose of reclaiming sinners. 5. ὑπάρχον H.: ὑπαρχων *cod* 6. τοῖς δεομένοις: cf. Schol. ix *supra l.* 9 τοὺς δυναμένους, where in 1912 I conjectured (without I think any conscious knowledge of this passage) τοὺς δεομένους. ἀνάξιοι H.: ἀναξιους *cod.* Or we might invert the order of the words and read ὡς ἀναξίοις θεοῦ, ᾧ καὶ παραδίδονται ἵνα . . . 7. ποθήσωσι (suggested by H. though not placed in the text): ποθησουσι *cod*, which may perhaps stand. 8. ὀργην *cod* ἐν τῇ Diobouniotis: ἐνοη *cod* 9. ἐπέσεισε: ἐπειοσε *cod* 11. The argument appears to be that ὀργὴ θεοῦ would have governed a feminine; and that as we have a masculine, we must understand that the wrath of God is personified in some one not God. One might say, why not in God? Origen answers that in plenty of places God is represented directly as speaking, no circumlocution being used: where a circumlocution is used, it is some one not God who speaks. Later on follows the real argument (*ll.* 13 ff), that what was suggested was sin, and God who punishes sin cannot conceivably suggest it. 13. ἡ ταῦτα H.: ἤτα *cod*

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ἐφ' ᾗ κόλασις ἀπὸ θεοῦ ἀκολουθεῖ τῷ π⟨ε⟩ισθέντι τῇ τοιάδε εἰρηκυ⟨ί⟩ᾳ ὀργῇ—
15 καὶ πῶς ἡ κολάζουσα ἐπὶ τοῖς ἁμαρτήμασι καὶ δικαίως κολάζουσα ἀνασείει ἐπὶ ἁμαρτίαν, ἵνα πείσασα ἐπὶ τὸ ἁμαρτάνειν κολάσῃ δικαίως; ἀδίκως γὰρ κολάσει ἡ αἰτία τῆς ἁμαρτίας τὸν ἡμαρτηκότα. ἀλλά, καθὼς εἴρηται, ὀργὴν θεοῦ ⟨οἶμαι⟩ εἶναι τὸν διάβολον τ⟨ῷ⟩ ἀναπείθ⟨ει⟩ν ἁμαρτάνειν, βουλόμενον ὑποχείριον λαβεῖν τὸν ἡμαρτ⟨η⟩κότα ἐκ τοῦ ἁμαρτάνειν. καὶ γὰρ ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ
20 τῶν Παραλειπομένων τὴν αὐτὴν αἰτίαν τοῦ Δαυὶδ ἱστορῶν οὕτω φησίν Καὶ ἔστη ὁ διάβολος ἐν τῷ Ἰσραὴλ καὶ ἐπέσεισε τὸν Δαγὶδ τοῦ ἀριθμῆσαι τὸν Ἰσραήλ· τῇ γὰρ ἐπέσεισε προσηγορίᾳ ἐχρήσατο καὶ ⟨τ⟩ῇ δευτέρᾳ τῶν Βασιλειῶν καὶ ⟨τ⟩ῇ πρώτῃ τῶν Παραλειπομένων, τῇ μὲν ἐπὶ τῆς ὀργῆς τοῦ κυρίου τῇ δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ διαβόλου. εἰ δὲ τὸ ἐπέσεισεν αἴτιον τοῦ ἁμαρτάνειν ἐστίν, αἴτιον δὲ τοῦ
25 ἁμαρτάνειν ὁ διάβολός ἐστιν, διάβολος δι' ἀμφοτέρων τῶν προσηγοριῶν ⟨ὠ⟩νομάσθη, διά ⟨τ⟩ε τῆς κα⟨θη⟩μαξευμένης καὶ τῆς τοὺς πολλοὺς λανθανούσης, τῆς αὐτὸν ὀνομαζούσης ὀργὴν Κυρίου, κατὰ τὴν μεγάλην Ὠδὴν καὶ ἀλλαχοῦ

20. 1 Paral. xxi 1

14. *πισθεντι cod* εἰρηκυα *cod* 15–17. 'corrupta sanare nequeo' H. But nothing was needed in the first part of the sentence than a note of interrogation after δικαίως. 'How can that anger which punishes, and justly punishes, men for sins incite them to sinning, so that after persuading them to sin it could justly punish them?' In the second part of the sentence we must restore (*l.* 17) κολάσει of the MS for Harnack's κολάζει, and I think we must omit the μή of the MS before ἡμαρτηκότα. 17. καθὼς εἴρηται *cod*: if this is right, we must refer back to *l.* 8, but the construction is imperfect, and I have suggested οἶμαι as easily lost before εἶναι. If Origen were borrowing this exegesis from some earlier writer, we might write καλῶς εἴρηται ὀργὴν θεοῦ εἶναι κτλ. 18. τῷ ἀναπείθειν *haesitans scripsi*: *idem conicit Diekamp*: το ἀναπειθον *cod* 19. ἡμαρτικοτα *cod* 22. τῇ (1°): την *cod* τῇ δευτέρᾳ . . . τῇ πρώτῃ *scripsi*: ἡ δευτερα . . . ἡ πρωτη *cod*. It is more natural in Origen's Greek to take ἐχρήσατο as parallel with φησί (*l.* 20), in the sense of 'Scripture uses', than to put the names of the books in the nominative as we do. 23. τοῦ διαβόλου *scripsi*: *praem* τῆς *cod*. But the wrath of God in 2 Reg. is equivalent, not to the wrath of the devil, but to the devil in 1 Paral. 26. ὀνομασθη *cod* 26–27. διὰ . . . ὀργὴν κυρίου: 'sanare nequeo' Harnack. Besides the change that he himself has made, καθημαξευμένης (for which he produces, p. 59, an excellent parallel from *Hom. in Ierem.* xiv 3 τὸ καθημαξευμένον καὶ φερόμενον) in place of the MS κατεμαξευμενης, the only alteration to be made is τε for MS δέ [so also, I see, Klostermann] in *l.* 26. Translate 'the devil is named on both occasions, whether by the ordinary name of "devil" or by the less familiar name of "wrath of God", for which compare the Song of Miriam etc.'

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λέγουσαν Απέστειλας τὴν ὀργήν σου (καὶ) κατέφαγεν αὐτο(ὺς) ὡς καλάμην καὶ τὰ ἑξῆς· πᾶν γὰρ τὸ ἀποστελλόμενον ὑπό τινος, τοῦτο ἕτερόν ἐστιν τοῦ ἐξαποστέλλοντος. τίς οὖν ἂν εἴη ἡ ὀργὴ ἡ ἀποστελλομένη ἐπὶ τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους ἤ, ὡς ἐδιδάξαμεν ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ τῶν Παραλειπομένων, ὁ διάβολος; εἰ τοίνυν παραδίδ(ο)σθαι τῇ ὀργῇ τοῦ θεοῦ λέγονται οἱ ἁμαρτωλοί, νοητέον αὐτοὺς παραδίδ(ο)σθαι τῷ διαβόλῳ, ὡς ὁ Παῦλος τὸν Κορίνθιον καὶ οὗς παρέδωκε τῷ Σατανᾷ ἵνα παιδευθῶσιν μὴ βλασφημεῖν.

XXX *b*

Ἔχομεν καὶ ἀγγέλους ἐφορῶντας καὶ βοηθοῦντας ἡμῖν εὖ πράττουσι, καὶ κρίσις γίνεται καθολικὴ πρὸς τούτους πάντας, ὡς φησίν· ἀνάστηθι γάρ φησι, κρίθητι πρὸς τὰ ὄρη, καὶ ἀκουσάτωσαν οἱ βουνοὶ φωνήν σου· ἀκούσατε, βουνοί, τὴν κρίσιν τοῦ Κυρίου. καὶ δοκεῖ ἐν τούτοις προστάσ(σ)εσθαι ὁ λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ κρίνεσθαι μετὰ τῶν ἐγκεχειρισμένων τὰ ἀνθρώπ(ι)να δυνάμεων, ἵνα δύν(η)ταί τις παραστῆσαι (εἰ), διὰ τήν τινος ἀμέλειαν καὶ παράλειψιν τῶν ἐπιβαλλόντων

28. Exod. xv 7 33. 1 Cor. v 5, 1 Tim. i 20
XXX *b*. 2. Mic. vi 1, 2

28. καί *supplet* H.: *om cod.* Of course καί could easily enough have dropped out before κατά: otherwise I should have hesitated to insert it. αὐτούς (suggested by Harnack, but not put in his text): αὐτον *cod.* But αὐτούς is not only the reading of the passage in Exodus, it is implied by τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους of *l.* 30. 29. τοῦτο *cod*: *om* H., but I will not venture to say that Origen could not have written it. 31. ἐδιδάξαμεν: we should have expected ἐμάθομεν or ἐδιδάχθημεν. 32, 33. παραδιδωσθαι *bis cod* 32. την ὀργην *cod*

XXX *b*. The connexion of this second part of Schol. xxx with the first appears to lie in the thought that the great day of judgement includes in its scope all rational creation, angels as well as men. 2. ὡς φησίν . . . φησι: φησι refers both times to the same quotation, so that the second is redundant. A double use of *inquit* is not uncommon in some of the Latin fathers in the case of Scriptural quotations. 4. προστασεσθαι *cod* ὁ λόγος *cod*: τὸν λόγον H., but δοκεῖ can just as well be construed 'the Word seems' as 'it seems that the Word'. 5. ἀνθρωπηνα *cod* δύνηται H.: δυναται *cod* 6. διὰ τήν τινος . . . γέγονεν (*l.* 7) *cod*: 'corrupta sanare nequeo' H., but all that is needful to make the sentence quite straightforward is to insert εἰ (better than ὅτι, because it could so easily have been lost after παραστῆσαι) before διά, and translate 'in order that every one may have a chance of shewing whether it is owing to the neglect or omission by any of them [the

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αὐτῷ ὑπὲρ ἀνθρώπων, ἐν ἁμαρτήματι ἢ αἰτίᾳ γέγονεν. νοήσ(ο)μεν δὲ τοῦτο χρησάμενοι παραδείγματι, φέρε εἰπεῖν, κρίσει λαοῦ μετὰ τῶν ἐπισκόπων καὶ κρίσει υἱῶν μετὰ τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ κρίσει μανθανόντων μετὰ τοῦ διδασκάλου, ὅτε ποτὲ μὲν ὁ λαὸς τὴν αἰτίαν τῶν ἁμαρτημάτων αὐτοῦ δείξει παρὰ τῶν ἐπισκόπων γεγονέναι, ποτὲ δὲ ὁ ἐπίσκοπος, παραστήσ(ας) πάντα τὰ παρ' ἑαυτοῦ πεποιηκέναι ⟨μηδὲ⟩ ἐλλελοιπέναι τι τῶν ἐπιβαλλόντων σπουδαίῳ ἄρχοντι, τῶν ἐγκλημάτων ἔνοχον ἀποδείξει τὸν λαόν. τὸ δὲ ὅμοιον νόει καὶ περὶ υἱῶν τὴν παρὰ τοῖς πατράσιν ἀνατροφὴν αἰτι(ω)μένων, καὶ περὶ αὐτῶν μὲν ἀπολογουμένων ἀποδεικνυόντων δὲ τοὺς πατέρας αἰτίους γεγονέναι τοιούτων πταισμάτων· ὁμοίως δὲ τοὐναντίον τῶν πατέρων ἀπολογουμένων ὡς μηδὲν παραλιπόντων εἰς τὴν κατὰ τὸν θεοῦ λόγον ἀνατροφὴν πρὸς τοὺς υἱούς, τῶν δὲ υἱῶν ἐλεγχομένων ⟨ὡς⟩ παρὰ τὴν ἰδίαν ῥᾳθυμίαν ἐν ἁμαρτήμασι γενομένων. οὐ μακρὰν δὲ τούτων ἐστὶν νοῆσαι καὶ περὶ μαθητῶν καὶ διδασκάλων.

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angels] of duties on men's behalf that he [the man] has . . .'. The same result is reached in an even simpler way by Diekamp's emendation, *γεγονέναι* for *γέγονεν*. Or if we like to accent *τίνος*, we could do without any change at all: but that reading would imply that there was neglect on the part of some angel or another, which is exactly what Origen leaves open. 7. *νοήσομεν* (suggested by Harnack, but not put in his text): *νοησωμεν cod* 8. *κρίσει λαοῦ μετὰ τῶν ἐπισκόπων*: Harnack begs us to notice this particularly, and adds that Origen had often to make bitter complaints about bishops. By parity of reasoning, as Origen continues *κρίσει υἱῶν μετὰ τοῦ πατρός*, we ought to conclude that he had personal reasons for complaint against his father, the martyr Leonidas! Surely the point rather is that Origen is emphasizing the responsibility of the episcopal office: his relation to his people is that of a father to his sons. 11. *παραστήσας scripsi* [so too Diekamp]: *παραστης cod*, *παραστήσει* H., who, having thus put in an indicative verb, found it difficult to construe the sentence. *παραστήσας* introduces the dependent clause: 'by shewing that he himself has done his duty he will prove that it is the people who are guilty'. 12. *μηδέ scripsi*: *καί cod*. We need a negative somewhere: the bishop shews that he has done all his part and has omitted nothing of the duty of a good ruler. 14, 17. *ἀνατροφήν bis cod*: *ἀναστροφήν* is of course a commoner word but I think that 'nurture', 'education' of the MS is right. 14. *αἰτιομένων cod* 17. *παραλιπόντων scripsi*: *παραλειποντων cod*, but the reference is to their conduct in the past; cf. *γεγονέναι l.* 15, *γενομένων l.* 18 18. *ὡς supplevi*: *om cod*, but the parallel in *l.* 16 *ἀπολογουμένων ὡς* shews that the word is natural before the second participle, though perhaps it is not absolutely indispensable.

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XXXI

Σκυθρωπῶν μελλόντων ἐπιφέρεσθαι, ὑπηρετῶν τις ἄγγελος θεοῦ φων⟨εῖ⟩ πρὸς τοὺς ἐγχειρισθέντας τὰ ἐπίπονα, τέως μὴ ἐπάγειν αὐτὰ ἕως σφραγῖδας ἐπὶ τῶν μετ⟨ώ⟩πων λάβ⟨ω⟩σιν οἱ τοῦ θεοῦ δοῦλοι. ἐντέλλεται τοῦτο αὐτὸ λέξεσιν ἑτέραις ἐν Ἰεζεκιὴλ τῷ προφήτῃ Κόπτετε καὶ μὴ φ⟨ε⟩ϊδεσθέ τι, ἐφ' οἷς δέ ἐστι τὸ CHMEῖON μὴ ἐγγ⟨ί⟩CHTE. μήποτε οὖν, ἐπεὶ οἱ κολαζόμενοι διὰ ἰδίας ἁμαρτίας τοῦτο πάσχουσιν, τοῖς δικαίοις χαρακτήρ τις σημαίνων τὴν προσοῦσαν αὐτοῖς δικαιοσύνην τίθεται ἐπὶ τοῦ μετώπου, τουτέστιν ἐπὶ τῆς ⟨ἐπ'⟩ ἀρετῇ παρρησία⟨ς⟩ αὐτῶν, οἳ τοῦ προκειμένου τυχόντες σημείου χάριν ὁμολογοῦντες τῷ δεδωκότι φασίν ἘCHMEIώθH ἐφ' ἡμᾶc τὸ φῶc τοῦ προcώπου coy Κύριε, καὶ πάλιν ΔΕΔωκαc τοῖc φοβουμένοιc ce CHMEίωcIN τοῦ φυγεῖν ἀπὸ προcώπου τόξο⟨υ⟩.

XXXI *b*

Ζητητέον εἰ ⟨δυνα⟩τὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ κατὰ σ⟨ά⟩ρ⟨κ⟩α Ἰσραήλ, ἔτι ἐν ⟨τού⟩τῳ Ἰωάννου τῷ βίῳ περιόντ⟨ο⟩ς, ἀνδρῶν παρθένων τοσαύτας εἶναι χιλιάδας.

XXXI. 1–3. Apoc. vii 2, 3 4. Ezech. ix 5, 6 9. Ps. iv 7 10. Ps. lix (lx) 6
XXXI *b*. 2. Apoc. vii 4, xiv 3, 4

XXXI. 1. ὑπηρετῶν : nominative participle, I suppose, 'a ministering angel', 'an angel in waiting'. θεοῦ φωνεῖ *scripsi* : τῃ θεου φωνῃ *cod.* But φωνῃ is, I do not doubt, a miswriting of φωνεῖ, and τῇ was presumably then added to make the construction clear. 2. τὰ ἐπίπονα : cf. *Comm. in Io.* I 36 (ed. Brooke i 49. 18) ἐπιπόνου . . . ἀγωγῆς 3. μετοπων *cod* λαβουσιν *cod* 4. φιδεσθε *cod* 5. ἐγγησητε *cod* 7. ἐπὶ τῆς ἐπ' ἀρετῇ παρρησίας *scripsi* : επι την συναρετην παρρησια *cod.* Harnack remarks that he is unacquainted with the word συναρετή, but suggests *probatio* as its meaning. συναρετην, if genuine, must be an adjective : but it is much more likely to be corrupt. I have puzzled over the phrase, but can suggest nothing better than ἐπὶ τῆς ἐπ' ἀρετῇ παρρησίας. A genitive seems wanted to carry out the parallelism with ἐπὶ τῶν μετώπων : for παρρησία = παρρησίας see on Schol. xxx *l.* 2. Both here and in *l.* 3 Harnack's punctuation is quite misleading : παρρησία(ς) must certainly go with what precedes, and I think that οἳ must be relative, not article. 11. τοξον *cod*, unless it is a misprint for τόξου.

XXXI *b*. 1. δυνατόν *scripsi* (*similiter Diekamp, qui tamen retinet* τῶν) : τον *cod*, τῶν H. I have noticed that losses of about four letters seem to be especially frequent in our MS. σάρκα *scripsi* : σπέρμα *cod.* In the admirable parallel adduced by Harnack (p. 60) from the *Comm. in Io.* I 11 (i pp. 2, 3 ed. Brooke) the phrase ἐκ τοῦ κατὰ σάρκα Ἰσραήλ occurs twice. ὁ κατὰ σπέρμα Ἰσραήλ is barely intelligible. ἐν τούτῳ Ἰωάννου τῷ βίῳ περιόντος *scripsi* : ἐν τῳ του Ἰ. τῳ βιῳ περιοντες *cod*, ἐν τῷ τοῦ Ἰ. βίῳ περιόντων H. I have made no change beyond writing τουτῳ for τῳ του and -ος for -ες, and though the order of the words is artificial (hardly too

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ἐπεὶ τοίνυν πολὺ τὸ ἀδύνατον ἡ αἰσθητὴ διήγησις φέρει, ἀληθῆ δὲ ⟨δεῖ⟩ εἶναι τὰ ἐν τῇ βίβλῳ ἁγίᾳ οὖσ⟨η⟩, ἀνάγκη κατὰ πνευματικὴν ἀκολουθίαν ἐκλαμβάνειν τὰ προκείμενα. ἀκόλουθον γὰρ τὸν ἀληθινὸν Ἰσραήλ, τὸν οὐκ ἔχοντα δόλον, εἰς φυλὰς διαιρεῖσθαι· τούτο⟨υ⟩ οὖν τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ ⟨ἐὰν τοσοῦτο⟩ λέγωμεν πλῆθος ἀνδρῶν παρθένων εἶναι, οὐκ ἀδύνατόν τί φαμεν, οἱ γὰρ Χριστῷ προσεληλυθό⟨τ⟩ες πάντες Ἰουδαῖοί τε καὶ Ἕλληνες συμπληροῦσι τὸ νοητὸν τοῦτο ἔθνος. καὶ ἐπεὶ οἱ οὕτως Ἑβραῖοι πολλὴ⟨ν⟩ ἁρμονίαν καὶ συμφωνίαν ἔχουσιν, στρεφόμενοι περὶ αὐτοὺς ἐν τῷ καταρτίζεσθαι ἑνὶ νοῖ καὶ μιᾷ γνώμῃ, τοσούτῳ ἀριθμῷ καὶ ἴσαι διαιρέσε⟨ι⟩ς αὐτοῦ ὑπόκει⟨ν⟩ται. ἐστὶν τοίνυν τετράγ⟨ω⟩νος ὁ ἀριθμὸς ἰσάκις ἰσοσκ⟨ε⟩λισθ⟨εὶ⟩ς ἀπὸ τοῦ ιβ΄· δωδεκάκις γὰρ ιβ΄ ρμδ΄. βεβαίας δὲ στάσεως σύμβολον τὸ τετράγ⟨ω⟩νον σχῆμα φέρει.

XXXII

Παρακατιὼν λέγει ταύτας ρμδ΄ χιλιάδας **παρθένους**· καὶ ἐὰν λαμβάνῃς φυλὰς ταύτας τὰς σωματικὰς τὰς λεγομένας ἐν τῷ Ἰσραήλ, ποῦ παρθένο⟨υ⟩ς,

5. cf. Io. i 47 10. 1 Cor. i 10 XXXII. 1. Apoc. xiv 4

artificial for cent. 3 A.D.) the sense is what we want. 3. ἀληθῆ δὲ δεῖ εἶναι τὰ ἐν τῇ βίβλῳ ἁγίᾳ οὖσῃ *scripsi* (δὲ δεῖ Klostermann, ἁγίᾳ οὖσῃ Diekamp): ἀληθη δε ειναι τα εν τη βιβλῳ ἁγιᾳ οὐσας *cod*, ἀληθῆ δὲ εἶναι τὰ ἐν τῇ βίβλῳ ἁγίᾳ, ἴσως (ἴσως is due to Diobouniotis) H. but ἐν τῇ βίβλῳ ἁγίᾳ is impossible. Text is the simplest way of making sense of the MS: it would also be possible, instead of inserting δεῖ, to take ἀνάγκη with what precedes and read ἐκλαμβάνωμεν for ἐκλαμβάνειν. 6. τούτου οὖν τοῦ Ἰσραήλ *scripsi*: τουτο ουν του Ἰ. *cod*, τοῦτο οὖν τὸ Ἰ. H. ἐὰν τοσοῦτο λέγωμεν *haesitans scripsi*: λεγωμεν *cod*, λέγοντες Diobouniotis, but τοσοῦτο or some such word seems to be required with πλῆθος, and if we insert that we may as well insert ἐάν also. 7. Χριστῷ *scripsi*: ἐν Χριστῳ *cod*, but προσέρχομαι implies a dative, as in the parallel from *Comm. in Io.* referred to on *l.* 1 ἐκ τῶν ἀπὸ τῶν ἐθνῶν τῷ θείῳ προσερχομένων λόγῳ προσεληλυθωτες *cod* 8. συμπληρουσαι *cod* 9. πολλη *cod* 10. νοει *cod* 11. ἴσαι διαιρέσεις αὐτοῦ ὑπόκεινται *scripsi*: ἰσαις διαιρεσεσιν αὐτου ὑποκειται *cod*, ἴσαις διαιρέσεσιν αὐτοῦ ὑπόκεινται H. 144 is a square, and the true Hebrews correspond to it and to the number which is squared to make it, 12. With ὑπόκεινται cf. Schol. ix 6 ὑποβάλλων αὐτὰς τῷ ζ΄ ἀριθμῷ. τετραγονος *cod* 12. ἰσάκις ἰσοσκελισθείς *audax conieci*: ἰσακεις ἰσος κυλισθης *cod*, ἰσάκις ἴσος κυλισθείς H. But I do not know what 'rolling' could have to do with it. And though I cannot find ἰσοσκελίζω 'to make isosceles' in the Lexicon, the formation is a natural one, and ἰσάκις ἰσοσκελίζειν might I suppose mean 'to square'. 13. τετραγονον *cod*

XXXII. 1. παρακατειων *cod* 2. φυλὰς ταύτας τὰς σωματικάς *cod*, *recte*: *tr* τὰς φυλὰς ταύτας σωματικάς H., to the detriment of the Greek:

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ποῦ ιβ′ χιλιάδας παρθενίας, εὕροις ἂν κατὰ φυλήν; ἀλλ' ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τοῦτο εὑρίσκομεν, παρθενίαν ἐζηλ(ω)μένην διδάσκοντος αὐτὴν τοῦ Λόγου, οὐ κατ' ἐπ(ι)ταγὴν οὐδὲ ἵνα βρόχον ἐπιβάλῃ τοῖς ἀκούουσιν, ἀλλ' αὐθ(αί)ρετον ἐν 5 **εὐφροσύνῃ καὶ ἀγαλλιάσει, καθὼς γέγραπται. οὗτοι οὖν εἰσιν οἱ μετὰ γυναικῶν οὐκ ἐμολύνθησαν, ὡς εἴρηται, παρθένοι γάρ εἰσιν· καὶ οὐχ εὑρέθη ψεῦδος ἐν τῷ στόματι αὐτῶν.**

XXXIII

Αὗται αἱ λευκαὶ στολαὶ δύνανται δηλοῖν τὰς ἀχράντους προθέσεις καὶ πράξεις αὐτῶν. πρὸς ταῖς λευκαῖς στολαῖς ἃ(ς) εἰσιν περιβεβλημένοι, φ(οί)νικας ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν κατέχουσιν, σύμβολον τῆς νίκης ἣ ΝΕΝΙΚΗΚΑCΙΝ ΤΟΝ ΚΟCΜΟΝ.

XXXIII *b*

Οὗτοί εἰσιν οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς μεγάλης θλ(ί)ψεως ἐρχόμενοι, διὰ μαρτυρίου καὶ ὁμολογίας δηλονότι, καὶ **τῶν ἄλλων περιστάσεων τῶν** διὰ Χριστὸν **ἃς ἐπάγουσιν τοῖς Ἰησοῦ μαθηταῖς οἱ πονηροὶ ἄνθρωποί τε καὶ δαίμονες, λευκάναντες καὶ πλύναντες ἃς περίκεινται στολὰς τῷ αἵματι τοῦ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν σφαγέντος ἀρνίου.**

4, 5. 1 Cor. vii 6, 35 5. Ps. xliv (xlv) 16 6. Apoc. xiv 4, 5
XXXIII. 1, 2. Apoc. vii 9 3. Cf. 1 Io. v 5
XXXIII *b*. 1–4. Apoc. vii 14

'If you understand these tribes to be the material ones', was what Origen wrote and meant. *ποῦ παρθένους* H.: *που παρθενος cod.* I am not quite satisfied, but have nothing better to offer. 3. *παρθενίας*: no doubt the adjective, not (as in *l.* 4) the abstract noun. 4. *ἐζηλομένην cod* *αὐτήν cod*: αὐτοῦ H., not recognizing (I suppose) that διδάσκειν governs two accusatives. *αὐτήν* is 'the Church'. 5. *ἐπηταγην cod* *αὐθερετον cod* *ἐν εὐφροσύνῃ καὶ ἀγαλλιάσει.* Harnack, not recognizing the reference to the virgins who shall be brought 'with joy and gladness' to the king's palace, has wrongly connected *καθὼς γέγραπται* with the following instead of with the preceding words, and has consequently made *οὖν* part of the quotation of Apoc. xiv 4.

XXXIII. 1. *δηλοῖν cod*, and this form of the contracted infinitive is defended for N.T. by Hort (*Introduction* § 410) though rejected by Moulton (*Prolegomena* p. 53): δηλοῦν H. 2. *ἃς scripsi* (cf. xxxiii *b* *l.* 4 *ἃς περίκεινται στολάς*): *αἱ cod*, αἷς H. For ι = ς see next line, and on Schol. xxx *l.* 2 above. *φυνικας cod* 3. *ᾗ scripsi*: *ἧς cod.* See on *l.* 2.

XXXIII *b*. 1. *θληψεως cod* 2. *δηλονότι*: should be written as one word and connected with what precedes, not as by Harnack in two words connected with what follows—he has in consequence to add a second διά, against the MS, before *τῶν ἄλλων περιστάσεων.*

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ὅπως δὲ οἱ ἄνθρωποι νοήσωμεν τὸ ἀδιάστατον τῆς θεραπείας αὐτῶν, ⟨ὡ⟩νομάσθη ὁ παρ' ἡμῖν χρόνος τεμνόμενος εἰς ἡμέραν καὶ νύκτα.

XXXIV

Ἐπίστησον εἰ αἱ πλυθεῖσαι καὶ λευκανθεῖσαι στολαὶ τῶν ἐκ μεγάλης θλ⟨ί⟩ψεως ἀναβεβηκότων εἶναι δύναται τὰ σώματα αὐτῶν, ἤδη προτεθεωρημένα ὡς ἀν⟨α⟩στάντα ἄφθαρτα καὶ πνευματικά.

XXXV

Κρίνας ὁ θε⟨ὸ⟩ς πληγαῖς ὑποβάλλειν τοὺς ἁμαρτωλούς, ἀπειράτους τῶν πληγῶν τούτων ἐνίους ἀνθρώπους ⟨ε⟩ἴασεν, καὶ τοὺς ἔτι ἐμμένοντας οἷς εἰργάζοντο καὶ ὅσο⟨ι⟩ ἄγευστοι δι⟨ς⟩ τῶν πληγῶν ἀπελείφθησαν, ἵνα ἔχωσι μετανοίας τόπον, ὥστε μὴ προσκυνεῖν ἔτι τὰ δαιμόνια τὰ χρύσ⟨ε⟩α καὶ τὰ ἐξ ἑτέρας ὕλης κατεσκευασμένα ἀγάλματα. δηλοῦτα⟨ι⟩ ὡς προσκυνοῦσί τινες τὰ δαιμόνια τὰ χρύσεα καὶ τὰ ἀργύρεα, χάλκ⟨ε⟩ά τε καὶ ξύλινα· ἵνα δαιμόνια νοῆτ⟨αι⟩ τὰ ἐφεδρεύοντα πνεύματα τοῖς ἀψύχοις μορφώμασι. χρύσ⟨ε⟩ά τε καὶ τὰ λοιπά, μὴ αἰσθανόμενα δι' ὄψεως καὶ ἀκοῆς μηδὲ βαδίζοντα, τὰ σίσθητὰ ἀγάλματα. Στόμα γὰρ ἔχουσιν καὶ οὐ λαλήσουσι καὶ τὰ ἑξῆς, ὡς γέγραπται ἐν τοῖς ψαλμοῖς.

6. Apoc. vii 15. XXXIV. 1. Apoc. vii 14
XXXV. 2. Apoc. ix 20 9. Ps. cxxxiv (cxxxv) 16

5. οἱ ἄνθρωποι, i.e. we men on earth who use the chronology of day and night. Harnack needlessly suggests omission.

XXXIV. 2. θλήψεως *cod* δύναται *cod*: attracted into the singular number by σώματα immediately following. 3. ἀναστάντα *scripsi*: ἀνίσταντα *cod*. I make the change with hesitation: but the present ἀνίσταντα ought to be causal, not intransitive.

XXXV. 1. θεός: θου *cod* 2. ἰασεν *cod* 3. ὅσοι H.: ὅσου *cod* δὶς τῶν *haesitans scripsi*: διετων *cod*, δι' ἐτῶν H. My suggestion involves only a very small change (c for ε), and I think it may be justified as a reference to the plagues that accompanied the sounding of the fifth and sixth trumpets respectively. But I propose it *faute de mieux* 4. χρυσαια *cod* 5. δηλοῦται ὡς *scripsi*: δηλοῦντα ὡς *cod* τὰ δαιμόνια τὰ χρύσεα *cod*: neither here nor in *l.* 4 nor in *l.* 7 is there any trace of the words καὶ τὰ εἴδωλα before τὰ χρύσεα. Origen's text must have been without them, and that fact accounts for his exegesis in this sentence. 6. χαλκαια *cod* 7. νοῆται *scripsi* [so too Klostermann]: νοητε *cod*: νοεῖται (omitting ἵνα as dittography after ξύλινα) Diekamp χρυσαια *cod*. The meaning of the sentence, which baffles Harnack, seems to be that 'these things of gold, which neither see nor hear nor walk (Apoc. ix 20), are the material images'. It is correct punctuation which helps in a case of this sort.

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XXXVI

Οτι οἱ μεγάλοι λόγοι σαφηνιζόμενοι βρονταί εἰσι τοῖς δικαίοις καὶ ὁ προφήτης τάχα μὲν δηλοῖ φάσκων φωνὴ τῆς βροντῆς ⟨σ⟩ου ἐν τῷ τροχῷ· ζητήσεις γὰρ ἐκεῖ τροχόν, καὶ κυκλο⟨ύμενον⟩ τὸν τροχὸν ἰδὼν ὄψει ἐκεῖ βροντήν. ἐξετάζων δὲ καὶ τὰ περὶ τοὺς υἱοὺς τῆς βροντῆς Ἰάκωβον καὶ Ἰωάννην, οὓς ἐκάλεσεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς Βοανεργές, ὅ ἐστιν γἱοὶ βροντῆς, εὑρήσεις αὐτοὺς εἰκότως γἱοὺς βροντῆς κεκλημένους διὰ τὴν μεγαλοφωνίαν τῶν νοημάτων καὶ δογμάτων αὐτῶν.

XXXVI *b*

Ἤκουσα γὰρ (φησί) βροντῶν ἑπτά, καὶ ὅσα ἐλάλησαν αἱ ἑπτὰ βρονταὶ ἔμελλον γράφειν καὶ ἐλέχθη μοι Μὴ γράψῃς ὅσα ἐλάλησαν αἱ ἑπτὰ βρονταί. ἄρα νοεῖς ἐπὶ τούτων ὅτι αἱ τοιαῦται βρονταὶ ἐλάλησαν λόγους δυναμένους γράφεσθαι καὶ μὴ γράφεσθαι· καὶ ὅτι ἤκουσεν ἐνάρθρου φωνῆς διὰ τῆς τοιαύτης φωνῆς ὁ ἱερὸς Ἰωάννης. ἀλλὰ μήποτε αἱ ἑπτὰ βρονταὶ αἱ ἐλαληκυῖαι τῷ Ἰωάννῃ, ἐὰν προ⟨σ⟩σχῇς τῇ γραφῇ, εὑρήσεις τίνες εἰσίν· μία βροντὴ σοφία· ἄλλη βροντὴ σύνεσις· τρίτη βροντὴ βουλή· τετάρτη βροντὴ ἰσχύς· γνῶσις πέμπτη βροντή· ⟨εὐ⟩σέβεια ἕκτη· ἑβδόμη βροντὴ φόβος. ἐὰν ταῦτα

XXXVI. 1. Apoc. x 3 2. Ps. lxxvi (lxxvii) 18 (19) 5. Mc. iii 17
XXXVI *b*. 1. Apoc. x 4. 7 Is. xi 2, 3

XXXVI. 2. σου H.: του *cod* ζητήσεις *cod*, compare the futures ὄψει and εὑρήσεις in *ll.* 3, 5: ζητήσῃς unnecessarily H. 3. κυκλούμενον τὸν τροχόν *conieci*: κυκλον και τον τροχον *cod.* The passage is difficult, and I cannot translate it as it stands. What is the relation of 'wheel' and 'thunder'? I can only answer by recalling that one I knew well, who always loved thunder, used to call it 'the noise of the chariot-wheels of God upon the mountains'. Only in the movement of the wheel can the resemblance to thunder be found. But how the 'great words' come in I cannot say, unless the movement of the wheel is parallel to the utterance of the thought. I do not pretend that the emendation I offer is more than an attempt to get at the idea of the passage: it is not near enough to the *ductus litterarum* to claim to restore the exact wording.

XXXVI *b*. 5. ἀλλὰ μήποτε *cod*: ἀλλά (*om* μήποτε) H. The omission of μήποτε is wrong: it is a quite common locution with the indicative in Origen's exegetical language—fully expressed it would be rendered 'see whether it is not the case that': it is 'perhaps', with a balance in favour of the idea suggested. 5. ἐλαληκυῖαι *cod*: λελαληκυῖαι H., but I do not venture to desert the MS where an irregular form could so easily arise from the desire to avoid the three successive *lambdas.* 6. προσσχῇς H.: προσχῃς *cod* 8. εὐσέβεια Diobouniotis, followed by H.: συνεσις *cod*, which word has however already been used for the second thunder, *l.* 7.

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λαλουσῶν ἀκούσω τῶν βροντῶν, ⟨οὐ⟩ δύναμαι γράφειν, οὐδὲ γὰρ αὐτὸν τὸν κόσμον χωρῆσαι τὰ γραφόμενα βιβλία ἀπὸ φωνῆς τῶν ἁγίων ⟨β⟩ροντῶν τῶν λαλουσῶν ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ, ᾧ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. ἀμήν.

XXXVII

Καὶ ἦλθεν ἡ ὀργή σου καὶ ὁ καιρὸς τῶν νεκρῶν κατὰ τὸν τῆς συντελείας καιρόν, φανερωθέντων πάντων τῷ βήματι τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐπὶ τ⟨ῷ⟩ λαβεῖν ἕκαστον ἐπαξίως τῶν βεβιωμένων. ἡ ὀργὴ τοῦ θεοῦ συνίσταται, ἣν ἕκαστος ἐθησαύρισεν ἑαυτῷ ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ὀργῆς καὶ ἀποκαλύψεως δικαιοκρισίας τοῦ θεοῦ· ἐν ᾧ καιρῷ καὶ ὁ τῶν προφητῶν καὶ ἁγίων ⟨καὶ⟩ φοβουμένων τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ θεοῦ μισθὸς ἀποδοθήσεται. τῶν οὖν μισθὸν ληψομένων τρία τάγματα δηλοῦται, προφητῶν καὶ ἁγίων ⟨καὶ⟩ ἑτέρων φοβουμένων τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ θεοῦ. καὶ ὅρα ⟨εἰ⟩ οἱ εἰσαγόμενοι εἰς εὐλάβειαν σημαίνονται τῷ φοβεῖσθαι τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ θεοῦ, οἱ δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ μὴ τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ ἔτι φοβούμενοι τῇ τῶν ἁγίων προσηγορίᾳ· φοβήθητε γὰρ τὸν Κύριον οἱ ἅγιοι αὐτοῦ, ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν ὑστέρημα τοῖς φοβουμένοις αὐτόν. ⟨καὶ εἰκὸς⟩ ὡς ἐν εἴδει τούτων τῶν ἁγίων εὑρήσεις τοὺς προφήτας· ἐπὶ πλεῖον γὰρ προφήτου ὁ ἅγιος· ἀνάγκη γὰρ τὸν θεοῦ προφήτην καὶ ἅγιον εἶναι, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀντιστρέφει· πολλοὶ ἅγιοι ὄντες οὐ προφητεύουσιν.

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9. Io. xxi 25

XXXVII. 1–5. Apoc. xi 18 2. 2 Cor. v 10 3. Rom. ii 5, 6 10. Ps. xxxiii 10 (xxxiv 9)

9. οὐ *supplevi*: *om cod.* The negative seems to me to be necessary for the sense, and to be implied by the οὐδέ that follows. 10. *βροντῶν* H.: *ἐροντων cod.*

XXXVII. 2. *τῷ scripsi*: *το cod* 3. *συνίσταται*: I suppose this is equivalent to the late Latin *constitutus est*: 'it is that wrath of God, which . . .' 5, 7. *καὶ . . . καί* H.: *om bis cod.* The insertions appear necessary to the sense, for Origen speaks definitely of *τρία τάγματα.* 7. *εἰ supplevi*: *om cod.* I do not think it is like Origen's style to say 'And see, immature Christians are signified by . . .': he would say 'consider whether immature Christians are meant by . . .' or as we phrase it 'are not meant by . . .' And *ει* would easily drop out before *οι.* 11. *καὶ εἰκός supplevi*: *om cod.* Some such insertion seems wanted before *ὡς.* I do not of course suggest that these are necessarily the actual words. 12. *προφήτου ὁ ἅγιος cod*: *προφήτης τοῦ ἁγίου* H., but the MS is right. 'The term "saint" is a wider one than "prophet": for all prophets must be saints, but not all saints do in fact prophesy.' Possibly *ἐπιπλεῖον* should be printed as one word.

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XXXVIII

Ὅρ⟨α⟩ μὴ ὁ δράκων πολεμήσας μετὰ τῶν ἀγγέλων καὶ θλ⟨ι⟩βείς, βληθεὶς κάτω ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἔσυρεν πίπτων τὸ τρίτον τῶν ἀστέρων, ἄτινα ἄστρα θείας δυνάμ⟨ε⟩ις οὖσας ⟨εἰκὸς⟩ συναπ⟨ε⟩στατηκέναι αὐτῷ καὶ συγκατενεχθῆναι τῷ δράκοντι· ὡς Ἠσαΐας φησίν πῶς ἐξέπεσεν ὁ ἑωσφόρος ἐξ οὐρανοῦ;

XXXVIII. 1, 2. Apoc. xii 7, 9, 4 4. Is. xiv 12

XXXVIII. 1. ὅρα μή *scripsi*: ορμη *cod*, ὁρμῇ H. Origen asks us to consider whether, when we are told (Apoc. xii 4) that the dragon's tail draws the third part of the stars of heaven and has thrown them to the ground, we are not to understand that these stars were spiritual beings who rebelled with the dragon and were cast down from heaven with him; and so Isaiah speaks of the star of the morning as having fallen from heaven. θλιβείς H.: θληβεις *cod* 3. δυνάμεις H.: δυναμις *cod* εἰκός *supplevi*: *om cod.* As before, it seems imperative to supply a word to govern the infinitives. συναπεστατηκέναι H.: συναποστατηκεναι *cod*

Introduction

Ten years ago I published (*J. T. S.* xiii 386–397, April 1912) critical notes on the first half of the then newly known Scholia of Origen on the Apocalypse. Now I complete the task, but in order to make the notes more intelligible I print above the notes my revised text of the Scholia, xxviii–xxxviii, on which I am commenting.

The material is as follows: the *editio princeps* by Harnack and Diobouniotis *Der Scholien-Kommentar des Origenes zur Apokalypse Johannis* in Texte und Untersuchungen vol. xxxviii part 3 (1911): early published notes included contributions by Dr Armitage Robinson in *J. T. S.* Jan. 1912 pp. 295–298; Dr G. Wohlenberg in *Theologisches Literaturblatt* Jan. 19, Feb. 2, May 10, 1912; Dr O. Stählin in *Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift* Feb. 3, 1912; Dr E. Klostermann in *Theologische Literaturzeitung*, Feb. 3, 1912; Dr Fr. Diekamp in *Theologische Revue*, Feb. 12, 1912.

My own notes to the text will I think sufficiently explain themselves. But I append two further notes: one on the word ἀπελαστικός which I have conjecturally restored in Schol. xxx *l.* 3, the other on the text of Origen's Biblical citations.

a. ἀπελαστικός[1]

ἀπελαστικός, *driving away*, Eus. *praep. ev.* iv 1 πολλὰ εἴδη ῥιζῶν . . .

[1] Kindly contributed by Dr Darwell Stone, being his article on the word for the Lexicon of Patristic Greek.

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τινῶν [diseases] ἀπελαστικά. Epiph. *haer.* li 1 ταῦτα τὰ εἴδη [of plants etc.] ἀπελαστικὰ εἶναι ἑρπετῶν καὶ ἰοβόλων. Chrys. *in Heb.* xxix 4 [277 A] σιτίον καλῶς κατεργασθέν . . . νόσου ἀπελαστικόν. In the form ἀπελατικός, [Justin] *quaest. et resp. ad orthodoxos* 107 ὁ . . . δαιμόνων ἀπελατικόν.

b. Biblical text

Old Testament

2 Reg. xxiv 1 ὀργὴν Κυρίου with B^2A: ὀργὴν Κύριος B* ἐπί Origen: ἐν AB καί (*ante* ἀρίθμησον) Origen: *om* AB · Ἰούδαν with AB^2: Ἰούδα B*

1 Paral. xxi 1 ὁ διάβολος Origen: *om* ὁ AB

Ps. xxxiii (xxxiv) 10 οἱ ἅγιοι with ℵ*U: *praem* πάντες $ℵ^2$A B R

lix (lx) 6 δέδωκας Origen: ἔδωκας ℵ B R T

cxxxiv (cxxxv) 16 λαλήσουσι with A R T: λαλοῦσι B

Mic. vi 1, 2 ἀνάσταθι (I can find no authority for this form) Origen: ἀνάστηθι A B Q

κρίθητι with B: καὶ κρίθητι A Q βουνοί with A Q*: λαοί B

Zach. iv 10 κυρίου with ℵ Q (A): *om* B

Isa. xi 2 σύνεσις (2°) Origen: εὐσέβεια ℵ A B Q

Ezech. ix 5, 6 φείδεσθε with B Q: φείσησθε A τι Origen: *om* A B Q ἐφ' οἷς Origen: ἐφ' οὕς A B Q

New Testament

Mc. iii 17 Βοανεργές with later MSS: Βοανηργές ℵ A B C etc. Our MS doubtless misrepresents Origen

Io. xxi 25 χωρῆσαι with A etc.: χωρήσειν ℵ B C*

Rom. ii 5 ἀποκαλύψεως δικαιοκρισίας with ℵ* A B D_2*: ἀ. καὶ δ. later MSS

Apocalypse

v 5 ὁ νικήσας λέων ἐκ τῆς φυλῆς with ℵ: ὁ ν. λ. ὁ ἐκ τῆς φυλῆς *cett*

v 6 εἶδον with ℵ: ἰδού A

καὶ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων Origen: καὶ ἐν μέσῳ τῶν π. *cett*

ἑστηκός with A etc.: ἑστηκώς ℵ

ix 20 τὰ δαιμόνια τὰ χρύσεα Origen (see note on Schol. xxxv *l.* 5): τὰ δαιμόνια καὶ τὰ εἴδωλα τὰ χρύσεα *cett*

x 4 ὅσα ἐλάλησαν with ℵ: ὅτε ἐλάλησαν A etc.

xiv 4 οὗτοί εἰσιν (1°) with ℵ etc.: *om* A

The material is not on a large scale: but the persistent tendency of ℵ Origen to be found together—about which I hope some day to write something in the JOURNAL—is once more in evidence.

C. H. TURNER.

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NOTES AND STUDIES

THE *CLAUSULAE* OF THE PAULINE *CORPUS*.

IT is surely unnecessary for any one coming after Weiss to insist that St Paul, apart from his merits as a theologian, was a great rhetorician and stylist[1]; but by way of introduction it may be well to recall briefly the leading characteristics of his style. Unlike Cicero or Demosthenes, and in accordance with the general taste of Greek writers of his age, he does not write periods, but rather a series of short pointed sentences, somewhat after the fashion of Seneca and other authors of the Silver Latin age, which often combine into long, loosely constructed compound sentences, such as that which forms verses 4–7 inclusive of 1 Cor. xiii. In this, and in still looser groupings of the unit-sentence, the characteristic feature is parallelism, generally of thought and structure alike, as Rom. i 21 :—

> ἀλλὰ ἐματαιώθησαν ἐν τοῖς διαλογισμοῖς αὐτῶν
> καὶ ἐσκοτίσθη ἡ ἀσύνετος αὐτῶν καρδία

where something not unlike a Hebraic effect[2] is produced; vii 7, which so far as grammatical structure goes, is faultlessly Greek :—

> ἀλλὰ τὴν ἁμαρτίαν οὐκ ἔγνων | εἰ μὴ διὰ νόμου,
> τήν τε γὰρ ἐπιθυμίαν οὐκ ᾔδειν | εἰ μὴ ὁ νόμος ἔλεγεν κτε.

This parallelism may extend to many members, as 1 Cor. vi 2–4; it is very commonly reinforced by antithesis, which is always an outstanding feature of his thought and style alike; though at times it is merely formal, as Rom. xi 28. This being so, and the language Greek of the Hellenistic period, when it had been for many years a tradition that good prose should be rhythmical, it is hardly to be expected that rhythm of some sort should not be found in the words. This has been recognized, among others, by Blass,[3] whose great learning might have rendered any such discussion as this unnecessary had he not hampered himself with the unfortunate assumption that no *Bevorzugung bestimmter Klauseln* was to be found in St Paul, but only a sort of loose strophic

[1] *Beiträge zur Paulinischen Rhetorik*, von D. Johannes Weiss, Göttingen, 1897. I use the author's copy, containing his marginal notes.

[2] For an illuminating discussion of the difference between the Hebraistic and Greek forms of parallelism, both of which are abundantly illustrated in the N.T., see Norden, *Agnostos Theos*, p. 355 ff. It may be appreciated by comparing such a passage as Ps. xxix 3 ff., in the English or the Greek version, with the canticle in 1 Tim. iii 16.

[3] *Die Rhythmen der asianischen und römischen Kunstprosa*, Leipzig, 1905.

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responsion between *commata* or parts of *commata*, representing a reaction against the over-rhythmical Asian style (see especially pp. 73, 113);—a view which he couples with unworthy sneers at the great work of Zielinskj, which he had obviously failed either to understand or to appreciate. While pointing out this weakness in a scholar to whom every student of ancient prose owes much, I would add that I have gladly followed, with a few slight modifications, his admirable analysis into *commata* of large portions of the epistles. In my opinion, formed after careful reading, clause by clause, of the whole *corpus*, there are not to be found in the entire collection of epistles, genuine, doubtful, or spurious, so many as half a dozen arrhythmic *clausulae*, or endings of *commata* which cannot be exactly expressed in the Zielinskian terminology; and the preference shewn for certain classes over others, while much less marked than in Cicero, is nevertheless so patent as to form, among other things, a convenient test of the genuineness of an epistle. Moreover, it is clear that this is an individual rhythm, peculiar to St Paul and resembling, but not identical with, those of other Hellenistic authors; so that it cannot be thought to be merely the result of writing prose which has no intentional rhythm at all. If again it be suggested that various authors, none of them meaning to write rhythmical *clausulae*, have all come out to forms of prose, each of which is capable of having its *commata* scanned by Zielinski's methods, though in slightly different ways, it is to be noted that many passages in the Pauline writings clearly shew deliberate use of the same or similar rhythms arranged in a kind of strophic collocation, as will be shewn later, which recalls the similar arrangements in Cicero (Zielinski *Der constructive Rhythmus*, p. 114 ff).

It will be convenient if a short summary of the Zielinskian classification be given here. The majority (60.3 %) of Cicero's *clausulae* fall into one or another of the following classes:—

V 1	– ∪ – | – ∪	as pati)entia nostra.
V 2	– ∪ – | – ∪ ⏑̲	iac)tabit audacia.
V *2*	– – – | – ∪ ⏑̲	mul)to iucundissimus.
V 3	– ∪ – | – ∪ – ⏑̅	colligendum dedisse.
V *3*	– – – | – ∪ – ⏑̅	in)dignam non uindicari.

These are therefore known as *clausulae uerae*, and indicated by the letter V. The numbers 1, 2, and so on, refer to the number of syllables greater than one in the cadence the part of the clausula which follows the cretic or molossic base. The italicized numerals indicate that the clausula has its heavy form, i.e., begins with a molossus (– – –), while the numerals in ordinary type are used to denote a clausula beginning with the cretic – ∪ –).

But here, as in verse, the rule holds good that any long syllable may

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be resolved into two shorts. It will be seen that the above forms have respectively 3, 3, and 4 long syllables, neglecting the irrational long second syllable of the molossus, and leaving out of count the last syllable of form 2, which, if resolved, would give a rhythm of a different class, viz. P 2. The resolutions of the remaining long syllables lead to a second, less favoured class, the *clausulae licitae* (26.5 %). Thus, from V 1, by resolution of its long syllables, we get

L 1^1 ∪∪∪−|−⏑ as familiae uestrae.
L 1^2 −∪∪∪|−⏑ esse uideatur.
L 1^3 −∪−|∪∪⏑ laedit improbitas.

the index-number indicating which syllable is resolved. In this class come also

L 4 −∪−|−∪−∪≚ as improbis non necesse sit.
L *4* −−−|−∪−∪≚ iniustis non necesse sit.

both of which lengthen the cadence by a syllable. There is also a group of forms which modify the base by the insertion of one short syllable, converting it into a choriambus (−∪∪−), or an epitrite (−∪−−), according as the original base was a cretic or a molossus. These are distinguished by the index *tr*(ochaic):—

L 2^{tr} −∪∪−|−∪− as conueniant improbi.
L 2^{tr} −∪−−|−∪− conuenirent improbi.
L 3^{tr} −∪∪−|−∪−∪ ne liceat conuenire.
L 3^{tr} −∪−−|−∪−∪ ne liceret conuenire.

Any further licence, such as the resolution of two long syllables instead of one, or the addition of more syllables to the cadence, reduces the clausula to the much rarer class (6.1 %) of *malae*, distinguished by the symbol M and similar index- and other signs, as

M 8 −∪−|−∪−∪−∪−∪≚ M 3^{12} ∪∪∪∪∪|−∪−∪
M $3^{tr\,3}$ −∪−−|∪∪∪−∪, &c.

There are three minor classes, offering slight variations from the above. The first, that of *clausulae selectae*, consists of a heavier variant of the *uerae*, thus,

S 1 −−−|−⏑ as uiui uicissent.
S 2 −∪−|−−≚ esse s(i) accessisset.
S *2* −−−|−−≚ quem tu nunc crudelem.
S 3 −∪−|−−−≚ hunc diem non auditum.
S *3* −−−|−−−≚ te)stamento declarauit.

It is statistically a rather rare class (5.2 %), but used comparatively often in emphatic places and for special effects. A sub-class of M (MS, i. e. *malae selectae*) consists of rhythms of this kind with one resolved foot, e. g. su)periorem discessurum, MS 3^1. The last and worst class, the

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pessimae (1.4 %), has three chief forms, $-\cup\cup-|-\overline{\cup}$ (P 1), $-\cup-|-\cup\cup\overline{\times}$ or $---|-\cup\cup\overline{\times}$ (P 2, 2), and $-\cup-|-\cup\cup-\overline{\cup}$ or $---|-\cup\cup-\overline{\cup}$ (P 3, 3), the last being the notorious *clausula heroica.*

The above classification is meant specifically for Cicero, and the relative value of the classes is based wholly on their relative frequency in his speeches. This accounts for the anomalous position of S 1 (in form V 1) and P 1 (in form L 1^{tr}). It will not fit, for example, the prose of Aeschines, which my colleague Mr R. A. Pope[1] has recently shewn to be highly rhythmical, but to include ascending rhythms, while all Cicero's are descending. It therefore does not in any way follow that it will apply to the writings of St Paul, although there is a greater likelihood of it fitting them than of it being available for an Attic writer, since both alike had been subject to the widespreading influence of the Asian school.

I therefore began by dividing the text[2] of the Epistle to the Romans into *commata*, omitting the last chapter, consisting of the letter of commendation for Phoebe and the probably spurious final benediction.[3] In scanning, I made the following assumptions: (i) that the diaeresis, i. e., that point at which the base ends and the cadence begins, acts, if it coincides with the end of a word, like the diaeresis in most kinds of verse under similar circumstances, i. e. allows of *syllaba anceps* and of hiatus. This Zielinski's researches have shewn to be the practice of Cicero (*Clauselgesetz*, p. 95). Hence I have allowed, e. g. the scansion θεοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν as $-\cup\ \ |--$ (V 1). (ii) that the last syllable of the clausula is in all cases *anceps*; again in conformity with Ciceronian usage. Hence I have regarded such a rhythm as ἐν τῷ πνεύματί μου as MS 1^3 $---|\cup\cup\overline{\cup}$. (iii) That as St Paul was more or less bilingual, his scansion of Hebrew names follows the Hebrew quantities as nearly as possible; in particular, that ι, where it represents yôdh, is a consonant and not a vowel. Hence I scan Ἄβρᾱάμ, Bēνιᾱμεῖν, and make Ἰησοῦς a disyllable beginning with a consonant. As to purely Greek words, I consider short vowels in weak position as always constituting a short syllable; I scan θεός as either – or $\cup\cup$. (v) Since the Pauline style does not sedulously avoid hiatus, I frequently assume it, even at points other than the diaeresis, in scansion. Final -αι, on the analogy of comic

[1] *Aberystwyth Studies* iv (1922) pp. 29 ff.

[2] I used the smaller edition of Westcott and Hort; but the variants which affect scansion are so few in number that I gave up, as useless labour, the test of constructing a fantastic text based on the assumption that W.-H. were wrong in all doubtful passages and comparing the results of that.

[3] As I am not a specialist in N.T. criticism, I take over statements of this sort, which appear to represent the general consensus of sane opinion, from Moffatt's *Introduction to the Literature of the N.T.*

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verse, I hold may be elided, the more so as its long quantity was fast disappearing when the N. T. was written; but I see no reason for supposing that such epic shortenings as that of final -η before a succeeding vowel represented popular pronunciation. Crasis, despite the fact that it is seldom written (Moulton-Howard, *Grammar of N. T. Greek*, ii p. 63), I have allowed freely both with καί and with the article; since there is evidence for very much harsher crases than these in the text of Herodas, and the less literary papyri (*ibid.*), while with regard to elision the very frequent writing, even in verse authors, of syllables which must be elided in scansion seems to indicate that here also spelling was not squared with pronunciation. (vi) Again on the analogy of Cicero, I am of opinion that, in the many cases where a comma is shorter than the clausula which it illustrates, the missing syllables are borrowed from the preceding comma. Thus Rom. xii 2 τῷ αἰῶνι τούτῳ is scanned as L 3^{tr}, the missing syllables – ∪ being borrowed from the preceding word, συνσχηματίζεσθε. I have omitted quotations from the O.T. whenever they contained no considerable departure from the text of the LXX or other evidence of adaptation to the purposes of the writer. Thus, I wholly omitted Rom. iii 13, 14, which forms a verbatim quotation; also iii 20 οὐ δικαιωθήσεται πᾶσα σὰρξ ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ, which seems to be an inaccurate citation of Ps. cxlii 2 LXX ὅτι οὐ δικαιωθήσεται ἐνώπιόν σου πᾶς ζῶν. But I included xii 19, which in spite of the introductory γέγραπται γάρ does not follow either the LXX or the Hebrew text of Deut. xxxii 35, save in the general sense of the former. The result of the investigation was that every single comma, with one small exception to be noted presently, proved perfectly susceptible of Zielinski's methods of scansion. I append as a sample my analysis of xii 1–16.

1 παρακαλῶ | οὖν ὑμᾶς ἀδελφοὶ	– – – | – ∪ – ⏑ V ʒ
διὰ τῶν οἰκτιρμῶν τοῦ θεοῦ	– – – | – ∪ – V 2
παραστῆσαι τὰ σώματ' ὑμῶν	(–) ∪ – – | – ∪ – ∪ – ⏑ M $ʒ^{tr}$
θυσίαν ζῶσαν ἁγίαν,	∪ ∪ – – | ∪ ∪ ∪ – M 2^{13}
τῷ θεῷ | εὐάρεστον,	– ∪ – | – ∪ – ∪ V 3
τὴν λογικὴν λατρείαν ὑμῶν	– ∪ – | – – – S 2
2 καὶ μὴ συνσχηματίζεσθε	– ∪ – | – ∪ V 1
τῷ | αἰῶνι τούτῳ,	(– ∪) – – | – ∪ – ⏑ L $ʒ^{tr}$
ἀλλὰ μεταμορφοῦσθε	– ∪ ∪ ∪ | – – ▽ MS 2^{2}
τῇ ἀνακαινώσει τοῦ νοός,	– – – | – ∪ ⏑ V 2
εἰς τὸ δοκιμάζειν ὑμᾶς	∪ ∪ ∪ – | – – – MS 2^{1}
τί τὸ θέλημα τοῦ θεοῦ	(–) ∪ ∪ ∪ | – ∪ – ⏑ L 3^{2}
τὸ ἀγαθὸν καὶ εὐάρεστον καὶ τέλειον	– ∪ – – | – ∪ – ∪ L $ʒ^{tr}$
3 λέγω γὰρ διὰ τῆς χάριτος τῆς δοθείσης μοι	– ∪ – | – ⏑ V 1

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	παντὶ τῷ | ὄντι ἐν ὑμῖν	−∪−|−∪∪−− P 3
	μὴ ὑπερφρονεῖν παρ' ὃ δεῖ φρονεῖν	−∪▽|−∪− V 2
	ἀλλὰ φρονεῖν εἰς τὸ σωφρονεῖν,	−∪∪−|−∪−∪− M 4^{tr}
	ἑκάστῳ ὡς ὁ θεὸς ἐμέρισεν μέτρον πίστεως.	−∪−|−∪− V 2
4	καθάπερ γὰρ ἐν ἑνὶ σώματι	∪∪∪▽|−∪▽ L 2^{1}
	πολλὰ μέλη | ἔχομεν,	−∪∪−|∪∪∪ P 1^{3}
	τὰ δὲ μέλη πάντα	∪∪∪−|−∪ L 1^{1}
	οὐ τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχει πρᾶξιν,	−∪−|−∪ V 1
5	οὕτως οἱ πολλοὶ	−−−|−− S 1
	ἓν σῶμ' ἐσμὲν ἐν Χριστῷ	−∪−|−− V 1
	τὸ δὲ καθ' εἷς ἀλλήλων μέλη.	−−−|−∪− V 2
6	ἔχοντες δὲ χαρίσματα	−−∪∪|−∪▽ L 2^{2}
	κατὰ τὴν χάριν τὴν δοθεῖσαν ἡμῖν διάφορα,	−∪−−|∪∪∪▽ M $2^{tr\,3}$
	εἴτε προφητείαν κατὰ τὴν ἀναλογίαν τῆς πίστεως,	∪∪−−|−∪− L 2^{1}
	εἴτε διακονίαν ἐν τῇ διακονίᾳ,	−∪−|∪∪⊻ L 1^{3}
7	εἴτε ὁ διδάσκων ἐν τῇ διδασκαλίᾳ,	−∪−|∪∪⊻ L 3
8	εἴτε ὁ παρακαλῶν ἐν τῇ παρακλήσει,	−−∪∪|−− MS 1^{2}
	ὁ μεταδιδοὺς ἐν ἁπλότητι,	−∪∪∪|−∪ L 1^{2}
	ὁ προϊστάμενος ἐν σπουδῇ,	∪∪∪−|−⊻ L 1^{1}
	ὁ ἐλεῶν ἐν ἱλαρότητι.	−∪∪∪∪|−∪ P 1^{2}
9	ἡ ⌣ ἀγαπὴ ἀνυπόκριτος,	−∪−|∪∪∪∪∪ M 2^{34}
	ἀποστυγοῦντες τὸ πονηρόν,	−∪−|−∪∪−∪ P 3
	κολλώμενοι τῷ ⌣ ἀγαθῷ·	−∪−|−∪− V 2
10	τῇ φιλαδελφίᾳ εἰς ἀλλήλους φιλόστοργοι,	−∪−|−⊻ V 1
	τῇ τιμῇ ἀλλήλους προηγούμενοι,	−∪−|−∪− V 2
11	τῇ σπουδῇ μὴ | ὀκνηροί	−−−|−∪−⊻ V 3
	τῷ πνεύματι ζέοντες,	(−−)−|−∪−∪−∪ M 5
	τῷ κυρίῳ δουλεύοντες,	−∪−|−−−▽ S 3
12	τῇ ἐλπίδι χαίροντες	−∪▽|−−▽ S 2
	τῇ θλίψει | ὑπομένοντες	−∪∪∪|−∪ L 1^{2}
	τῇ προσευχῇ προσκαρτεροῦντες,	−−−|−∪−∪ V 3
13	ταῖς χρείαις τῶν ἁγίων κοινωνοῦντες,	−∪∪−|−−−▽ MS 3^{tr}
	τὴν φιλοξενίαν διώκοντες.	−∪−|−∪ V 1
14	εὐλογεῖτε τοὺς διώκοντας,	−∪−|−∪ V 1
	εὐλογεῖτε καὶ μὴ καταρᾶσθε.	−∪−|−∪∪−∪ P 3
15	χαίρειν μετὰ χαιρόντων	−∪∪−|−⊻ P 1
	κλαίειν μετὰ κλαιόντων,	−∪∪−|−⊻ P 1
16	τὸ αὐτὸ εἰς ἀλλήλους φρονοῦντες,	−−−|−∪−∪ V 3
	μὴ τὰ ⌣ ὑψηλὰ φρονοῦντες,	−−−|∪∪−▽ MS 2^{3}
	ἀλλὰ τοῖς ταπεινοῖς συναπαγόμενοι.	−∪∪∪|∪∪⊻ M 1^{23}

| = hiatus.

∪ = crasis.

Elision is marked regardless of whether the MSS indicate it or not.

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It will be seen that we have here a distinctly rhythmical passage, and moreover, one in which the rhythm is used with no little art to emphasize the thought. The long sentence with which the chapter begins falls into two parts, corresponding to the traditional division into verses. Of these, the first is marked off clearly by the pair of rhythms (1—2) with which it begins and ends; the second closes with another pair (3—3). The message 'to every man among you' in *v.* 3 has V 2 to begin and to end it. The simile of the Members and the Body in *vv.* 4–5 runs in a series of 1's, begun and ended with a 2. The long list of graces and virtues in the succeeding verses falls into clauses presenting great similarities of rhythm, though not so great as to overstep the boundaries of prose; while in *v.* 11 the string of riming clauses is prevented from growing monotonous by what seems to be a deliberate variety of rhythm, 5, 3, 2, 1, 3, 3. In *v.* 15, however, where there is only a single pair of such clauses, rime and rhythm are allowed complete parallelism, and the clauses themselves are *πάρισα*, omitting the *καί* which some MSS insert in the second.

It will be seen also that all the Zielinskian classes are represented in this one short passage; indeed, every page of the epistle gives abundant examples. In the 1163 *commata* into which my analysis divides the first fifteen chapters, they occur in the following numbers:—

V	336	or 28.8 %
L	355	or 30.5 %
M (including MS)	220	or 18.8 %
S	155	or 13.3 %
P	97	or 8.3 %
	1163	99.7 %

The percentages are calculated to the first place of decimals only.

The preference for the first two classes is obvious; it is also clear that neither of these classes is substantially preferred to the other. Adding them, we get a total of 59.3 %, a preference much more marked than Blass's remarks above quoted would prepare us for. But a further observation has to be made. The S-class is relatively far more important than in Cicero, and comes, in particular, in certain phrases favoured in this and other epistles, as *κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ*, *Παῦλος δοῦλος Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ*, *τῷ κυρίῳ δουλεύοντες*, and other such, without which one hardly can imagine a Christian work of this date and author. Again, while the P-class in general is not numerous, P 1 rises to the respectable total of forty-one examples, about half as many as L 1 (86), to which it formally belongs. It therefore seems to belong rather to the preferred than to the avoided forms. Now if we regard S as an alternative form of V (an idea not unwarranted when we note that it is, in this and other epistles,

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just about half as numerous), and include P 1 among *licitae*, we get a total of 887 out of 1163, or 76.2 − %, for this combination.

It is now time to enquire whether this rhythmical proportion is to be considered (apart from passages like the one quoted, in which artistic use of rhythm seems to me past reasonable doubt) as in any way a peculiarity of St Paul's own style, or simply a common characteristic of (*a*) Asian prose, or (*b*) N. T. epistolary style. The answer is quite plain. An analysis of one of the longest pieces of Asian oratory surviving, the great inscription of Kommagene (Norden *Kunstprosa*, ii p. 141), gives the following results:—

V	87,	or 32.9 − %
L	97,	or 36.6 + %
M (with MS) . .	41,	or 15.4 + %
S	6,	or 2.2 + %
P	34,	or 12.9 − %
	265	100.0 %

King Antiochos, or his secretary, wrote in a rhythm not unreminiscent of Cicero's own. The two favourite classes account for 69.5 % of all *clausulae*; S sinks to insignificance (Cicero, using a more spondaic language, naturally liked it better than the Asiatic Greek); P 1 is no more favoured than others of its class (nine examples out of the thirty-four, while L 1 rises to the comparatively high total of thirty-seven); and within the classes, the order of preference is decidedly for V 1 and L 1 (together seventy-seven examples) over any others; while in the Pauline style, as we shall see, V 2 and L 2 are preferred. Turning now to the Epistle to the Hebrews, a work sufficiently Pauline in the general effect of its style to have been long regarded by respectable critics as the apostle's own work, we get the following figures:—

V	239,	or 23.5 + %
L	320,	or 32.8 + %
M with MS . .	216,	or 22.2 − %
S	82,	or 8.4 + %
P	117,	or 12.0 + %
	974	98.9 + %

The combination of V and L gives us 56.3 + %, but the group of classes which we saw reason to regard as forming a unity in Romans account for but 67.7 + % instead of 76.2 %. The style of Romans then is rhythmically a sort of half-way house between the highly rhythmical, and monotonous, court style of Antiochos and the vigorous, but less

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polished, prose of the *anonymus ad Hebraeos*. Such differences have not the look of accident. If all other proofs were lacking, this alone might not dispel any idea that Hebrews was really by St Paul; but the former work being known on other grounds to be non-Pauline, this may serve to give us some idea of the difference we may expect between his style and that of members of his school, if we may so term the *Anonymus*. It remains to be seen what amount of variation we may look for in works undoubtedly genuine.

1 Corinthians gives on my analysis the following figures:—

V	440, or	29.6+%
L	372, or	25.0+%
M, with MS . .	293, or	19.7+%
S	236, or	15.9+%
P	143, or	9.6 %
	1484	99.8+%

This time the first two classes shew a decided drop, accounting for only 54.6+%, or less than in the case of Hebrews; but the larger group gives us 75.8+%, a decrease of only some 0.4%. Coming to smaller details we notice the following characteristics common to the two epistles.

In classes V and L the order of preference of the sub-classes is as follows: V 2 (149 Rom., 168 Cor.), V 1 (129 and 166), L 2 (128 and 101), and then a divergency, for Rom. prefers L 1 to V 3 (86:58), while Cor. reverses this order (106:87) in conformity with its relatively small use of this whole class. Rom., as will be seen later, is the more normal epistle in this respect. Passing to the lower classes, we find that in M (including MS), the order of preference for Rom. is 1 and 2 nearly equal (70 and 69), 2^{tr} (28), and then 3, 3^{tr}, and 5 practically equal; while 1 Cor. gives the following closely corresponding figures; 1, 82 examples; 2, 87; 2^{tr}, 43; after which come the smaller sub-classes, represented in both epistles alike by less than a dozen examples each, save for M 5 which has twenty-three in 1 Cor., eleven in Rom. If now we turn to Heb., we find for the better classes, the order L 1, V 1 and L 2 nearly equal (109 and 105 respectively), V 2, V 3, L 3. In the M + MS-class the order is the same as for Rom. and Cor., so far as the first three sub-classes (1, 2, and 2^{tr}) are concerned. In the S-class, the order is again the same as for Rom. and Cor., viz. 2, 1, 3; but with this difference, that whereas in the latter the sub-classes 1 and 3 together outnumber 2, in Heb. 2 (fifty-three examples) is nearly twice as well represented as 1 and 3 (twenty-nine examples) together.

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If we turn now to the other two *Hauptbriefe* we find indeed certain divergencies from the norm deducible from Rom. and 1 Cor., but far greater resemblances. If we add the results obtained from the former pair, we have the following:—

V	776,	or 29.3+%
L	727,	or 27.4+%
M, with MS . .	513,	or 19.3+%
S	391,	or 14.8+%
P	240,	or 9.1−%
	2647	99.9+%

Against this 2 Cor. gives the following figures:—

V	259,	or 27.0+%
L	263,	or 27.4+%
M, with MS . .	194,	or 20.2+%
S	143,	or 14.9+%
P	100,	or 10.4+%
	959	99.9+%

Here we have a distinct falling off in the preferred classes, which account for only 54.4+% of the total, or less than in the case of Heb. The disparity in the case of the large group (V, L, S, and P 1) is even more startling; it amounts only to 72.5−%, as against the 75.5+% of Rom. + 1 Cor. There is here no reasonable doubt of the substantial genuineness of the epistle in question; but it is to be remembered that by common consent, 2 Cor. is not *one* genuine work of St Paul, but fragments of two or three. The inevitable botching which such a process as the making of our present continuous text out of these pieces must have entailed has certainly affected the rhythm; that it has not affected it greatly may serve to shew that though something is lost (viz., at the least, the salutation of one letter and the conclusion of another), not very much can have been added. And when all is said and done, the divergency is much less than in the case of the admittedly non-Pauline works analysed above. When we come to the relative order of sub-classes we find as before V 2, V 1, and then both L 1 and L 2 preferred to V 3; but in this case, alone among the *Hauptbriefe*, L 1 is preferred to L 2, having eighty-three examples to seventy-one. In the M-class, the order 1, 2, 2^{tr}, 5 is kept, as in the case of Rom., and as in that case several other small classes have practically the same number of examples as 5. In the S-class, the order 2, 1, 3 is found, as in the case of 1 Cor.; in Rom., 3 very slightly outnumbers 1. Here, again,

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as in Rom. and 1 Cor., 2 is not as numerous as 1 and 3 together (seventy examples to seventy-one).

Turning now to Galatians, we have to remember that we are dealing with a short epistle (almost exactly eight pages of text in W.-H.; 446 *commata*), and probably, on the whole, a rather earlier one than Rom. or the Corinthian correspondence; though the whole question of the chronology of the epistles, beyond such obvious facts as that 1 Thess. is early and Philipp. late, is so unsettled that I prefer to found nothing upon it; merely pointing out that the purely philological methods applied by Lutoslawski to Plato have never been given a full trial in this field, and might yield interesting results in competent hands. Possibly a minute study of certain details of the rhythm would provide such an investigator with a not unwelcome tool. The figures for the five classes, as before, are:—

V	136,	or 30.6+%
L	101,	or 22.4+%
M, with MS . .	93,	or 20.8+%
S	77,	or 17.3−%
P	39,	or 8.9+%
	446	100.0−%

Grouping as before, we get, for V and L together, 237 or 53.1+%; for the larger group, 327, or 73.3+%. It will thus be seen that this work, which impresses some commentators as particularly rhythmical, at least in parts,[1] is actually less so than Rom. and 1 Cor., though a little nearer their norm than is 2 Cor. It is possible that there is another cause for this than the difference of date (on any theory, not very large), namely the circumstance that St Paul was writing with his own hand (if indeed vi 11 refers to the whole letter, and not merely to the section it introduces), instead of dictating. A colleague of mine who uses an amanuensis for a considerable part of his correspondence and other written work, has noted a markedly rhythmical effect in what he dictates, but makes no pretence to *writing* a particularly rhythmical style. But be that as it may, the difference here is much less than that between the earliest and latest genuine works of Cicero,[2] and is useful as indicating to us how far from the norm a work may stray without becoming suspicious on rhythmical grounds alone.

We may now proceed to construct a norm of rhythm, taking the four *Hauptbriefe* for our material, and registering the legitimate variants

[1] Moffatt, *op. cit.*, p. 88 .

[2] See Zielinski, *Constr. Rhythmus*, Taf. I, II and III, for full details.

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which slight disturbances of the text, differences of date, or other causes, one or more of which might operate on almost any epistle, may bring about. The combined result is :—

	Hauptbriefe.	Variation, Rom.	Var., 1 Cor.	Var., 2 Cor.	Var., G.
V . . .	1171, or 28.9− %	negligible	−0.3	−1.9	+1.7
L . . .	1091, or 26.9+ %	+3.6	−1.9	+0.5	−4.5
M, with MS	790, or 19.4+ %	−0.6	+0.3	+0.8	+1.4
S . . .	611, or 15.1+ %	−1.8	+0.8	−0.2	+2.4
P . . .	379, or 9.1+ %	−0.8	+0.5	+1.3	−0.2
	4042 99.4+ %				

The following points may be noted. (1) The shortest epistle, Gal., is also the most aberrant. (2) The class which admits of the greatest aberrancy is L (3) L and S vary inversely to this extent, that every divergency in the one in any particular epistle is more or less atoned for by a counter-divergency in the other; thus 2 Cor., which falls a trifle below the norm in S, rises somewhat above it in L; the much larger excess of L in Rom. is met by the deficit in S of the same work. Hence we find that whereas the variation of the total of V and L is considerable, that of V+L+S+P 1 is much less. The figures are :—

	Total	Var., Rom.	Var., 1 Cor.	Var., 2 Cor.	Var., G.
V+L . . .	2262, or 55.9+ %	+2.7	−1.3	−1.5	−2.8
V+L+S+P 1	3022, or 74.7+ %	+1.5	+1.1	−2.2	+1.4

Note, by way of contrast, the large deficit of Heb., 5.9; while the same epistle gives us the very normal total, 56.3, for V+L, i.e. +0.4. The inscription of Kommagene on the other hand has for V+L the enormous variation of +13.6, while for the larger class-group the figures are quite Pauline, 75.1−. We get then the following general rule: *in Pauline prose, just under 3/4 of the cola should end in clausulae of the group V+L+S+P 1, while slightly over 55% should be of the classes V and L.* It is the combination of these two features that characterizes the style, and the former is the more strictly adhered to. We are therefore justified in rejecting as un-Pauline any work of epistolary form which, when all allowances have been made for dislocation of text and for brevity, departs very widely[1] from these principles.

[1] It is noteworthy that the departure of Gal., −2.8, is relatively less than that of Rom., +2.7, since the latter is more than twice as long.

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Let us now apply this to the analysis of the earliest surviving epistle, 1 Thess. I use here the arrangement in *commata* of Blass, and in many points follow his text, where it does not depart from all MS authority. The result is not greatly different from what a close adherence to W.-H. would have given. The classes are:—

V	93, or 28.8 %	Norm, 28.9—.	Max. var.,	—1.9
L	88, or 26.8 %	26.9		—4.5
M, with MS . .	71, or 21.6 %	19.4		+1.4
S	47, or 14.3 %	15.1		+2.4
P	29, or 8.9— %	9.1		+1.3
	328 100.4— %			

For so short a document the correspondence is startling. Nowhere does it differ so widely as the considerably longer Gal. The figures for the two groups of classes are respectively, 55.2— % and 74.1— %, almost identical with the norm.

Going to the other end, chronologically, of the epistles generally admitted to be genuine, we get for Philipp. the following figures:—

V	99, or 27.8+ %	Var., negligible.
L	94, or 26.4+ %	—0.5.
M, with MS . .	78, or 21.9+ %	+1.5.
S	58, or 16.3— %	+2.9.
P	27, or 7.8+ %	—1.1.
	356 100.2+ %	

In two classes, the third and fourth, the range of variation hitherto found permissible is exceeded. But in both cases we are comparing it with Gal., which has 446 *commata* to the 356 of Philipp. The permissible variation of the latter is therefore, all questions of chronology set aside, 1.4 × 446/356 and 2.4 × 446/356 respectively, i. e. about 1.7 and 3 respectively, within which limits it keeps faithfully. Taking the class-groups, the smaller gives us 54.2, or well within the limits of variation of the norm, while the larger is 75.2, again nearly normal, varying indeed less than any one of the *Haupthriefe* and giving a result almost identical with that of 1 Cor., which is perhaps the most wholly standard of all the epistles, seeing that Rom. has apparently lost its genuine conclusion and been provided with one borrowed from elsewhere. Were it possible, instead of simply omitting ch. xvi to analyse the greater part of it elsewhere, to take account of the concluding

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paragraphs, whatever they may have been, of the original epistle, the small discrepancies noted above would very likely disappear.

If we add the results for these two small epistles together, thus obtaining a fair-sized body of text (684 *commata*), we find the following percentages for the classes: V 28.1−, L 26.6−, M 21.7+, S 15.3+, and P 8.1+. The only thing that calls for remark here is the excess in the M-class, which varies from the norm by 1.7, or 0.3 more than the smaller Gal. When we look at the class-groups, we find the very close correspondences 54.6% and 74.7%, closer to the average than either 1 Cor. or Rom.

Taking now the order of the sub-classes for the epistles just discussed, we find that for 1 Thess. and Philipp. it is the same as for Rom. and 1 and 2 Cor., viz. for the preferred classes, V 2, V 1, L 2, L 1, V 3; for M 1, 2, 2^{tr}, 5. Gal., however, has a slight departure, viz. V 1, V 2, L 2, V 3, L 1, the last two practically equal in number (32 and 31 respectively); but for M, as before, 1, 2, 2^{tr}, 5.

If we pass to 2 Thess. we are dealing with so small a body of text (182 *commata*) that reliable statistics are hardly to be had. The figures for the classes are: V 39, or 21.4%; L 54, or 29.7−%; M 28, or 15.2%; S 39, or 21.4%; and P 22, or 12.1−%; total 182 (99.8%). The departures from the norm are considerable, viz. V −7.5; M −4.2; S +6.3, besides smaller variations for the other classes; but in fairness it ought to be combined with the sister epistle, 1 Thess., into a single body of text. This done, we have

V	132, or 25.9−%	Variation	−3.0
L	142, or 27.8+%		+0.9
M	99, or 19.4+%		nil
S	86, or 16,8+%		+1.7
P	51, or 10.0 %		+0.9
	510 99.9 %		

It is certainly suspicious that in a document larger than Gal. we should find a larger variation from the norm than the latter's in so important a class as V; on the other hand, all the remaining classes keep well within bounds. The groups give respectively 53.7+% and 74.7+%, both impeccable. It is therefore on the whole more likely than not that 2 Thess. is genuine.

Passing now to the group of letters purporting to have been written during St Paul's imprisonment in Rome, we have already seen that Philipp. is certainly genuine. If we analyse 1 Tim., however, we get the following results:—

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V	75, or 19.8+%	Variation	−9.1
L	115, or 30.4+%		+3.5
M	94, or 24.9−%		+5.5
S	56, or 14.8+%		−0.3
P	38, or 10.0+%		−0.9
	378 99.9 %		

V+L 190, or 50.2+%; variation −5.7.

V+L+S+P 1, 257 or 67.9+%; var. −6.8.

As we have here a smaller document than the four great epistles, we must make allowance accordingly. Gal. varies by −2.8 on the smaller class-group; as it has 446 *commata*, a variation of $2.8 \times \frac{446}{378}$ would be legitimate for 1 Tim. This amounts to just over 3.3. In the larger class-group, making a similar allowance, we get, by comparison with the variant of −2.2 of 2 Cor. with its 959 *commata*, a permissible aberration of just over 5.5 for 1 Tim. Coming to individual classes, V and M both exceed their permissible aberration considerably, though the rest are within bounds. An examination of the order of the sub-classes shews no considerable difference from that of the *Hauptbriefe*. We thus see that, on rhythmical grounds alone, 1 Tim. is non-Pauline.

2 Tim., though shorter, comes out much better than its longer neighbour. Its results are:—

V	96, or 27.5+%	Variation	−1.4
L	85, or 24.3+%		−3.6
M	80, or 22.9+%		+3.5
S	51, or 14.6+%		−0.5
P	37, or 10.6+%		+1.5
	349 99.9+%		

V+L 181, or 51.9−%; variation −4.0 (proportionately not much more than that of Gal.).

V+L+S+P 1, 242, or 69.3+%; variation −5.2 (proportionately a little less than that of 2 Cor.).

Nowhere does this go much beyond legitimate bounds save in the M-class. So far then as rhythm goes, we are at liberty to believe, what I personally hold to be right, that we have here substantially a genuine Pauline epistle, though probably edited for publication after the writer's death.

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While on the subject of the pastoral epistles, it is well to consider the short letter to Philemon and the commendatory letter (? to the church of Ephesus) introducing Phoebe, which forms the bulk of our text of Rom. xvi. Naturally, from such very small documents no certain results can be expected; Philem. has but 70 *commata* in all, made up of 20 of class V (28.3+%), 16 of L (22.8+%), 11 of M (15.7+%), 18 of S (25.7+%), and 5 of P (7.1+%); as near the norm as could be reasonably expected; 'Phoebe', as I call this document for convenience' sake, has 27, 19, 7, 21, and 5 representatives of the five classes respectively, making 34.2−%, 24.1−%, 26.6−%, 8.8+%, and 6.3+%; the class-groups give, for the former, 51.1+% and 80.0% respectively, and for the latter, 58.3−% and 84.8−%; shewing on the whole a decided increase in the preponderance of the favoured classes. Combining them with 2 Tim. we get a document long enough to found some sort of conclusion on (500 *commata*), and the percentages are, for the five classes, exactly 29.0, 24.0, 19.6, 18.0, and 9.4, which certainly looks genuine, if the group itself be not thought too arbitrary. Titus, again, is too short a work (154 *commata*) to give any very decided results; its figures are V 37 (24.0+%); L 42 (27.3−%); M 33 (21.3+%); S 22 (14.3−%); P 20 (12.9+%); V+L 79 (51.3−%); V+L+S+P 1, 106 (68.8+%). Here certainly we find aberrations enough, and in the opposite direction from those of the probably genuine works, Philem. and 'Phoebe'. Perhaps something more like a reliable result can be got if we combine it with 1 Tim. The figures are now as follows:—

V	112, or 21.1+%	Variation	−7.8
L	157, or 29.8+%		+2.9
M	121, or 23.0+%		+3.6
S	78, or 14.6+%		−0.5
P	58, or 11.0+%		+1.9
	526	99.5+%	

V+L 269, or 51.1+%; variation −4.8 (nearly twice that of Gal., which is shorter).

V+L+S+P 1, 363, or 69.0+%; variation −5.7.

That is, if the group be considered legitimate at all, it is spurious; but it must be confessed that the collocation of these two is somewhat arbitrary.

There remain to be discussed the two epistles which perhaps are the most puzzling and the most interesting of all for the student of ancient religion, that to the Church of Kolossai and the work conventionally known as Ephesians. Here, though almost every conceivable explanation of their relationship has been given, it is past all doubt that they

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somehow form a group; we may therefore start by considering them together. The figures are:—

V	233, or 27.8+%	Variation	−1.1
L	197, or 23.6−%		−3.3
M	189, or 22.5+%		+3.1
S	137, or 16.3+%		+1.2
P	80, or 9.5+%		+0.4
	836 99.7 %		

V+L 430, or 51.4+%; variation −4.5 (= nearly twice that of Gal., which is much shorter).

V+L+S+P 1, 578, or 69.1+%; variation −5.6%.

As we have to do with a document considerably larger than Gal., and not much inferior in size to 2 Cor., the aberrations are enough to shew that the group is spurious. But a spurious group may nevertheless contain genuine matter; it is well, therefore, to examine the epistles separately, beginning with Col. Its figures are:—

V	96, or 27.5+%	Variation	−1.4
L	85, or 24.3+%		−2.5
M	80, or 22.9+%		+3.5
S	51, or 14.6+%		−0.5
P	37, or 10.6+%		+1.5
	349 99.9+%		

V+L 181, or 51.9−%; variation −4.0.

V+L+S+P 1, 242, or 69.3+%; variation −5.4.

The small size of the epistle renders these variations inconclusive (cf. the figures for Gal. and 2 Cor.), but with the balance of probability in favour of its spuriousness.

The figures for Eph. vary according as we include or omit those *commata* which, being taken *totidem verbis* from Col., might be regarded as a sort of quotations. I give in brackets the numbers of *commata*, and the percentages, resulting from the latter alternative.

V . . .	137 (126), or 28.1+ (27.5−)%	Variation	−0.8 (−1.4)
L . . .	112 (106), or 23.0− (23.2+)%		−3.9 (−3.6)
M . . .	109 (104), or 22.4− (22.6−)%		+3.0 (+3.2)
S . . .	86 (81), or 17.4+ (17.8+)%		+2.3 (+2.7)
P . . .	43 (40), or 8.8+ (8.8+)%		−0.3 (−0.3)
	487 (457) 99.7 (99.9)%		

V+L 249 (252), or 51.1+ (51.0−)%; variation −4.8 (−4.9).

V+L+S+P 1, 336 (323), or 69.0− (70.9−)%; variation −5.7 (−3.8).

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There can hardly, I think, be any doubt that we have here a non-Pauline work.

We can now draw up a list of the works of the Pauline *corpus*, distinguishing genuine, doubtful, and spurious, as follows:—

Genuine: Rom., 1 Cor., 2 Cor., Gal.,[1] 1 Thess., Philipp.
Probably genuine: 2 Tim., Philem., 'Phoebe', perhaps 2 Thess.
Spurious: Eph., 1 Tim.
Probably spurious: Col., Tit.

It is, of course, obvious that there is nothing very startling in the above result. That one or both the epistles to the Thessalonians are genuine; that Philipp. is St Paul's own work, and that 2 Tim. may be; that Col. and Eph., or one of them, are of his school but not his own, are theories widely held. But I claim that the method I use has several advantages over those commonly employed. In the first place, it shares the advantage common to all purely philological methods over those of a more subjective type, in that it depends little or not at all on the 'personal equation'. The plea, for instance, that such-and-such a work is not St Paul's because the argument is weak, or because it contradicts some doctrine expressed in an undoubted passage, is sure to be met, if not by a demonstration that the argument or the doctrine has been misunderstood, at least by the objection that no author always writes his best, and that a wholly self-consistent theologian would be a miracle indeed. The commoner philological arguments, if based on vocabulary, are sometimes at the mercy of new discoveries of Hellenistic documents, and always of the objection that in a series of short works, ἅπαξ εἰρημένα are inevitable; if on the more general features of rhetoric, such as the fondness for antithesis already referred to, must meet the reminder that all Asian style is more or less antithetical, and that a great many other features are common to a host of writers in and out of the N.T. But here we have a quite small peculiarity of style—not rhythm, but a particular kind of rhythm, minutely defined—occurring very often, considering the length of the pieces in question, and shewing, on comparison with other works acknowledged to be by other authors, certain features of its own which they have not. But it may still be objected that this peculiarity, being

[1] I simply assume the genuineness of the first four. That the overwhelming probability is in favour of their unity of authorship, the figures given above would shew, to my mind, even if the many other good arguments pointing in the same direction were wanting. That the author was the Saul or Paul of the Book of Acts seems equally certain; but even if we adopt the extremist theory that it was not he, the fact still remains that to the student of early Christian literature, 'Paul' means primarily the author of those epistles, whoever he was and whenever he lived; much as 'Homer', whatever else it may mean, signifies the author of the *Iliad*.

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more or less conscious, was imitable, like the peculiar cadences of the Vergilian hexameter, and that some of the works listed here as certainly or probably genuine may be the products of clever imitation. I hope to shew that those features of the rhythm on which I have all along been laying stress, namely the preferences shewn for certain classes, are unconscious; but if unconscious, it is highly unlikely that they would be noticed or imitated at all, except with equal unconsciousness by a writer who was so saturated in Pauline style that he could hardly get through a sentence without using tags of his original, as I have already mentioned that the author of 1 Tim. does to a great extent.

Now if an author has anything approaching a conscious preference for certain rhythms, it must inevitably follow that he will use them in prominent parts of his works; just as, in music, Wagner's fondness for chromatic progressions is shewn not only by their frequency but by their prominence in his orchestration. By common consent the end of a sentence is rhythmically very important.[1] Therefore, if St Paul consciously preferred those rhythms which we include under the symbols V and L above the other three classes, he should, on the analogy of Cicero,[2] use them relatively more often at strong pauses in the sense than at weaker ones. I have therefore collected the statistics for all rhythms in the four principal letters which occur before a heavy punctuation (period, colon, question when not immediately followed by a very short answer) in W.-H., whom I have followed in this matter, not because I always agree with them, but because it is not my punctuation and cannot be accused of being affected by my theories. The result is: V 335 (27.4+%); L 329 (26.1+%); M 242 (19.8+%); S 204 (17.5+%); P 111 (9.1−%); V+L 664 (54.3+%); the larger group, 912 (74.7−%). It will be seen that the differences are trivial; S gains a trifle at the cost of V and L; the smaller group of classes shews a slight falling off, the larger practically no change. I conclude, therefore, that there is no conscious preference for one class over another. In that sense, therefore, Blass is right, though very far from stating the whole truth. What both St Paul and his imitators appear consciously to do I will try to shew presently.

I have already given an instance of the skilful use of rhythm to enforce the parallelism of thought; I now proceed to give more instances, following Weiss's classification of the various types of parallelism (*Beiträge*, p. 7 ff).

[1] First stated in so many words by Aristotle, *Rhet.* iii 8 (1409^a 19). I have elsewhere tried to show that apart from sound the end of the sentence is not important in its own right (*Philologica* i 1922, p. 54 ff).

[2] See *Constr. Rhythmus*, p. 21 ff.

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1. *Synonymous parallelism of cola.* Rom. i 21.

ἀλλ' ἐματαιώθησαν	MS 2^{tr}
ἐν τοῖς διαλογισμοῖς αὐτῶν,	MS 2^{1}
καὶ ἐσκοτίσθη	V *3*
ἡ ἀσύνετος αὐτῶν καρδία.	L 2^{1}

Gal. i 13, 14

ὅτι καθ' ὑπερβολὴν ἐδίωκον	MS 2^{3}
τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ θεοῦ	V 2
καὶ ἐπόρθουν αὐτήν,	S 1
καὶ προέκοπτον ἐν τῷ Ἰουδαϊσμῷ	MS 3^{tr}
ὑπὲρ πολλοὺς συνηλικιώτας ἐν τῷ γένει μου,	V *3*
περισσοτέρως ζηλωτὴς ὑπάρχων	V *3*
τῶν πατρικῶν μου παραδόσεων.	MS 1^{23}

A more elaborate form, giving a strophic effect, with proode, mesode, and epode, is Rom. vii 13, 14.

ἀλλ' ἡ ἁμαρτία | ἵνα φάνῃ | ἁμαρτία	M 4^{2}
διὰ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ μοι κατεργαζομένη θάνατον,	P 1^{3}
ἵνα γένηται καθ' ὑπερβολὴν ἁμάρτωλος	V 1
ἡ ἁμαρτία διὰ τῆς ἐντολῆς.	L 2^{tr}
οἴδαμεν γὰρ ὅτι ὁ νόμος πνευματικός ἐστιν,	L 1^{2}
ἐγὼ δὲ σάρκινός εἰμι	V 1 (− ∪ ⏑ | − ∪)
πεπραμένος ὑπὸ τὴν ἁμαρτίαν	M $4^{tr\,2}$.

2. *Synthetic parallelism*, i. e. that in which the two halves of the balance contain each a different (not opposed) thought, not two forms of the same thought, as 1 Cor. xii 4–6.

διαιρέσεις δὲ χαρισμάτων εἰσίν	V 1
τὸ δὲ αὐτὸ πνεῦμα,	V *3*
καὶ διαιρέσεις διακονιῶν εἰσίν	P 1
καὶ ὁ αὐτὸς κύριος,	V *2*
καὶ διαιρέσεις ἐνεργημάτων εἰσίν,	V 1
καὶ ὁ αὐτὸς θεός,	V *2*
ὁ ἐνεργῶν τὰ πάντα ἐν πᾶσιν.	S 2

3. *Antithesis.* 1 Cor. xii 26.

καὶ εἴτε πάσχει | ἓν μέλος,	L 2^{tr}
συνπάσχει πάντα τὰ μέλη.	L 2^{3}
εἴτε δοξάζεται μέλος,[1]	L 4
συνχαίρει πάντα τὰ μέλη	L 2^{3}

Philipp. i 15–18.

τινὲς μὲν διὰ φθόνον καὶ ἔριν	V 1
τινὲς δὲ καὶ δι' εὐδοκίαν	L 1^{2}

[1] Qu. δοξάζεται \| ἓν μέλος, V 2?

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τὸν χριστὸν κηρύσσουσιν.	S 2
οἱ μὲν ἐξ ἀγαπῆς,	L 1^3
εἰδότες ὅτι εἰς ἀπολογίαν τοῦ εὐαγγελίου κεῖμαι,	P 1
οἱ δὲ ἐξ ἐριθίας	V 1
τὸν χριστὸν καταγγέλλουσιν,	S 2
οὐχ ἁγνῶς,[1] *οἰόμενοι θλίψιν ἐγείρειν τοῖς δεσμοῖς μου.*	S 1
τί γάρ; πλὴν ὅτι παντὶ τρόπῳ,	P 1^3
εἴτε προφάσει εἴτ' ἀληθείᾳ,	V 1
Χριστὸς καταγγέλλεται.	V 2

A curious arrangement, giving a chiasmus of rhythm with parallelism of thought, is Rom. ii 28:

οὐ γὰρ ὁ ⌒ ἐν τῷ φανερῷ	P 2
Ἰουδαῖός ἐστιν·	S 1
οὐδ' ἡ ⌒ ἐν τῷ φανερῷ	MS 1^3
ἐν σαρκὶ περιτομή.	L 2^3

followed by an almost unbroken succession of 2-rhythms, catching up the metre of the last comma:

ἀλλ' ὁ ⌒ ἐν τῷ κρυπτῷ Ἰουδαῖος	S 2
καὶ περιτομὴ καρδίας	L 2^1
ἐν πνεύματι οὐ γράμματι	L 2^{tr}
οὗ ὁ ἔπαινος οὐκ ἐξ ἀνθρώπων	S 3
ἀλλ' ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ.	V 2

I have hitherto taken no account of the rhythms of quotations from the LXX; but it should be mentioned in this context that they sometimes strike the key-note as it were for the passage in which they occur. A good example is 2 Cor. ix 10:

ὁ δὲ ἐπιχορηγῶν "σπέρμα τῷ σπείροντι	S 2
καὶ ἄρτον εἰς βρῶσιν"	V 1
χορηγήσει καὶ πληθυνεῖ	V 3
τὸν σπόρον ὑμῶν	V 1
καὶ αὐξήσει τὰ γενήματα	L 2^2
τῆς δικαιοσύνης ὑμῶν.	P 1

Some of the finest passages have very simple rhythmical arrangements. Thus 1 Cor. ix 19–22, which Weiss justly declares to be one which only a trained rhetorician could have written, consists almost wholly of 2-rhythms, save for one short parenthesis, changing to 1-rhythm at the end; a scheme clearly suggested by the quantities of the words *κερδήσω* and *σώσω*.

ἐλεύθερος γὰρ ὢν ἐκ πάντων	S 2
πᾶσιν ἐμαυτὸν ἐδούλωσα	P 1

[1] 'Ob *οὐχ ἁγνῶς* Glosse ist?' Weiss, marg. I am inclined to agree, as if genuine it must either be separated awkwardly from its verb, or allowed to break the rhythmical scheme.

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ἵνα τοὺς πλείονας κερδήσω·	S 2
καὶ ἐγενόμην τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις ὡς Ἰουδαῖος	S 2
ἵνα Ἰουδαίους κερδήσω·	S 2
τοῖς ὑπὸ νόμον ὡς ὑπὸ νόμον,	M 2^{13}
(μὴ ὢν αὐτὸς ὑπὸ νόμον)	L 2^{3}
ἵνα τοὺς ὑπὸ νόμον κερδήσω·	MS 2^{1}
τοῖς ἀνόμοις ὡς ἄνομος	P 2^{tr}
(μὴ | ὢν ἄνομος θεοῦ	L 2^{2}
ἀλλ' ἔννομος Χριστοῦ)	V 1 (? τοῦ χριστοῦ, S 2)
ἵνα κερδανῶ τοὺς ἀνόμους·	P 2
ἐγενόμην τοῖς ἀσθενέσιν ἀσθενὴς	L 2^{2}
ἵνα τοὺς ἀσθενεῖς κερδήσω·	S 2
τοῖς πᾶσιν γέγονα πάντα	L 1^{2}
ἵνα πάντως τινὰς σώσω.	V 1

The variety of bases however prevents monotony. Equally simple is 2 Cor. xi 26, where the long list of 'dangers' gives the rhythms MS 1^{3}, S 1, V *2*, V *2*, V *2*, L 2^{2}, V *3*, V *3*; a little more varied, in order as I suppose to avoid the monotonous effect which would be produced by a long enumeration in *commata* of too similar structure and length; and corresponding almost but not quite exactly[1] to the slight variation in the grammar, from the simple genitive after κινδύνοις to the genitive with ἐκ and again to the dative with ἐν.

On the other hand it is not always the case that parallelism of thought is expressed by the same rhythm. Thus 1 Thess. i 15–16, where the various offences of the Jews against Christianity and its forerunners are enumerated in a series of clauses parallel in grammatical structure, there is little rhythmical parallelism if any; Gal. iv contains a string of parallels and antitheses (the simile of the minor heir, the antithesis between the true and the false gods, St Paul's former reception among the Galatians and their present attitude towards him, the children of Sarah and those of Hagar, Sinai and Jerusalem); but the rhythmical parallels, though existing here and there (thus the rather unusual L 4 serves as a sort of theme to introduce Sarah's children, 22 καὶ ἕν' ἐκ τῆς ἐλευθέρας [–] – – | – ∪ – ∪ – [L *4*], 23 ὁ δ' ἐκ τῆς ἐλευθέρας, [–] ∪ – | – ∪ – ∪ – [L 4], 30 τοῦ υἱοῦ τῆς ἐλευθέρας, – – – | – ∪ – ∪ – [L *4*], 31 ἀλλὰ τῆς ἐλευθέρας, [–] – ∪ | – ∪ – ∪ – [L *4*]) are not much in evidence. In such cases St Paul probably felt that the parallels of thought were

[1] This is characteristic. E.g. 1 Cor. i 25, the 'folly' and 'weakness' of God have both a 2-rhythm, while the 'wisdom' and 'strength' which they overcome are expressed by S 3 and MS 3; having thus introduced a 3-rhythm, St Paul proceeds to use it for the next clause, βλέπετε γὰρ τὴν κλῆσιν ὑμῶν, ἀδελφοί, (V 3), which forms no part of the antithesis. So in lyric poetry the rhythmical unity of the strophe does not by any means always correspond to the grammatical unity of the sentence.

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so obvious that to reinforce them by sound would smack too much of that sophistical σοφία λόγου which he disclaimed. It is to be hoped that no one will see in this anything but what it is, the reserve of a practised stylist who will not let his art appear on the surface. He might have echoed the words of a still greater master of prose, 'non sum . . . tam insolens in dicendo ut omni ex genere orationem aucuper et omnis undique flosculos carpam atque delibem'. At the same time it must be confessed that he occasionally is somewhat clumsy in his rhythms, being a little too apt to use several, not only of one length, but of one class, close together. Thus Gal. iv 25–26 uses V 1 six times in succession, for no very clear reason; Rom. i down to the beginning of *v.* 10 has but two examples of the V-class, and then suddenly four together; of the last 26 *commata* of Gal., 10 end in *clausulae selectae*, producing a rather heavy effect; and there are similar infelicities throughout the epistles. Similar observations are true of the non-Pauline epistles which I have analysed, which, however, do not seem to me to atone for defects of rhythm by skilful usages such as those I have instanced from the Pauline works. It is no doubt these facts, well observed but ill interpreted, that gave Blass the idea that the rhythm of this prose was nothing more than the repetition at a short interval of any series of syllables which had once been used.

I now give in tabular form a complete list of all the rhythms which I have observed in the genuine epistles. I would mention that a certain number of the sub-classes are doubtful. Thus, if we have the series – – – – – – –, is this to be taken as S 1, S *2*, or S *3*? I have found no very conclusive deciding principle. The position of the *caesura* naturally suggests itself; but this feature, so important in Cicero, is so far as I can judge from imperfect investigations much less so in St Paul. As a general rule, Cicero ends his *cola* with long words, and hence has but one or two *caesurae* in a *clausula*; Pauline prose on the other hand seems to have no objection to a string of short words in any position in the sentence, thus giving rise to a multitude of *caesurae*, even if we treat article and noun, preposition and case, as one word and not two. More important is the fact that Latin prose, like Latin verse, avoids placing the ictus on certain syllables, while Greek has no scruples in the matter at all, having no stress-accent[1] until a later date. Hence there can be no arrangement of syllables which would give what we have any grounds for supposing to be that *bête noire* of Zielinski, a *disharmonische Ictuirung*. I have been guided chiefly by symmetry; i. e. where such a series of syllables as that given

[1] This seems a safe assumption for the (presumably conservative) pronunciation of educated men. The first certain indication of the stress-accent in literary Greek is the scansion of Babrius (*flor. circ.* A. D. 220).

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above comes in a passage where an undoubted 3-rhythm, such as V 3, balances it, I have scanned it as S *3*; and so with the other possible scansions. Fortunately it is seldom the case that any doubt as to the class of a rhythm has arisen from this or any other cause. With allowance made for this uncertainty, the figures are as follows:—

TABLE OF *CLAUSULAE*

I. *Genuine epistles.*

V.					L.													
1	2	*2*	3	*3*	1^1	1^2	1^3	2^1	2^2	2^3	3^1	3^2	3^4	*4	*4*	2^{tr}	2^{tr}	3^{tr}	3^{tr}	
129	72	77	27	31	16	30	41	53	42	33	24	13	–	10	12	26	28	6	21	Rom.
166	89	80	58	48	22	30	35	41	37	23	24	23	3	13	12	28	46	18	17	1 Cor.
91	52	64	23	28	25	29	30	36	25	20	13	14	–	7	9	17	15	9	14	2 Cor.
55	29	20	14	18	12	8	11	10	11	16	4	4	–	5	5	10	10	3	1	Gal.
32	24	24	8	15	7	9	9	7	5	8	4	4	–	3	4	9	7	6	6	1 Thess.
47	19	20	3	10	5	8	11	15	4	14	6	8	–	1	1	3	7	–	9	Philipp.

S.					M (with MS).												P.								
1	2	*2*	3	*3*	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	2^{tr}	3^{tr}	4^{tr}	5^{tr}**	1	2	*2*	3	*3*	1^0	2^0	3^0†	
37	43	36	20	19	70	69	10	10	11	4	–	1	–	28	11	6	—	41	11	7	5	4	16	8	5	Rom.
75	74	32	30	24	82	87	6	13	23	5	1	1	–	43	13	11	8	64	24	14	6	4	14	10	7	1 Cor.
50	49	21	19	4	64	52	3	12	13	3	2	1	1	31	1	7	4	31	11	9	5	5	18	14	7	2 Cor.
19	23	16	9	10	28	26	4	4	7	1	1	–	–	17	1	1	3	13	4	4	5	7	8	5	6	Gal.
17	10	5	8	7	29	16	4	1	6	2	2	–	–	7	–	4	—	15	2	3	3	1	3	1	1	1 Thess.
21	10	13	10	4	34	16	3	5	8	1	–	–	–	8	4	1	—	17	1	1	1	–	3	2	2	Philipp.

* L 2^3 = L 1^2.
** Includes the few examples of 6^{tr}, 7^{tr} &c.

† i.e. P 1^1, P 1^2 &c; 2^{tr} &c.

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TABLE OF *CLAUSULAE*

II. *Probably genuine.*[1]

V.					L.													
1	2	*2*	3	*3*	1^1	1^2	1^3	2^1	2^2	2^3	3^1	3^2	3^4	4	*4*	2^{tr}	2^{tr}	3^{tr}	3^{tr}	
42	15	34	16	9	33	(all c	lass-es)	41	(all c	lass-es)	12	(all c	lass-es)	9	(both classes)	21	(all	class	es)	Past. (i. e. 2 Tim., Philem., 'Phoebe.')
13	10	6	5	5	2	7	6	9	5	6	4	1	—	–	—	2	7	3	2	2 Thess. (?)

S.					M (with MS).											P.						
1	2	*2*	3	*3*	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	2^{tr}	3^{tr}	4^{tr} &c.	1	2	*2*	3	*3*	1^0	2^0	3^0	
24	35		14		86 (all classes)												13	9		7		3	4	8	Past.
13	5	6	11	2	4	8	2	1	2	–	–	–	–	6	–	4	6	5	4	4	–	1	2	–	2 Thess. (?)

III. *Spurious.*

V.																			
1	2	*2*	3	*3*	1^1	1^2	1^3	2^1	2^2	2^3	3^1	3^2	3^4	4	*4*	2^{tr}	2^{tr}	3^{tr}	3^{tr}	
31	15	26	13	11	10	5	11	10	11	6	3	1	1	1	4	3	9	5	5	Col. (?)
55	19	53	12	13	10	14	14	16	8	10	7	4	–	2	3	13	8	3	6	Eph.*
27	15	16	5	12	11	13	17	13	10	15	8	2	–	2	3	4	6	6	5	1 Tim.
15	8	8	3	3	4	6	4	6	4	6	2	1	–	2	–	2	2	3	–	Tit. (?)

S.					M (with MS).											P.								
1	2	*2*	3	*3*	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8&c.	2^{tr}	3^{tr}	4^{tr} &c	1	2	*2*	3	*3*	1^0	2^0	3^0	
19	14	9	8	1	26	26	3	4	9	3	–	—	14	11	3	10	5	3	2	5	3	7	2	Col. (?)
32	19	21	10	9	41	34	–	6	5	1	1	—	18	3	2	12	7	8	5	2	3	7	1	Eph.*
17	18	7	5	9	23	24	6	6	8	3	2	1	10	3	6	11	6	2	2	5	1	9	2	1 Tim.
5	7	7	3	–	15	10	1	1	2	–	–	–	6	3	—	5	4	4	2	1	1	2	1	Tit. (?)

* Including those *commata* which are found also in Col.

In conclusion, I give a few examples of the utility of this method of investigation to the textual critic. It is of course true that many variants do not affect the rhythm; thus 1 Cor. i 14 it makes no difference whether one accepts or omits τῷ θεῷ after εὐχαριστῶ, for in any case it is the beginning of a comma whose *clausula* is formed by οὐδένα ὑμῶν ἐβάπτισα (L 4). Where, however, the rhythm is affected,

[1] A (?) after the title of an epistle indicates that its classification is open to doubt; see above, p. 34.

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the first principle to be observed is that of *symmetry*. In the great majority of cases, as I have indicated and as my own analyses of the epistles shew in detail, the drift of the thought is emphasized more or less minutely by the rhythm. Hence if a passage is, e.g., antithetic, and one reading gives a pair of *clausulae* while another does not, the former, other things being equal, is the better. Thus, 1 Thess. ii 2, if read as the MS give it, runs thus:—

ἀλλὰ προπαθόντες	$-\cup\cup\cup\,|\,-\cup$, L 1^2
καὶ ὑβρισθέντες καθὼς οἴδατε	$-\cup-\,|\,-\cup\overline{\cup}$, V 2
ἐν Φιλίπποις,	$(-\cup\overline{\cup})\,|\,-\cup-\underline{\cup}$, V 3
ἐπαρρησιασάμεθ' ἐν τῷ θεῷ ἡμῶν	$-\cup-\,|\,-\underline{\cup}$, V 1
λαλῆσαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τοῦ θεοῦ	$-\cup\cup-\,|\,-\cup-$, L 2^{tr}
ἐν πολλῷ ἀγῶνι	$(-)--\,|\,-\cup-\cup$, V 3

But if, with Blass, we omit ἐν Φιλίπποις as a gloss, the pretty rhythmical sequence is broken. Similarly in v 8, if we follow him in considering the words καὶ ἀγαπῆς as spurious, we have the sequence M 4^1 (or L 3^1, according as we scan πίστεως as a cretic or a spondee), L 2^{tr}, whereas the text of W.-H. and of most editions gives the much better arrangement V 2, L 2^{tr}. On the other hand, if in Phil. iv 7 we keep the reading of the MSS, ἡ ὑπερέχουσα πάντα νοῦν, one of the very finest passages in all literature is defaced by the ugly discord M 4^2—if the words can be induced to scan even in that unsatisfactory fashion, as they may be if we assume hiatus instead of crasis after the article—in the middle of its steady harmonies of 2- and 1-rhythms. Read ὑπερέχουσα παντὸς νοός (cf. Eph. iii 19 for the grammar), getting the sequence 2, 2, 1, 1, 1, harmonizing excellently with the thought. An easier emendation, πάντα νοῦν ὑπερέχουσα (L 1^2), does not harmonize so well with the run of the thought.

If, however, symmetry is not prominent in the passage, as it sometimes is not, the relative frequency of the various classes and sub-classes will serve as a guide; here the tables given above may be useful. I need not illustrate in detail, but give the results of my own investigation upon one short passage which I have hitherto omitted entirely, Rom. i 29–30. Considered as rhythmical prose this is a most deplorable production; my analysis gives the following result:—

μεστοὺς φθόνου φόνου	$(\cup\cup-)-\,|\,-\cup-\cup-$ M 4^1
ἔριδος δόλου κακοηθίας	$-\cup-\cup\cup\,|\,-\cup-$ M 2^{tr2}
ψιθυριστὰς καταλάλους	$\cup\cup--\,|\,\cup\cup\cup-$ M 2^{13}
ὑβριστὰς ὑπερηφάνους ἀλάζονας	$--\cup\cup\,|\,-\cup-\cup-\cup-$ M 6^2
ἐφευρετὰς κακῶν	?
γονεῦσιν ἀπειθεῖς	$(-)\cup-\,|\,\cup\cup--$ MS 2^{13}
ἀσυνέτους ἀσυνθέτους	$(-)\cup\cup\cup\,|\,-\cup-\cup-$ M 4^2
ἀστόργους ἀνελεήμονας	$-\cup\cup\cup\,|\,-\cup\overline{\cup}$ L 1^2

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My solution is that it is not meant for prose at all, but is misquoted verse—comic tetrameters from some unknown author. The original may have run somewhat as follows:—

— ∪ — μέστους δόλου, κακοηθίας, ψιθυρισμάτων,
κἄριδος φθόνου φόνου τε, καταλάλους ἀλάζονας,
εἶθ' ὑπερηφάνους, ὑβριστὰς καὶ κακῶν ἐφευρετάς,
πάτρασι μητράσιν τ' ἀπειθεῖς, ἀσυνέτους ἀσυνθέτους,
— ∪ ἀστόργους ∪ — ∪ — ∪ ἀνελεήμονας.

Such lines would hardly have satisfied Aristophanes or Kratinos, but in the rather loose versification of New Comedy they are less impossible; or they may not be from a comedian at all, but from some satire-writing Stoic or Cynic. In general, whenever an unusual rhythm, or a series of the less common ones, is found, without any reason of symmetry or other special effect, the student of the Pauline text might do well to consider whether there be not some corruption, or if none is apparent, whether he is dealing with real Pauline prose or a quotation from some other author.

H. J. Rose.

CLEMENT AND THE TWO DIVINE LOGOI

Among the fragments of the lost work of Clement of Alexandria, the *Hypotyposes*, there is a brief but important sentence preserved by Photius in Bibliotheca Cod. cix. Photius who had read the book and was giving a description of it for the benefit of his brother Tarasius was particularly impressed by the number of doctrinal errors in it and in one connexion cites his author to prove his case. 'And in some of them (i. e. of the books) he seems to speak correctly but in others he is altogether led astray into impious and fabulous doctrines . . . for he imagines that the angels had intercourse with mortal women and begat children by them, and that the Logos did not become flesh but only appeared to do so. And in his folly he is convinced that there are two Logoi of the Father of which the less appeared to men,—but not even that one. For he says: The Son is called Logos like the paternal Logos (λέγεται . . . ὁ υἱὸς λόγος ὁμωνύμως τῷ πατρικῷ λόγῳ) but this not the one that became flesh. No, nor was it the paternal Logos but a certain power of God, a kind of emanation (ἀπόῤῥοια) of his Logos that became reason (νοῦς γενόμενος) and has been immanent (διαπεφοίτηκε) in the hearts of men.' There can be no doubt that a direct quotation is given here as the construction admits no alternative. It is conceivable that the quotation ends with, 'not the one that became flesh,'

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but this is not likely as the sense is unbroken and the idea which follows is a favorite one with Clement. The passage from 'The Son is called Logos' to 'in the hearts of men' can fairly be taken as a sentence from Photius's copy of the *Hypotyposes*.

Until the publication of Zahn's *Supplementum Clementinum* in 1884 scholars had inclined to the view that this copy of Photius was interpolated.[1] Photius himself suggests that the unorthodox statements he has found did not originate with Clement but with some forger, and Rufinus, who wished to deliver Origen from the odium of heresy, maintained that his words had been tampered with and cites Clement as a victim of similar misrepresentation. Influenced by these passages the older critics agreed that the Photian fragment must be part of the interpolated element in Clement's work. Zahn, however, pointed out that neither the words of Photius nor the passage in Rufinus was sufficient evidence for the existence of an interpolated edition of the *Hypotyposes*.

Photius in concluding his description of the teaching says, 'And he attempts to furnish all these things with passages from Scripture. And he commits a thousand other follies and blasphemies,—either he or somebody else assuming his rôle. And these blasphemous fables are recounted by him in eight books.' What is suggested here is not interpolation but a complete forgery. The blasphemies run through the whole work.

Rufinus sees in Clement a prototype of his own abused master: 'Clement . . . in nearly all his books describes the glory and eternity of the Trinity to be one and the same and yet we have found some chapters in his books in which he says the Son is a creature of God. Now is it believable of a man so eminent, so Catholic in every respect, so learned, that he should contradict himself or should leave writings about God which it is impious, I do not say to believe but, even to hear?'[2] This argument was not convincing and Jerome was quick to see its weakness and to counter it with the more probable view that, before the Arian dissensions had made a careful definition and terminology necessary, many authors had employed phrases unacceptable to a later orthodoxy and entertained ideas the danger of which was revealed only by Arius's application of them.[3]

Cassiodorus, who had used extracts of Clement in the commentary on the Catholic Epistles which was made under his direction for use in the monastery of Vivarium, had his own troubles with Clement's indiscretions; but he did not doubt that the difficult passages were

[1] T. Zahn *Forschungen zur Geschichte des neutestamentlichen Kanons* iii pp. 142 ff.
[2] Rufinus *Epilog. in apol. Pamphil.*, Migne *P. G.* xvii 621–622.
[3] Jerome *Apologia adv. libros Rufini* ii 17; Migne *P. L.* xxiii 439–440.

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from Clement himself. In the Latin translation of the extracts he ordered the incautious passages to be omitted.[1]

From the point of view of external evidence the case for interpolation is weak. It rests upon a misreading of Photius, a neglect of Jerome and Cassiodorus, and an unjustifiable transfer of Rufinus's worthless conjecture to the Photian fragment. It also begs the question of internal evidence by assuming that the ideas contained in the fragment could not be Clement's.

The interpretation of the fragment did not receive serious treatment until Zahn maintained that the ideas could be parallelled in other works of Clement. His arguments, though not always right, were forceful, and succeeding critics have accepted his judgement that the fragment is genuine. Yet the necessity for Zahn's defence illustrated the unusual character of the Photian quotation. Its most striking feature, as Photius pointed out, is that it seems to teach that there were two divine Logoi,—a doctrine exploited by Arius though neglected by his critics. How easily the language of Clement could be mistaken for that of Arius is apparent from a comparison with a passage from the Thalia imbedded in Athanasius's *Contra Arianos* i, c. 5, 'For, he (i.e. Arius) says, at one time God was alone and the Logos and Wisdom did not yet exist. Then having wished to create us he made a Being (*ἕνα τινά*) and called it Logos (*ὠνόμασεν αὐτὸν λόγον*)[2] and Wisdom and Son that he might create us through him. Indeed he says that there are two Wisdoms. One is essential and coexistent with God; but the Son came into being by this Wisdom and shares with it only the names "Wisdom" and "Logos" (*καὶ ταύτης μετέχοντα ὠνομάσθαι μόνον σοφίαν καὶ λόγον*). For wisdom, he says, existed by Wisdom, by the will of a wise God. And consequently he says that the Logos is another than the Son which is in God and shares with him the name Son and by favour Logos, and even Son.[3] And this characteristic view of their heresy is made clear in their other writings: that there are many powers and one is an essential and eternal property of God (*ἡ μὲν μία τοῦ θεοῦ ἐστιν ἴδια φύσει καὶ ἀΐδιος*). But again Christ is not a genuine power of God, but is one of the so-called powers of which one, even the locust and the caterpillar, is called not only a power but a great one. And there are many others like the Son of whom David chants saying: Lord of the powers.'

[1] 'In epistolis autem canonicis Clemens Alexandrinus . . . quaedam Attico sermone declaravit. Ubi multa quidem subtiliter, sed aliqua incaute locutus est, quae nos ita transferri fecimus in Latinum, ut exclusis quibusdam offendiculis purificata doctrina eius securior potuisset hauriri,' *Instit. div. lit.* 8; Migne *P. L.* lxx 1120.

[2] Cf. Clement's *λέγεται . . . ὁ υἱὸς ὁμωνύμως τῷ πατρικῷ λόγῳ.*

[3] *Τούτου μετέχοντα τὸν υἱὸν ὠνομάσθαι πάλιν κατὰ χάριν λόγον καὶ υἱὸν αὐτόν . . .* Cf. *Excerpta ex Theodoto* § 25, 1.

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The meaning of Arius is tolerably clear. There was a period when God was alone and the Logos and Wisdom were not yet in existence. But the desire for creation arose within him so he created a Being whom he called Logos, Wisdom, and Son. The names of this Being corresponded to those properties of God's nature which necessitated his creation, but the conferring of these titles must not be misunderstood. God was never ἄλογος nor ἄσοφος even in his period of lonely existence. There are now two Logoi and two Wisdoms. Wisdom and reason are constitutive in the nature of God; but by them the desire for creation was produced and satisfied. The product of this desire was a powerful and intelligent Being who was created from non-being by an act of will, and upon him were conferred the titles Wisdom and Logos. The community between the reason and wisdom inherent in God's nature and the created Being was nominal not substantial. The one constituted a consubstantial, invisible, and active property (δύναμις) of his nature; but the other was a creature substantially independent, created, and influenced by God's thought and will.

The meaning of the Photian fragment is less transparent, and can best be determined after an examination of other passages from Clement of similar thought or expression. In *Protrepticus* x, § 98 Clement ridicules the Greek deities and disparagingly compares the work of the Greek sculptors who fashioned the statues of the gods with the work of God at creation. The Olympian Zeus, he says, 'is only an image of an image (εἰκόνος εἰκών) far removed from reality', for the statue is an image of the artist's idea and that idea is an image of its object. The Logos is a direct image of God (2 Cor. iv 4, Col. i 15) the *true Son of his reason.* That which is truly human i. e. human reason, is in the image and likeness of God and is rational by virtue of the divine wisdom (φρόνησις) indwelling in the heart.[1] The order here is clearly (1) ὁ νοῦς, the mind of God essential to his Being and absolutely inseparable from it; (2) ὁ θεῖος λόγος which is an image of God i. e. of his νοῦς; (3) ὁ νοῦς ὁ ἐν ἀνθρώπῳ or ὁ ἄνθρωπος ὁ ἀληθινός which is an image of the divine Logos who fashioned it. The divine φρόνησις is the Logos active in the heart of man. This corresponds to the scheme in the fragment: (1) the paternal Logos, (2) the Son (nominally Logos), (3) the human reason which is also divine for it is really a transformation of a divine power or emanation of the Father's reason or paternal Logos. Δύναμις like φρόνησις in *Protrep.* § 98, 3 does not designate a separate entity but describes the activity of the Logos (= Son) in the hearts (the seat of under-

[1] P. Ziegert *Zwei Abhandlungen über T. F. Clemens Alexandrinus*, Heidelberg, 1894, pp. 18 ff, 78 ff.

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standing in Stoic psychology[1]) of men. Ἀπόῤῥοια describes the relation of the paternal Logos to the Logos who is the Son. Exception cannot be taken to the use of either of these terms, for they occur elsewhere in Clement.

A similar scheme occurs in *Stromateis* vii 3, § 16, where Clement is describing the true Gnostic: 'For above all things the soul of the just man is an "Image divine made like to God himself", in which is enshrined through obedience to the commandments the Ruler of all both mortal and immortal, a King and Parent of the beautiful, who is really a Law (νόμος) and Rule (θεσμός) and eternal Reason (λόγος αἰώνιος), who is the one Saviour peculiar to each yet common to all. This is the real Only-Begotten, the seal of the glory of the universal King and all-powerful Father who impresses on the Gnostic the perfect vision according to his image, so that there is now the third divine image likened as far as possible to the second Cause, to the real Life, through whom we live the true life, as if copying the Gnostic type which was made for us and is directed toward the firm and unchangeable things.' The perfect vision, the third image of God which is in the mind of the Gnostic is an image of the eternal Logos, the second Cause, who is in turn, the seal of the glory of the Father. The immanence of the Logos who is Saviour in the hearts of men is described by the phrase 'peculiar to each yet common to all' (ἰδίᾳ τε ἑκάστοις καὶ κοινῇ πᾶσιν). Its effect is the stamp of perfect vision.

From these two passages the thought of Clement is clear and the meaning of the Photian fragment can be determined. He distinguishes between the reason of God by virtue of which He is a rational Being (ὁ πατρῷος λόγος) and his active Reason which realizes his purposes and reflects his will in creation. The latter is the Son, but bears the same name (ὁμωνύμως λέγεται) as the paternal Logos. It is the Son and not the paternal Logos who becomes incarnate, and it is the Son who, at least in one aspect of his being, becomes identical with the rational faculty in man. In doing so, however, he does not break his connexion with the divine nature (δύναμίς τις τοῦ θεοῦ, ἀπόῤῥοια τοῦ λόγου αὐτοῦ) but rather becomes the effective link between God and those who seek him by the sure path of knowledge.

The unity of the divine and the human reason is more sharply emphasized in Clement than in his predecessors and assures his position as the father of Christian intellectual mysticism. His distinction between the two Logoi, however, was not acceptable to theologians

[1] This was the general Stoic teaching although there were occasional exceptions. J. von Arnim *Stoicorum veterum fragmenta* ii p. 228; L. Stein *Psychologie der Stoa* (*Berliner Studien f. class. Phil. u. Arch.* iii 1), Berlin, 1886, pp. 133 ff; A. Schmekel *Philosophie der mittleren Stoa*, Berlin, 1892, p. 259.

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of a later generation. Yet the similarities between the Photian fragment and Arius are no more striking than its affinities with the teaching of the Apologists who distinguished between the λόγος ἐνδιάθετος and the λόγος προφορικός, or of the Valentinians who distinguished ὁ ἐν ταὐτότητι λόγος from ὁ πρωτότοκος or ὁ πρωτοκτίστος λόγος. Clement is in a line of thought which leads from the common tradition of Christian philosophy to Arius where the line is suddenly broken. The step from his two λόγοι to Arius's substantially distinct λόγοι was a short but decisive one. In the separation of the Son from the οὐσία of the Father the link which connected man with God and assured to the Christian his hope of salvation was severed. Clement marks a turning-point in this chapter of Christian thought and serves as an important guide to some of the main theological influences which were at work in the third and fourth centuries.

The doctrine of the Logos first appears in Christian theology in the prologue to the Fourth Gospel where its double significance was clearly defined. From then it became the basis of Christian cosmology and the foundation of Christian psychology and epistemology. The Logos was in the beginning with God and all things were made by him. In him was life and the life was the light of men. But the prologue raised perplexing questions. Where was ἐν ἀρχῇ? did it coincide with the creation of the world, with the beginning of time, or was it a figurative expression for an eternal relation? If the Logos acted as God's agent at creation what was he before that act? Was God ever ἄλογος? Did He not have a reason before He used it in creation? Did He lose it when it went forth to do His bidding? These questions absorbed the interest of the apologists who answered them to the best of their philosophic knowledge and ability. One of the most important of these answers depended upon a use of the terms λόγος ἐνδιάθετος and λόγος προφορικός to distinguish between the Logos within the Godhead and constitutive in Its nature and the Logos issuing forth (προελθών) to do God's will.

Considering the vagueness with which this subject is frequently treated it may be well to summarize the main facts about these terms. They were the *termini technici* of Stoic logic[1] for a distinction, already indicated by Plato and Aristotle, between the spoken word and the thought of which it was the expression.[2] The λόγος ἐνδιάθετος was an activity of the rational faculty in man which was the divine element in him.[3] The λόγος προφορικός was the audible speech which conveyed

[1] A. Schmekel *op. cit.* p. 206.

[2] *Soph.* 263 E; Aristotle *Anal. post.* i 10, 76 b 24; Zeller, iii[1] p. 68 n. 4.

[3] Schmekel *op. cit.* p. 201 n. 1, 206.

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the thought to the listener.[1] Neither was to be confused with concepts,[2]—the content of given states of consciousness considered *in abstracto*,—which according to the Stoics were immaterial (ἀσώματος) and hence unreal.

These expressions had no place in classical Stoic theology and it was not until Platonic influences affected Stoic tradition that they found any natural application to the idea of God. Heraclitus who wrote an allegorical commentary on Homer at the end of the first century A. D. asks why Homer attributes to Hermes a double dominion, one infernal, the other in Heaven and explains that it is because the god is the λόγος which is double. 'And the philosophers call one of these τὸν ἐνδιάθετον but the other τὸν προφορικόν. One is the herald of reasonings within the mind; the other is latent in the breast. And they say that God is provided with the latter. . . . Therefore Homer calls the λόγος ἐνδιάθετος earthly (χθόνιος) because it lies in shadow, invisible in the depths of reason, but the λόγος προφορικός he lodges in heaven because it is evident from afar.'[3] There is no suggestion that these philosophers who must have been Stoic allegorists claimed for God a λόγος προφορικός; but Cornutus called Hermes the λόγος προφορικός because he expressed to men the mind and will of the gods,[4] a thought which closely approximates Clement's view that the Logos 'having become reason was immanent in the heart of men.' Plutarch called Hermes the giver of the λόγος ἐνδιάθετος to man.[5] In these fanciful identifications, however, there is no consistent attempt to distinguish between a λόγος ἐνδιάθετος and a λόγος προφορικός within the Godhead.

With Philo the case is somewhat different, for in his writings Stoicism had made a definite alliance with Platonic thought and, with the Old Testament before him, he was confronted by many of the problems which Christian theologians discussed a century later. In his system the position of the Logos suffers from the same ambiguity as it did in early Christian thought. Is the Logos a property of God essential to his being and constitutive in his nature or is it a separate entity with hypostatic independence? Philo appears never to have overcome this ambiguity, nor to have been fully conscious of it. In one passage he

[1] Von Armin *Fragmenta* i p. 40; ii pp. 43 ff.

[2] The Stoic term was τὰ λεκτά. 'Mit diesem Namen bezeichneten sie nämlich den Inhalt des Denkens als solchen, den Gedanken im objektiven Sinn, in seinem Unterschied von den Dingen, auf welche sich die Gedanken beziehen, von den Worten, durch welche sie ausgedrückt, und von der Seelentätigkeit, durch die sie erzeugt werden.' Zeller, iii[1] pp. 88, 79 n. 2, 80.

[3] Heraclitus *Quaestiones Homericae* (ed. Fr Oelmann, Lipsiae, 1910), § 72, pp. 95-96.

[4] L. A. Cornutus *De natura deorum* c. 16 (ed. Fr Osann, Göttingen, 1844).

[5] Plutarch *c. princ. philos.* ii 1 p. 777 b; Zeller iii[1] p. 68 n. 4.

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seems to apply the distinction of λόγος ἐνδιάθετος and λόγος προφορικός to God; but a closer consideration of the passage shews that it is a metaphorical description of the world and that the Godhead is not in question.[1] In one passage he makes the distinction but avoids its technical expression. He is interpreting Genesis vi 6 and says, 'The Creator of the universe selected trustworthy powers and using them always contemplates his works. These are ideas and active thought, of which the first is latent reason, the second is the issue of that reasoning.'[2]

In Christianity the existence of the Logos before creation and his relation to God were regarded as problems early in the second century. Metaphors derived from Biblical passages were employed to describe the effect of God's momentous resolve to express himself. Ignatius and Justin compare the function of the Logos with that of human speech.[3] Justin's words are particularly striking when taken in connexion with his emphasis on the Son's individuality. 'But do we not see it happen also in our own case? For when we utter a word (λόγον) we beget speech (λόγον), but not by separation so that when we utter it the reason in us (τὸν ἐν ἡμῖν λόγον) should be diminished.'[4] To this thought Theophilus adds only the nicety of technical expression, 'God, who has his reason latent (λόγον ἐνδιάθετον) in his heart, begot him with his wisdom when he sent him forth before all things. He had this Logos (i. e. the one that came forth before creation) as a servant of the things created by him and through him he has made the universe. . . . And holy Scripture teaches us that Adam said he heard a voice. But what was this voice but the Logos of God who is also his Son? Not as the poets and mythologists speak of the sons of gods begotten from union, but as truth describes the Logos who is forever latent (ἐνδιάθετον) in the heart of God. For before anything existed he had this counsellor who was his own reason and wisdom (φρόνησις). But when God wished to create what he had planned he begot this λόγον προφορικόν, the first

[1] The passage is *De vita Mosis* iii 13, Mangey, p. 154, and it should be read in full. I agree with Zeller (*Phil. der Griech.* iii² pp. 423–424) against Heinze and Aall. The point is exegetical and not grammatical as Aall supposes. All Philo says is that reason is dual both in the universe and in man (cf. Heraclitus *supra*). In the universe there is the world of ideas and its physical counterpart, the visible creation; in man there is the λόγος ἐνδιάθετος and the λόγος προφορικός, man's ideas and their vocal expression. Cf. *De opif. mundi* p. 5 M (7) where κόσμος νοητός is the λόγος Θεοῦ κοσμοποιοῦντος.

[2] Ἔννοιαν καὶ διανόησιν, τὴν μὲν ἐναποκειμένην οὖσαν νόησιν, τὴν δὲ νοήσεως διέξοδον, βεβαιοτάτας δυνάμεις ὁ ποιητὴς τῶν ὅλων κληρωσάμενος καὶ χρώμενος ἀεὶ ταύταις τὰ ἔργα ἑαυτοῦ καταθεᾶται, *Quod deus sit immut.* 7, p. 277 M. The other passages cited by Heinze (*Lehre vom Logos* pp. 233–234) seem to me less convincing.

[3] Ignatius *ad Magn.* viii 2.

[4] *Dial. c. Tryph.* 61; cf. Otto's note *ad hoc.*

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born of all creation. He was not thereby deprived of reason (λόγος) but having begotten the Logos he forever spoke by his Logos. . . . "In the beginning was the Logos and the Logos was with God" shewing that at first God was alone and the Logos was in him. Then he says, "and the Logos was divine and all things were made by him and without him was nothing made." Therefore, since the Logos was divine and sprung from God, whenever the Father of the universe wishes he sends him into a certain place, and he is near at hand and is heard and seen, being sent by him and is found in space.'[1]

This idea, more or less clearly and technically expressed, recurs elsewhere in the other Apologists. Only Tertullian and Irenaeus need claim special attention. In Tertullian the distinction in the Logos is definitely marked and is coupled with expressions which as clearly foreshadow Arian dangers as those of Clement. In fact Tertullian and Novatian[2] represent in the West, as Clement does in the East, the *terminus ad quem* for the doctrine of the two divine Logoi in a form acceptable to their contemporaries. Irenaeus's importance is that he, like Athanasius, repudiated the terms λόγος ἐνδιάθετος and λόγος προφορικός and for similar reasons.

In *Apol.* c. 21, Tertullian says, 'Now we have declared that God constructed the universe by word, reason, and power (*verbo, ratione, et virtute*). It is agreed also among your sages that the creator of the universe seems to be λόγος, i. e. speech and reason. For Zeno declares this (i. e. λόγος) to be the creator who formed everything in order and that he is called also fate and God and the soul of Jove, and the necessity of all things. Cleanthes sums these up in spirit, which, he asserts, pervades the universe. And we, too, ascribe to spirit, as its own nature, the word and reason and power through which we maintain God created all things. The word is present in it when announcing, and reason when ordering, and power when fashioning. This, we explain, proceeded from God (*ex Deo prolatum*) and was begotten by procession (*prolatione generatum*) and therefore is called Son of God and God from the unity of the substance. For God is spirit. And while the ray extends from the sun, a portion of the greatest, yet the sun will be in the ray because it is a ray of the sun and is not divided in substance but extended.'

In this passage Tertullian uses *ratio* and *sermo* (or *verbum*) to indicate the λόγος ἐνδιάθετος and λόγος προφορικός. Three properties of God co-operated in the work of creation: his reason, his spoken word,

[1] *Ad Autolyc.* ii 10, 22.

[2] The doctrine is hardly implied by Novatian whose language is much more guarded than Tertullian's.

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and his power. The Stoics also said that the Creator of the world was λόγος which in Latin is both *sermo* and *ratio*. Zeno defined it as the Creator of the world who arranged everything (*dispositione* = οἰκονομία) by his foreseeing wisdom; Cleanthes identified him with the spirit (πνεῦμα) that is immanent and active in the phenomenal world. The Christians (*nos*) combine these two views and attribute to God an active word, an inherent reason, and a sustaining power. All of these are spirit for God is spirit (John iv 24), and the modes of his being do not divide his substance.

A similar use of *ratio* and *sermo* occurs elsewhere in Tertullian. In *Adv. Prax.* c 5, he says, 'For before the universe (*ante omnia*) God was alone, being the world and space and all things to himself. Now he was alone because there was nothing in existence outside himself. Yet even then he was not alone, for he had with him the reason (*rationem*) which he held within himself. For God is rational and reason is primary in him, and from him are all things. This reason (*ratio*) is his mind. The Greeks call it λόγος, for which we use the word (*sermonem*). Therefore it is our usage, for convenience in interpretation, to say that the word (*sermonem*) was in the beginning with God, although it is more accurate to hold that reason is the older. For God was not vocal (*sermonalis*) from the beginning but rational before the beginning, and the word (*sermo*) consists of reason (*ratio*), so that it shews this, its own nature, to be prior. . . . I can therefore maintain without being rash that even before the creation of the world God was not alone but had his reason even then within himself, and in his reason his word, which later by internal motion he was to make issue from himself ('habentem in semetipso proinde rationem et in ratione sermonem, quem secundum a se faceret agitando intra se.')

When Tertullian expresses the same thought but substitutes theological for philosophical language and calls *sermo* the Son, he is led into expressions that were later to cause his being censured. In discussing the titles appropriate to God, Tertullian urges against Hermogenes that *dominus* was strictly applicable only after creation, since it implies the existence of something over which God was Lord. The name *deus* is inherent in his Being, since it describes his essence ('dei nomen dicimus semper fuisse apud semetipsum et in semetipso'); but titles like *dominus*, *pater* and *iudex* imply relations which are not grounded in the unchangeable nature of the Godhead. 'For neither could there be a father before a son, nor a judge before sin. Now there was a time when there was for him neither sin nor son to make him who was Lord a Judge and Father. Thus also he was not Lord before those things of which he was going to be Lord sometime. Just as he became Father through the Son and Judge through sin, so he became Lord

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through those things which he had made for his service.'[1] It is not difficult to see that after 325 phrases like: 'Fuit autem tempus cum ei . . . filius non fuit' (ἦν ποτε ὅτε οὐκ ἦν) were not likely to strengthen confidence in Tertullian's orthodoxy.

Irenaeus whose familiarity with various Gnostic systems had made him profoundly sceptical of all forms of speculation, deprecated any attempt to enquire into the unsearchable mysteries of God to find out what he was doing before he created the world. The teaching of Scripture on this point is sufficient, and rational investigation is little better than impertinent curiosity. 'Mark,' he says, 'if any one asks: What was God doing before he created the world? we say that the answer rests with God.' Theories which make distinctions within the mind of God are specially deplorable, for they rely upon unsuitable analogies with the mind of man.[2] 'You who speculate upon his (i. e. the Son's) generation from the Father and compare the utterance of men's words made with the tongue with the Word (*verbum*) of God justly expose your own ignorance of both human and divine affairs. . .[3] for all men everywhere know that speech proceeds from thought and intelligence. Therefore they have not discovered anything important who speculate on emanations nor a hidden secret who compare with the only begotten Word of God what is known by everybody. And although they call him indescribable and unnameable yet they explain the process of his first generation as if they had been the midwives, likening it to the λόγος προφορικός (*verbo emissionis*[4]) of men'.[5]

[1] *Adv. Hermog.* c. 3; cf. *idem* c. 18; *de oratione* c. 1; F. Loofs *Leitfaden zum Studium der Dogmengeschichte* (4te Aufl.) pp. 155–160. For the connexion between the names and the essence of the Godhead cf. Gregory Thaumaturgus (?), fragment from 'Fides Patrum' in Mai's *Spicilegium Romanum* iii pp. 696–699, and V. Ryssel *Gregorius Thaumaturgus*, Leipzig, 1880, pp. 110 ff.

[2] *Adv. omn. haeres.* ii 28. 4 (ed. Stieren, i pp. 384–385); cf. ii 28. 5–6 'Sed et ipsius Dei et Eunoeae eius et Verbi et Vitae et Christi nativitates et prolationes annuntiare vultis; et has non aliunde accipientes, sed ex affectione hominum; et non intelligitis, quia in homine quidem, qui est compositum animal, capit huiusmodi dicere, sicut praediximus, sensum hominis et ennoeam hominis; et quia ex sensu ennoea, de ennoea autem enthymesis, de enthymesi autem logos; (quem autem logon? aliud enim est secundum Graecos logos, quod est principale quod excogitat; aliud organum per quod emittitur logos) et aliquando quidem quiescere et tacere hominem, aliquando autem loqui et operari. Deus autem quum sit totus mens, totus ratio et totus spiritus operans . . . non eam huiusmodi affectus et divisiones decenter erga eum subsequentur.'

[3] *Idem* ii 28. 5.

[4] ii 13, ed. Stieren, pp. 310 ff, and Massuet's note, Stieren, i 311 n. 9. Irenaeus clearly fears a real division of the divine substance; cf. ii 13. 5 (Stieren, i pp. 313–314) 'Si enim sensum emisit, ipse qui emisit sensum, secundum eos, compositus et corporalis intelligitur; ut sit separatim quidem qui emisit, Deus, separatim autem qui emissus est, sensus. Si autem de sensu sensum dicant emissum *praecidunt sensum Dei et partiuntur*'.

[5] *Idem* ii 28. 6; Stieren, i pp. 386 f.

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In the third century a notable witness for the doctrine of the two λόγοι is the treatise of Gregory Thaumaturgus *Ad Philagrium de Consubstantiali*.[1] The author is fully aware how easily qualifying distinctions may be taken for real divisions in the substance and warns his readers not to be led astray by terms which are necessary accommodations to the human mind. The titles of God are useful guides to the understanding, but are not to be taken at their face value. Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, do not indicate divisions but describe the unity of the Godhead. Just as the λόγος προφορικός is heard by and is joined with the soul of the hearer, though inseparable from the soul from which it proceeds, and establishes a unity between speaker and hearer, so the Son is never separated from the Father. The Holy Ghost is no more separated from the Son than desire from mind; for the nature of divinity is indivisible.[2]

Outside the Church the doctrine of two divine λόγοι appears among the Valentinians and in a form which safeguards the divine unity. In the *Excerpta ex Theodoto* Clement gives a *résumé* of their teaching on this point. As part of an exegesis of John i 1, he gives a cosmology in which the essential mind of God is distinguished from the Logos Son, who acts as his agent in creation and through whom he reveals himself to the Aeons and to his elect ones. Yet the two are not really distinct. 'He who remained "only begotten Son in the bosom of the Father" reveals the desire (of God) through knowledge to the Aeons, as if he had been cast forth from his bosom; but he who is seen here the Apostle no longer calls "only begotten" but "as only begotten", "glory as of an only-begotten", because Jesus is one and the same in creation where he is "firstborn" and in the Pleroma where he is "only begotten". And he is of such a kind as can be advanced to every stage (in the system of emanations). Yet he who descends can never be divided (μερίζεται) from him who remained, for the apostle says, "For he who ascended is the same as he who descended." And they call the Creator the image of the Only-Begotten.'[3] The stages of emanation are various and often obscure, for the Valentinians, having secured the unity of the Divine Being, do not scruple to differentiate it as seems most convenient for speculative or exegetical purposes; yet the broad distinction between the λόγος which

[1] The Greek text is found in Migne *P. G.* xlvi 1104–1105. For the critical history of the document cf. O. Bardenhewer *Gesch. der altkirch. Lit.* (2te Aufl.) ii pp. 326–327; V. Ryssel *Gregorius Thaumaturgus* pp. 65–100 ff. Cf. the corresponding passage in the Arabic fragment published by Mai *Spicilegium Romanum* iii pp. 696–699; Ryssel, pp. 45, 115.

[2] For the Spirit as ἐνθύμησις of the Father cf. *Excerpta ex Theodoto* § 7, 1; Stählin, iii p. 108.

[3] *Excerpta ex Theodoto* § 6–9.

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is eternal in the Father, and the λόγος which actively performs his will and realizes his thought, is clear.[1]

A striking passage in *Excerpta ex Theodoto* § 19 expresses the same thought, '"And the Logos became flesh": not only by his presence did he become man, but the essential Logos (ὁ ἐν ταὐτότητι λόγος) became Son by limitation, not essentially (κατὰ περιγραφὴν καὶ οὐ κατ' οὐσίαν). And he became flesh also when he acted through prophets. But the Saviour is called a child (τέκνον) of the essential Logos . . . who is an "image of the invisible God,"—then he adds "first-born of all creation". . . . For he calls the *Logos of the essential Logos*[2] "an image of the invisible God," and "first born of all creation" because he was begotten impassibly and became the creator and founder of all creation and substance.' The Logos Son is not only τέκνον but λόγος of the essential Logos.

Clement recognizes the affinities between this theory and the Christian doctrine, and comments significantly: 'We admit that the essential Logos is God in God (θεὸν ἐν θεῷ) who also is said to be "in the bosom of the Father", inseparable, indivisible, one God.'[3] In another similar passage he notes that the Valentinian doctrine is a misunderstanding of the Christian.[4]

It should now be clear how speculation on the existence of the Logos before creation led the theologians of the second century to distinguish between the λόγος which constitutes God's rational nature and the λόγος which has been its expression in the creation and government of the world, and how they came to adapt terms, current in Stoic logic, which were admirably suited to express their meaning. These terms really helped to clarify ideas as long as their limitations as analogies were remembered, but they indicated a direction of thought which was easily misunderstood. Distinctions in the nature of the Logos easily led to careless expressions like those of Tertullian and Clement, and ultimately produced the view of Arius that there were two substantially separate Logoi both of which could be called divine. The danger was felt keenly by Irenaeus who repudiated the dangerous analogies, and was recognized by Gregory Thaumaturgus who carefully

[1] *Idem* § 25. 1.

[2] This is the text of the MS, but Stählin adopts Bunsen's conjecture of υἱὸν instead of λόγον . . . τοῦ λόγου τοῦ ἐν ταὐτότητι.

[3] *Excerpta ex Theodoto* § 8, 1. The interpretation of the passage has suffered from the erroneous paragraphing of Klotz which Stählin has in the main followed (Stählin, i, pp. lxxi, lxxxiii), e. g. W. Bousset *Jüdisch-christlicher Schulbetrieb in Alexandria und Rom*, Göttingen, 1915 (*Forschungen z. Rel. u. Lit. des alt. u. n. Testaments*, N. F. 6), pp. 159-160. The sentence ἡμεῖς δὲ τὸν ἐν ταὐτότητι λόγον . . . εἷς Θεός belongs to the preceding paragraph. The new theme is introduced by the text John i 3; cf. § 6, 1, &c.

[4] *Idem* § 33. 2.

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guarded his words from misunderstanding. Athanasius in condemning the Arian doctrine did not fail to see its connexion with the ideas and language of the Apologists. In his confession of faith, he goes to the root of the matter and aims a blow at both. 'We believe . . . in one only-begotten Logos, Wisdom, Son, timelessly and invisibly begotten from the Father, but not a λόγος προφορικός or ἐνδιάθετος nor an emanation from perfect being . . . for he is the true image of the Father equal in glory and honour . . . very God of very God, and we exist by his true Son, Jesus Christ.'[1] His attack was effective and is often repeated by his successors.[2] The terms λόγος ἐνδιάθετος and λόγος προφορικός occur but rarely in orthodox Christian cosmology for long after his time, and in the ninth century Photius can see in Clement's words perilous thoughts which it is more charitable to ascribe to the Arians who fully revealed their danger.[3] Early critics of the Fathers saw Arianism in most of the passages cited above.[4] Theophilus and Tertullian both fell under the censor's blow.

R. P. CASEY.

DR SANDAY'S NEW TESTAMENT OF IRENAEUS, WITH A NOTE ON VALENTINIAN TERMS IN IRENAEUS AND TERTULLIAN.[5]

AT long last Dr Sanday's great edition of the quotations of Irenaeus from the New Testament has appeared. Professor Turner in his Preface tells the story of the book, how it was planned by Dr Sanday soon after he returned to Oxford as Ireland Professor in 1883, and how

[1] Athanasius, Migne *P. G.* xxv 197 ff; A. Hahn *Bibliothek der Symbole*, 3te Aufl., p. 264.

[2] Basil of Caesarea, *Homilia* III in *Hexaemeron* 2, Migne *P. G.* xxix 54–55; *Homilia* 24, *P. G.* xxxi 601; cf. Migne *P. G.* xlvi 193; xxxiii 701, *P. L.* xx 28, 32; cf. the texts of the longer and shorter recensions of Ignatius *ad Magn.* viii 2.

[3] Basil of Caesarea, Migne *P. G.* xxix 54–55, xxxi 601; Gregory of Nyssa (?), Migne *P. G.* xlvi 193; Gregory of Nazianzus (?), *P. L.* xx 32; Phoebadius of Aginnensis, Migne *P. L.* xx 28. An adequate treatment of these terms in Greek philosophy after Philo or in Christian theology after the third century is wanting, although scattered references can be found; cf. F. Osann's edition of Cornutus, pp. 283–284, M. Heinze *op. cit.* p. 317, and Wyttenbach's *Plutarch* vol. vi p. 378; viii p. 1380; and the article of Lebreton, not accessible to me, *Études* cvi p. 319. For Marcellus of Ancyra, cf. F. Loofs *Trinitätslehre Marcells von Ancyra* (*Sitzungsberichte der königl. preuss. Akad. der Wissenschaften*, 1902, p. 769).

[4] The references may be found in the notes in Migne. Clement's name was linked with that of Arius as well as that of Origen; cf. Zahn *Forschungen* iii p. 141.

[5] *Old-Latin Biblical Texts: No. VII. Nouum Testamentum Sancti Irenaei Episcopi Lugdunensis* . . . edited from the MSS . . . by the late William Sanday and C. H. Turner, assisted by many other scholars and especially by A. Souter. (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1923.)

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various events (some of them fortunate, such as the publication of the Armenian text) led to delay after delay, so that Dr Sanday died with the work still not quite finished.

It is not an easy book to read, for in addition to the main text of the Gospels and Acts (pp. 1–114) it is necessary always to look up Prof. Turner's *Additamenta* (Appendix I, pp. 204–225), and his *Notes and Corrections* (Appendix IV, pp. 229–252): it is well also to look what variants there may be in the Armenian text of Iren. *adv. Haer.*, books IV and V (pp. 253–288). But the main trouble is that it is a house divided against itself. The chief contributors fall into two parties: Dr Hort and Prof. Souter against Dr Sanday and Prof. Turner.

The question at issue is the date of the Latin translation of the *adv. Haer.*, and in particular whether Tertullian used this translation or the original Greek. Dr Hort (Introd. to N. T. § 220) had stated his belief that this Latin translation was not earlier than the fourth century, but no exposition of his reasons had ever been published. 'Among the mass of papers which he left behind were the jottings of an investigation into this very question. . . . His son, Sir Arthur Hort, entrusted it to Dr Sanday's hands to be dealt with at his discretion. There could be no doubt as to the imperative desirability of printing it (*Praef.* p. xi). Accordingly it appears as Chapter II under the title "Did Tertullian use the Latin Irenaeus?"' (pp. xxxvi–lvi).

As might have been expected Dr Hort's paper is a very solid and judicious piece of criticism, and to me it appears quite decisive. It did not convince Dr Sanday, however, who puts in a counter-plea (pp. lvii–lxiii): it is a pity that this is disfigured by a serious blunder on p. lxi, where it is stated that Tertullian and Iren-lat both use *intentio* for ἐνθύμησις, on which Dr Sanday lays great stress. 'The coincidence in *intentio* is all the more noticeable', he says. And so perhaps it would be; but the fact is that *intentio* is only found in Iren-lat, for Tertullian has the transliterated *Enthymesis* $^{3}/_{3}$.[1] The rest of the points here in question are best left to the separate Note (at the end of this review), for to make them intelligible they need some sort of statement of the Valentinian theology.

Another approach to the subject is effected by the contributions of Prof. Souter and Prof. Turner. Cannot the date of the Latin translation of Irenaeus be discovered from a consideration of its style and diction? It must have been later than 180, the date of the original Greek, and it was clearly used by St Augustine in 421. Souter in 104 pages supports Dr Hort and suggests the period 370–420 (p. xcvi),

[1] *Oehler*, p. 394^{3}, 395^{8}, 395^{14}. I prefer to regard *animationem* (394^{3}) with Beatus Rhenanus as a gloss on *Enthymesin*, rather than as a corruption of *anteriorem* (Turner, p. xlii).

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Turner adds a postscript of seven pages, more or less agreeing with Dr Sanday, and the same view is maintained in his Appendix IV containing the important 'Notes, Additions, and Corrections to the text of the Gospels and Acts' (pp. 229–252).

On one point he is clearly right. Souter had brought forward some evidence to suggest that the quotations in Iren-lat from the Pauline Epistles seemed to imply a partial use of the Vulgate itself. But Turner shews that the peculiarities of the Latin translation on which Souter had relied reappear in the Armenian, so that they must have had a place in the original Greek of Irenaeus. The Armenian translation of Books IV and V establishes—what we knew already from a general consideration of the passages still preserved in Greek—that the Latin is a very faithful and literal rendering of the Greek original. As a general rule the translator seems to have rendered almost word for word the Greek that was before him, even in the Biblical quotations. If in Jn. xii 27 Irenaeus adds οὐκ οἶδα to καὶ τί εἴπω (p. 86), Iren-lat adds *nescio*. If in 2 Cor. xii 4 Irenaeus wrote ῥήματα ἄρρητα (p. 152), where all other authorities have ἄρρ. ῥήμ., Iren-lat has *sermones inenarrabiles*. This makes Iren-lat a most valuable authority, but it also makes it far more difficult to place or date. I confess that I have no certainties to offer.

At the same time I cannot quite agree with Prof. Turner about some of the points which to him make a very early date so certain. Thus Matt. xi 11 appears in Iren-lat in the form *Nemo in natis mulierum maior est Iohanne Baptizatore*[1]: here Irenaeus has *in natis* with *k* for *inter natos* of all the other texts, and '*Baptizator*' with *k* and Tertullian for the famillar '*Baptista*'. It is indeed a striking coincidence with the ancient 'African' text, as Prof. Turner points out in his elaborate Note on the passage (p. 235). But when he goes on to say that 'it is almost incredible that any one in the later fourth century should have talked of *Iohannes baptizator*' I venture to think it is going beyond the evidence, for this form of the title was not altogether unused in later times. Adamnan tells us that Bishop Arculfus saw on the banks of the Jordan in 670 a church *in honorem sancti baptizatoris Iohannis fundata* (Itinera Sancta 266, l. 15; and again 272, l. 4). It seems to me not incredible that the translator of Irenaeus, rendering word for word with his eyes fixed on the Greek of his exemplar, may here, as elsewhere, have stumbled upon the so-called 'African' phraseology.[2]

This sounds rather like special pleading, but on p. xxiii Prof. Turner says: 'In Matt. xii 42 Iren-lat has *natio* for γενεά with *k* alone . . .: the passage is not a direct quotation and so may represent the translator's

[1] So the best MSS *C* and *V*.

[2] Elsewhere Iren-lat, when not directly quoting the Gospel, has *Iohannes baptisator* (IV 4, 3), but *Iohannes baptista* (IV 7, 2, V 17, 3).

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own usage as easily as his Bible's.' What is important to remember is that in any case the Greek text of Irenaeus was before him, while the influence of the Latin Bible, in whatever form, was only indirect. In proportion as we lay stress upon the 'faithfulness' of the Latin Irenaeus (as demonstrated by its literal agreement with the Armenian, &c.), we must be prepared to regard its agreements or disagreements with particular types of 'Old-Latin' biblical texts as fortuitous. In Matt. xii 42 *natio* for γενεά is 'African', but in Phil. ii 15 it is the rendering of every Latin text, except a translation of Epiphanius on Canticles.[1]

Like all known Latin biblical texts Iren-lat is not pedantically consistent in the choice of renderings. Thus the generally 'African' *si quominus* occurs three times,[2] but the alternative word *alioquin* is found in II 22. 1 and probably elsewhere. It may be noted in passing that no text has *si quominus* in Mark, though *k* has it in Matthew $^{2}/_{2}$ for εἰ δὲ μήγε.

The questions at issue are very well illustrated by the use in Iren-lat of *triticum* and *frumentum*, both equivalents of σῖτοσ. I suppose the two words correspond in usage to 'corn' and 'wheat', but I do not know which is which. In Matthew *frumentum* is clearly 'African' and *triticum* 'European' and Vulgate, but in Jn. xii 24 all Old-Latin texts have 'a grain of *triticum*'; it is only the Vulgate that has 'a grain of *frumentum*'. In Lk. xxii 31 all the texts, including Cyprian, have *triticum*. In Mk. iv 28 *e c* and *b ff* have *triticum*, *a i* and vg have *frumentum*, while *d f q* have *granum*. Of the passages where σῖτοσ occurs, Irenaeus quotes or refers to Matt. iii 12, xiii 25, 30, Mk. iv 28. Iren-lat has *triticum* in Matt. xiii 30 and Mk. iv 28, and also in Matt. iii 12 $^{2}/_{5}$; it has *frumentum* in Matt. xiii 25 and in Matt. iii 12 $^{2}/_{5}$[3]; while in one place it has *fructum*. And further, in the same context that Iren-lat speaks of the *zizianorum et tritici parabola* (IV 40, 2) the quotation has *superseminauit zizania inter frumentum*, and in quoting Ignatius it uses *frumentum* not *triticum* (V 28, 3). These details are tiresome and perplexing, but I venture to think they shew how little we can discriminate between the vocabulary natural to the translator of Irenaeus and the influence of the biblical text known to him.

In some places indeed it is legitimate to see this influence. Prof. Turner on p. xxiii refers to *malignus* as a term for 'the devil', and quite rightly says that it is a rendering of ὁ πονηρόσ and an echo of Matt. xiii 38. Now *filii maligni* is read in Matt. xiii 38 by *e d f h q* r_2 Habetdeus and Augustine $^{1}/_{2}$, so that, as each time the phrase occurs in

[1] *Natio uiperarum* (Matt. iii 7) occurs also in 'Greg. Illib.', p. 85.

[2] See my Note on this phrase (*The Old Latin and the Itala* p. 41 f).

[3] Here Iren-lat agrees with Aug (*Collat. Carth.* 316) : this reference should be added on p. clvi.

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Iren-lat it refers to Matt. xiii 38, it is useless to bring *malignus* forward as an indication of place or date. In this verse, it may be added, *k* has *filii mali* and it is the Vulgate alone that has the generally 'African' *nequam*.[1]

It was a great step forward when Dr Sanday in 1885, in his 'Remarks on the Corbey St James' (*Studia Biblica* i 233 ff), first made us familiar with the 'African' Biblical vocabulary, *felix* for 'beatus', *claritas* for 'gloria', *sermo* for 'uerbum', &c. But further research shews that not all of these distinctions hold good right through the Four Gospels, not to speak of other books. Thus *claritas* is undoubtedly by far the most generally characteristic rendering of δόξα in *k* and *e* and Cyprian, but it is equally characteristic of *b* and the Vulgate in the latter part of St John's Gospel; while if attestation can prove anything the angelic song in Lk. ii 14 always began in Latin with *Gloria*, though it may be doubted whether the earliest rendering had *in excelsis* or *in altissimis*.

Among the test-words in the Gospels are the renderings of ἀρχιερεύσ. In Iren-lat *pontifex* is not used, but plain *sacerdotibus* occurs in Matt. xvi 21 (= *e*), and *principibus sacerdotum* in a reference to Acts iv 5 ff. What is remarkable, however, is that *summus sacerdos* occurs no less than four times, in one of which it certainly seems to be due to the Latin translator rather than to come from Irenaeus himself. Thus he has *summi sacerdotes* in a reference to Acts v 23 (III 12, 5), our Lord is said to perform *summi sacerdotis opera* (IV 8, 2), we find *Caiphas*[2] *summus sacerdos et Anna et reliqui summi sacerdotes* in a reference to Jn. xviii 13 ff (II 19, 7), and there is the phrase *summi sacerdotis mortua filia*, meaning Jairus's daughter (V 13, 1). As Irenaeus in I 8, 2 speaks of τὴν τοῦ ἀρχισυναγώγου θυγατέρα (*archisynagogi filiam*), and as the Armenian in V 13, 1 has 'the dead daughter of the Centurion', we see that something is wrong, but in any case the partiality of Iren-lat for *summus sacerdos* is illustrated. Now this term is characteristic of the 'European' text of Mark, followed by the Vulgate. What the exact genesis of that text was is most obscure, but at least it was neither 'African' nor primitive. The most consistent witnesses in Mark to *sum. sac.* seem to be *d* and the Vulgate, after that comes the Irish text *r*.

The Latin translation of Irenaeus is no doubt very faithful, but there are some indications that the influence of the biblical text upon the translator now and then went beyond the choice of synonyms. The Oxyrhynchus fragment of the original Greek (*O P* 405) is, according to

[1] The other renderings are *fil. iniqui* (*b m*) and *fil nequitiae* (*a c ff g*).

[2] On p. 223 Prof. Turner writes *Caiaphas*: if this be really the reading of C it should have had *sic* put to it. The only 'Caiaphas' in Latin I know outside the better text of the Vulgate is a correction made by the ancient Latin corrector of Codex Bezae (Act iv 6, Scrivener's G). *Anna* for *Annas* is found in *a* and *r*.

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Grenfell and Hunt, 'not later than the first half of the third century and might be as old as the latter part of the second'—in other words it is almost contemporary with the author. It is only a tiny fragment, corresponding to Harvey, vol. ii, p. 31, ll. 24–31, and p. 32, ll. 7–14 (III 9, 1 and 2), but it represents what no doubt was once a complete copy: it is not like the quotations and extracts that make up the rest of the 'Greek text' of Irenaeus, which are of later date and were in some cases carelessly or inaccurately excerpted. It is therefore of the utmost interest to compare the quotation of Matt. iii 16, 17, which occurs in the fragment, with Iren-lat.

Iren. III 9, 3.	*Oxy. Pap.* 405
. . . Aperti sunt caeli	. . . ανεω[χθησαν οι ουρανοι·
et uidit spiritum Dei	και ειδεν [πνευμα θῡ κατα-
quasi columbam	βαινον ωσ π[ερισταραν και
uenientem super eum; et	ερχομενον ε[π αυτον, και
ecce uox de caelo	ιδου φω[νη εκ των ουρανων
dicens: Hic est filius meus	λεγουσα συ ε[ι ο ῡσ̄ μου ο αγα-
dilectus, in quo mihi	πητοσ [ε]ν ῳ̣ [ευδοκησα
complacui.	

Here it will be seen that the Greek agrees with the Latin in omitting *αὐτῷ* after *ἀνεώχθησαν*, in agreement with ℵ*B, but against almost all the Latin texts except the Spanish MS *tol.* It should further be noticed that Iren-lat does not add *de caelo* after *Dei* as *a b d h* do, that *b* vg have *super se* and *a h* have *in ipsum*, and that *a b d f h* all have *bene* for *mihi*: these small points shew that Iren-lat has not here been assimilated wholesale to any Latin biblical text. On the other hand it has no equivalent for *καταβαῖνον*, an omission unsupported elsewhere; and it has 'This is' for 'Thou art', in accordance with most Greek and Latin texts, but D and *a* support the Oxyrhynchus Fragment.[1]

The authentic text of Matt. iii 17 is very doubtful. No doubt the original Evangelical tradition is that of Mark and Luke, according to which the Voice from Heaven was addressed at the Baptism to Jesus, but at the Transfiguration to the Disciples; yet it is quite likely that it was the Evangelist Matthew himself who assimilated the words at the Baptism to those at the Transfiguration. However this may be, it is evident that an early Western text had 'Thou art' in Matt. iii 17, and that later Western texts rejected this. It is therefore more likely that the Oxyrhynchus Fragment has preserved the genuine text of Irenaeus and that Iren-lat has conformed its text to that generally current than *vice versa*. But the differences in minor details from other Latin texts noticed above make me think that it was a case of *memoriter* assimila-

[1] *k e ff* and *q* are all missing at this point.

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tion of a notable aberrant reading to what was familiar, rather than the result of any conscious collation of texts.

Exactly similar to the case of Matt. iii 17 is that of Lk. i 46. In IV 7, 1 we find in the Claromontane and Vossian MSS *Sed et Elisabeth ait* '*Magnificat anima mea Dominum . . .*', and this ascription of the *Magnificat* to Elisabeth is confirmed by the Armenian version. The evidence of the Armenian shews that it was Irenaeus, not his Latin translator, who introduced Elisabeth. When therefore we find in III 10, 2 *exsultans Maria clamabat . . . Magnificat* it is reasonable to suppose that 'Maria' is due to the translator. Here again it is a delicate question whether the true text of Luke had *Maria* or *Elisabeth* or no name at all, but I venture to think that the evidence points to St Irenaeus himself having been a supporter of *Elisabeth*.

In conclusion I should like to draw attention to the rather marked 'insular' or Irish element in *C*, the Claromontane or Phillipps MS, now at Berlin. It seems likely that *C* was once at Corbie, for Loofs and Sanday point out that the eleventh-century catalogue of the Corbie Library contained 'Herenei episcopi Ludunensis contra omnes hereses' (*sic*, both in MS and Catal., see p. xxvi). The handwriting of *C* is about half-way between Amiens 10 (Bensly's MS of 4 Ezra) and Amiens 12 (Bible of Maurdramnus). Both *C* and Bensly's MS have the ligature for *rt* (Bensly, p. 10; Harvey's *facs.*, l. 5 from end), and both have *quo* for *quoniam* and ÷ for *est*. And 'insular' spellings are not inconsistent with a Corbie origin: Corbie was originally a colony from Luxeuil, the foundation of Columbanus.

Thus *Cessarem* and *gauissus* (p. 248) are definitely Irish, but Bensly gives a list of fourteen instances of *ss* for *s* in the Corbie MS (A) of 4 Ezra (*Missing Fragment*, p. 15). *Ab Effeso* (p. 250) is of the same stamp; the regular Irish spelling is *Effessus*, but *Effesus* is found in the St Gallen MS of Acts (Wordsworth's S) and occasionally elsewhere in inferior MSS, such as the Sessorianus of the *Testimonia* and the *Speculum*, but never in first-rate texts. *Diabulus* (p. 239) is Irish, though it occurs here and there elsewhere. *Porpuram* and *purporam* for *purpuram* (p. 245) are 'insular', the former being in the Book of Armagh (D) $^3/_{33}$, the latter in the Llandaff MS (L) $^2/_2$. *Paupera* (fem. of *pauper*, p. 246) is found in 4 Ezra xv 51 SA (not in the Spanish text), as well as in *a d s* Lk. xxi 3, &c.: insular MSS mostly have *paupercula*. *Torcolar* (see the Oxford *facsimile*) seems only to be found in Wordsworth's E Matt. xxi 33. *Luxoria, luxoriose*, so far from being 'the commoner form in early MSS generally' (p. 245), is a well-known insular spelling: it is not found in Lk. xv 13 in the older MSS either of the Old Latin or of the Vulgate.[1] *Sathanas* (p. 244) is a curiously rare

[1] The list is D E Ƒ P G H Θ K V I O Z *lq*: of these the oldest are Z and O. In

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spelling in MSS as early as *C*, though it was the common form in late mediaeval times: it is found in parts of *cav* (Wordsworth's C) and the Liber Comicus.

Finally the spelling of *scamillum* in Matt. v 35 *C* (p. 233) is rather in favour of Corbie. The word *scabellum* or *scabillum* does not seem to have been much used in Africa, for Cyprian and *k* have *suppedaneum*, and the form *scamillum* is still rarer. It is found in Matt. v 35 *h* and in B. N. 13169, better known as sangerm. 2 or g_2, an 'insular' MS once at Angers (Berger, p. 48); it is also found in *d* Mk. xii 36, Acts ii 35, vii 49: *scamellum* occurs in *q* Mk. xii 36, in the Ricemarch Psalter (from Wales) $^2/_2$, and in the Corbie text of James ii 3. In 4 Ezra vi 4, where the Spanish text has *scabellum*, the French codices *S* and *A* have *camillum*, obviously a mistake for *scamillum*. And our MS of Irenaeus also blunders over the word, having *sc̄am illum*. The natural deduction is that they did not call a footstool *scamillum* at Corbie, but that the Codex Claromontanus of Irenaeus may very well have been written there.[1]

These scattered Notes on lexical points have perhaps been unduly extended, but it is by such means that some light may be thrown upon the transmission of this most important text. The more I study the Latin Irenaeus the more I feel that its importance lies chiefly in what it tells us about the original Greek text of St Irenaeus, and the less important I feel it to be as an 'Old-Latin' authority. Here and there, no doubt, the translator has made changes through his knowledge of the current Latin Bible—witness *Hic est* and *Maria*, discussed above. But I think this was very occasional, and occurred chiefly in well-known passages. I do not suppose the translator ever looked up his Bible to guide him in the choice of words. So closely indeed did he follow the Greek before him that it is difficult to fix his date or his country. Was it in the home of St Irenaeus, at Lyons itself? Or did some reader of Tertullian wish to know more of the great controversial work that he had used? *Non liquet.*

The following are the passages referred to on p. 57 of the preceding review and discussed in the Note which follows:—

Gr. [*Epiph.* 178: Harvey i pp. 18–20].
Διὰ δὲ τοῦ Ὄρου τούτου φασὶ | κεκαθάρθαι καὶ ἐστηρίχθαι τὴν Σοφίαν, | καὶ

Vergil *Georg.* iii 81, *Aen.* xi 497, *luxori-* is only found in some of Ribbeck's inferior MSS, not in either M, P or R.

[1] It should have been noted on Rom. xv 12 that in III 3, 3 the 'root of Jesse' is twice mentioned (Isa. xi 1), and that in the second place *C* spells the word *Gesse*. This is a rare blunder, the only other occurrences I have noted being Lk. iii 32 *tol*, Act. xiii 22 *tol*, Rom. xv 12 *tol* and *comicus*. But the Land of Goshen (*Gessen*) is sometimes spelt *Iessen*, e. g. Itinera Sancta 50, l. 9.

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ἀποκατασταθῆναι τῇ συζυγίᾳ· | χωρισθείσης γὰρ τῆς Ἐνθυμήσεως ἀπ' αὐτῆς σὺν τῷ ἐπιγινομένῳ πάθει αὐτὴν μὲν ἐντὸς πληρώματος μεῖναι· | τὴν δε Ἐνθύμησιν αὐτῆς σὺν τῷ πάθει | ὑπὸ τοῦ Ὅρου ἀφορισθῆναι καὶ ἀποστερηθῆναι[1] | καὶ ἐκτὸς αὐτοῦ γενομένην | εἶναι μὲν πνευματικὴν οὐσίαν . . . ἄμορφον δὲ κτλ.

Iren-Lat. Per Horon autem hunc dicunt | mundatam et confirmatam Sophiam | et restitutam coniugi : | separata enim Intentione ab ea cum appendice Passione, ipsam quidem infra Pleroma perseuerasse, | Concupiscentiam uero eius cum Passione | ab Horo separatam et crucifixam | et extra eum factam | esse quidem spiritalem substantiam . . . informem uero, etc.

Tert. Huius (Hori) praedicant opera | et repressam ab illicitis et purgatam a malis et deinceps confirmatam Sophiam | et coniugio restitutam; | et ipsam quidem in Pleromatis censu remansisse, | Enthymesin uero eius et illam appendicem Passionem | ab Horo relegatam et crucifixam | et extra eum factam | . . . spiritalem tamen substantiam illam . . . sed informem, etc.

Gr. [*Epiph.* 178 : Harvey i pp. 17, 18].

ὁ δὲ Πατὴρ | τὸν προειρημένον Ὅρον | ἐπὶ τούτοισ διὰ τοῦ Μονογενοῦσ | προβάλλεται ἐν εἰκόνι ἰδίᾳ | ἀσύζυγον ἀθήλυντον· | τὸν γὰρ Πατέρα ποτὲ μὲν μετὰ συζυγίασ τῆσ Σιγῆσ, ποτὲ δὲ καὶ ὑπὲρ ἄρρην καὶ ὑπὲρ θῆλυ εἶναι θέλουσι.

Iren-Lat. Pater autem | praedictum Horon | super haec per Monogenem | praemittit in imagine sua | sine coniuge masculofemina.[2] | Patrem enim aliquando quidem cum coniuge Sige, modo uero et pro masculo et pro femina esse uolunt.

Tert. Ibi demum Pater aliquando motus | quem supra diximus Horon | per Monogenem[3] in haec | promit in imagine sua | feminamare,[4] | quia de Patris sexu ita uariant.

F. C. BURKITT.

NOTE ON VALENTINIAN TERMS IN IRENAEUS AND TERTULLIAN.

IN *Adu. Haer.* I i 1–3 (Harvey p. 8 ff) Irenaeus gives an account of the Valentinian theory of the origin of things. He says there was an original *Forefather* (Προπατήρ), called also *The Deep* (Βυθός). With this primordial essence dwelt a *Notion* (Ἔννοια), called also *Grace* (Χάρισ) for it was not conditioned, and *Silence* (Σιγή) for it made no

[1] leg. *ἀποσταυρωθῆναι*.
[2] ? read 'masculofemin*um*'.
[3] MSS appear to have 'Monogen*ium*'.
[4] ? read *feminamarem*.

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sign of its existence. Somehow the immeasurable Deep made its own Notion fecund, and so *Mind* (Νοῦς) came into being, and though it was called *Unique* (Μονογενής) it had a correlative side to it called *Truth* (Ἀλήθεια). It will be noticed that the Pairs are very much like the Hegelian Thesis and Antithesis that between them bring forth a Synthesis. After all, human beings only know of two kinds of fresh production: there is the notion or idea that seems to be self-produced from a man's inner consciousness, and there is the new individual that comes from generation in plants and animals. By the first process the ultimate Forefather of Valentinian theology conceived his original Notion, and by something analogous to the second the dumb Notion produced what could be called *Nous*, viz. an intelligent Understanding, the inevitable counterpart of which is Truth. For if there be nothing true to understand there can be no intelligent understanding. It may be pointed out that the original *Bythos*, which produced the first Notion out of itself, corresponds to the Subliminal Self of modern psychology.[1]

Many more pairs according to Valentinus were formed in this way, the last of which was *Design* (Θελητός) and *Wisdom* (Σοφία), but a better modern equivalent is 'Philosophy'. Philosophy desired to know everything, especially 'ultimate problems', to 'get a grasp of reality', as we say, i. e. in Valentinian phrase to know the Forefather. This was beyond the unaided power of Philosophy to do, it was not in accordance with Design, so that the result of the disordered fancy (*Enthymesis*) of Philosophy was a sort of miscarriage or formless abortion, produced with pain and trouble (*Pathos*, *Passio*). To help Philosophy out of its trouble the ultimate Forefather sent another being called *Horos*, who cleansed and healed it by removing altogether its disordered Fancy and the pain and trouble that resulted from that Fancy, so that Philosophy was restored to its original Design.

Horos (Ὅροσ) is *Definition*, it makes nothing new but puts things in their right places. The end or function of the other Aeons was to produce something fresh, consequently they are represented in pairs, or are regarded as in themselves bisexual (ἀρρενόθηλυσ). But *Horos* does not produce anything of itself, therefore it has the epithet ἀθήλυντοσ; it is, so to speak, not feminized.

Horos is also called by other names (*Lytrotes*, *Metagogeus*, &c.). Among them is *Cross* (Σταῦροσ). This has been supposed to have been used in the sense of 'stake', and when *Horos* is said to have 'crucified away' (ἀποσταυρωθῆναι) the *Enthymesis* of Philosophy it has been supposed to have merely fenced it off. But the 'Acts of John'

[1] What I mean is best explained by a reference to Sanday's *Christologies Ancient and Modern* pp. 146–148, 163, 166, 178.

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§ 13 (*Apoc. Anecd.* ii 18) shew us that the Gnostic idea of the Cross is much more definitely Christian. Starting from the crucifixion of Christ, or perhaps it would be more accurate to say from the view of the significance of that crucifixion expressed in Gal. v 24, they regarded the True Cross, of which the wooden Gallows of Golgotha was only the symbol, as the dividing principle that marked out 'right' and 'left' (i. e. good and bad) in the lower world, the Higher Power or Aeon being altogether above it. The figure implied is no doubt not † but T, by which the lower space is divided into a right side and a left, but what is above is undivided.

It is useless to expect logical consistency in such imaginings: what is important is that the notions of Boundary (or Definition) and σταῦροσ meet not in any classical use of σταῦροσ as 'palisade' but in symbolism derived from the Crucifixion. When therefore the errors and fancies of philosophy are removed and fixed by true definition, or in Gnostic language when *Horos-Stauros* comes and cleanses *Sophia* from her *Enthymesis*, the *Enthymesis* is appropriately said ἀποσταυρωθῆναι and this is correctly rendered in Latin by *crucifixam*. The Latin translation of Irenaeus i 1, 3 and Tertullian *adv. Valentinianos* 10 both use this word, but it is the only correct rendering.

Further, there is no real agreement between Tertullian and Iren-lat in the rendering of ἀθήλυντοσ. Iren-lat has *masculofemina*, probably (as Dr Hort says) an error of the MSS for *masculofeminam*. This either represents a Greek corruption ἀρρενόθηλυν (for ἀθήλυντον), or is an erroneous interpretation of the word in this sense. Tertullian has *feminamare*(*m*), which is not the same thing. This hybrid word does not occur elsewhere and really corresponds to ἀσύζυγον and ἀθήλυντον together: it seems to me quite likely that he thought it a good enough equivalent. If Tertullian had the Latin words *sine coniuge masculofemina* (or *-inam*) before him I do not see why he should have coined the word *feminamas*.

In I i 2, 4 (Harvey, p. 19) Irenaeus tells us how Horus separated the 'Enthymesis' (so Tert, Iren-lat has *intentio*) σὺν τῷ ἐπιγινομένῳ πάθει from Sophia. This is translated both in Tertullian and Iren-lat by 'appendix passio'. Tert has *et illam appendicem passionem*, Iren-lat *cum appendice passione* and the construction is different, but the 'appendix' (for τὸ ἐπιγινόμενον) appears in both. Dr Hort, however, shews on p. xlii that this reading, so far from being a mistake, is technically correct and that the only real puzzle is how the translator of Irenaeus came to use it. I should like to suggest that *appendix passio* is not, as Dr Sanday conjectures (p. lxiii, note), a technical term of 'the Gnostics', but that it is one of the medical phrases which Prof. Souter notes as characteristic of the translator (p. xcvi), for

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Caelius Aurelianus the Numidian physician writes *de iis tussiculis quae aliarum fuerint appendices passionum* Chronics ii 8, 114), and elsewhere he enquires whether certain things *passionibus fuerint appendicia.* These passages should I think be added to illustrate Dr Hort's argument.

Caelius Aurelianus came from Sicca in Numidia and is thought to have flourished in the 5th century, which (so far as it goes) supports Prof. Souter's theory that the Latin translation of Irenaeus is African and not particularly early.

F. C. B.

ST LUKE'S PREFACE; ἀσφάλεια AND παρακολουθεῖν.

THE 'Notes on St Luke's Preface' by Mr F. H. Colson, in the April number of this JOURNAL, are an interesting and valuable contribution to the discussion of this important section of St Luke's Gospel. Especially happy is his apt use of the famous preface of Livy, which states as neatly as possible two of the general aims that must likewise have animated the evangelist—(1) to produce a more trustworthy account of the events narrated, and (2) to improve on the literary form of his predecessors. Whether, in the selection and arrangement of his material and in the emphasis with which he directs attention to one or another aspect of the facts, St Luke was guided by further purposes, must in his case, as in that of Livy himself, be discovered by study of the whole narrative which follows the Preface.

Two points occur in Mr Colson's article which seem to me to permit additional discussion, in one case partly because of his reference to an article of my own.[1]

I

Of the last clause of the Preface (ἵνα ἐπιγνῷς περὶ ὧν κατηχήθης λόγων τὴν ἀσφάλειαν) two interpretations have been defended. (1) The view more current in the commentaries is clearly stated by Plummer: 'Theophilus shall know that the faith which he has embraced has an impregnable historical foundation.' Under this view ἐπιγνῶναι τὴν ἀσφάλειαν is taken to mean 'know the sureness and certainty' of the facts or doctrines in question. St Luke's aim, then, is not to state these facts or doctrines, but to prove them. (2) Under the opposing view ἐπιγνῶναι τὴν ἀσφάλειαν is interpreted by the aid of Acts xxi 34, xxii 30 (γνῶναι τὸ ἀσφαλές; cf. Acts xxv 26) as meaning 'gain sure and certain knowledge', and St Luke's announcement of his aim will then refer only to an adequate statement of the facts or doctrines, not to any purpose of proving, by argument or otherwise, how certain they are.

[1] That Mr Colson refers to me as 'Prof. A. R. Ropes' gives me pleasure, for it is an unexpected testimony to the versatility of 'Adrian Ross'.

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The latter of these two views seems to me to be commended by the analogy of the parallel expressions found in Acts. The phrase with the neuter adjective belonged to a plain sort of language, as the papyrus letters cited by Professor Cadbury shew, while the more formal (and rhythmical[1]) *τὴν ἀσφάλειαν* was obviously better suited to the formal style of the Preface. And even apart from a certain reflective and modern attitude which seems to me to lurk in the former of the two interpretations, the second interpretation is simpler and yields a better sense. To say, 'I have written an accurate history in order that you may know that what you have already been told is correct', is, to my thinking, rather lame, and a far less natural close to the paragraph than, 'I have written an accurate history in order that you may have secure knowledge of the things about which you have been told.[2]

But Mr Colson interposes that *τὴν ἀσφάλειαν* is an abstract noun, not equivalent to the concrete *τὸ ἀσφαλές*; he seems to hold that its proper sense is 'the quality of certainty'. If this is so, the former of the two interpretations is the only possible one.

Now nearly all Greek abstract nouns are capable of being used in some concrete sense. This hardly needs to be illustrated. The Greeks were not careful—even less careful perhaps than we are—to restrict the use of an abstract to the exact sense of a 'property', an 'action', or a 'state'. This is the case with *ἀσφάλεια*, as Mr Colson in part admits. He cites the senses of a 'military shelter' (that is, 'a place of security'), the 'bar' of a lock, a written 'guarantee', or 'safe-conduct'; and to these may be added 'safeguard' (Josephus *Ant.* iii 7. 5), 'way of safety', 'door of safety' (Thuc. vi 59. 2), 'secure structure' (Epict. ii 15. 8 *ἐποικοδομεῖν τὴν ἀσφάλειαν*), 'secure method' of reasoning (Xen. *Mem.* iv 6. 15 *ἀσφάλειαν λόγου*)—instances of a somewhat different nature but all of them concrete, as the full context in each case makes clear. Certainly nothing in the known *usus loquendi* distinguishes *ἀσφάλεια* from other abstract nouns, or tends to shew that it was limited to a strictly abstract meaning. There is no reason for assuming that it cannot be used with the same freedom as nouns of analogous meaning; and of such analogies there is no lack.

[1] Here, as elsewhere in this Note, I have used without specific acknowledgement the suggestions as well as the material offered by my colleague Professor H. J. Cadbury in *The Beginnings of Christianity* vol. ii pp. 489–510, and in his two articles on the Preface in the *Expositor* for June 1921, and December 1922. The latter of these articles, in which a large amount of fresh information is brought to bear on the problem, was doubtless not yet in Mr Colson's hands when his Notes were written.

[2] From the imitation of Lk. i 4 in Eusebius *Ecl. proph.* i 1 (Migne, vol. xxii) it is not possible to tell which of these two interpretations Eusebius gave to the passage in Luke.

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Ἀλήθεια, as Mr Colson allows, means, even when it stands by itself, 'the thing that is true'. Πιθανότης often means not 'persuasiveness', but an 'argument' which is persuasive; πίστις not 'trustworthiness', but a trustworthy 'proof'. Philo *Quis rerum div. heres* 60 (M. i 517) ἐὰν δὲ πᾶσαι αἱ ψευδεῖς πιθανότητες διελεγχθῶσιν ὑπὸ τῶν ἀληθῶν πίστεων, 'if all the false plausible arguments be refuted by genuine proofs', combines these two words in one sentence. But in other instances the nouns owe their peculiar meaning, as does ἀσφάλεια in the case under discussion, to the character of the phrase in which they are used. Thus, ἀκρίβεια in Acts xxii 3 (κατὰ ἀκρίβειαν τοῦ πατρῴου νόμου) means 'exactitude' in the sense of 'exact observance', not 'the quality of exactness', and derives the application to 'observance' from the implication of the word πεπαιδευμένος which governs the phrase in which ἀκρίβεια is found. And closer still are cases where the abstract noun is the object of a verb meaning 'know' or 'learn'. In 1 Cor. xiii 2 we have εἰδέναι πᾶσαν τὴν γνῶσιν, where τὴν γνῶσιν means virtually τὸ γνωστόν; and an even more striking parallel is to be found in Antiphon *Orat.* i 13 (p. 112. 43 f), where, with reference to certain accused persons who had refused to produce their slaves for torture, it is said: ἔφευγον τῶν πραχθέντων τὴν σαφήνειαν πυθέσθαι (in Liddell and Scott's felicitous rendering 'to learn the plain truth').

This last case with σαφήνεια 'clarity' seems to go on all fours with Lk. i 4. To 'learn clarity', in the sense of 'gain clear knowledge', and to 'know certitude', in the sense of 'gain certain knowledge', seem completely parallel. It need not be said that 'ἡ ἀσφάλεια is the same as τὸ ἀσφαλές'; the point is that if the 'certitude' intended is that of the person who is to know, not the objective 'certitude' of the facts or doctrines, then the phrase ἐπιγνῶναι τὴν ἀσφάλειαν will mean about the same thing as γνῶναι τὸ ἀσφαλές, although the instruments of expression in the two phrases are somewhat different.

Of course in the phrase as thus understood, and the closely similar one with σαφήνεια, the accusative is not that of 'direct (external) object' but of 'internal object', which, as Goodwin remarks (*Greek Grammar*, § 159), is far more extensively used in Greek than in English. That the nature of this accusative has not generally been perceived by students may be due to the fact that they have ordinarily translated τὴν ἀσφάλειαν by 'the certainty', *die Gewissheit*, and then interpreted the rendering in the modern language in a manner dictated by the presence of the modern article.

In conclusion it may be worth while to refer to a passage Wisd. xviii 6, which does not seem to have been much used for illustration by the commentators on Luke. Here ἀσφαλῶς εἰδότες is an even plainer method of expressing the same idea, and makes a third in the series

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of what seem to me virtually synonymous phrases. And it is an excellent illustration of how the mind of a Greek, when he associated 'security' with 'knowing', naturally turned to the security of the knowledge itself, rather than to that of something else which was in some way related to the knowledge.

II

Of wider bearing, but capable of briefer statement, is the other point. It seems worth emphasizing although it is not in all respects novel. Mr Colson is repelled, as most of us have been in the past, by the suggestion not infrequently made hitherto and now pressed home with great force by Professor Cadbury, especially in his later article in the *Expositor*, December 1922, that the word παρηκολουθηκότι, Lk. i 3, is a claim on the author's part to having participated as an eye-witness in the events of his narrative. It is, in fact, hard to escape the force of the philological argument. Παρακολουθεῖν can hardly mean 'trace the course of' (R.V.), 'follow up', 'investigate'. A.V. 'have understanding of' is nearer, for the usage shews that the word, when it does not mean strictly 'follow', means 'have close contact with', and is often emphatically used to refer to the close contact of an eyewitness, or participator. This would be impossible (unless the claim were fraudulent) in the case of the Gospel of Luke, and an almost insuperable difficulty seems to arise.

Before entering on this question, however, we must turn to a difficulty in the Book of Acts which has rightly perplexed students, namely, that caused by the abrupt manner in which the 'we-sections' are introduced without warning or preface. Whether they were intended by the author to be understood as drawn from his own knowledge or as quotations from some one else's diary, the abruptness is equally inexplicable in a skilful writer who is conspicuous for the elaborate care with which he always introduces to the reader every successive personage of the narrative. With this purpose in view the names of the Apostles are repeated in Acts i 13; Barnabas, Ananias and Sapphira, Gamaliel, Stephen, Philip, Saul, Simon Magus, the eunuch of Ethiopia, Ananias of Damascus, Aeneas, Dorcas, Cornelius, Agabus (in his case, indeed, twice), Mark—to enumerate only some of the instances—all are given suitable introduction, so that the narrative moves on smoothly and without annoyance to the reader from meeting suddenly and without previous explanation an unknown and unexpected person in the story. Even James (Acts xii 17), who might seem to receive mention without due circumstance, has in reality been properly announced by the mention of the brethren of the Lord at the outset (i 14). The only striking exception is the 'we' of the famous sections. It is evident

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that the analogy of formless works like the Books of Ezra and Nehemiah, or of a clumsy compilation like the history of Diodorus Siculus, furnishes no helpful parallel to this abruptness.

These two difficulties, both of them real and pressing, seem to me to be completely removed, for those who hold that the author of Luke and Acts was a companion of St Paul, by the observation that the Preface of St Luke is on every account to be taken as the preface to the whole work in two *logoi*, not to the Gospel alone. The writer of the we-sections had a perfect right to claim that for a long time back (ἄνωθεν) he had been a participator in these great events. That he writes πᾶσιν is no more than to say that he has stood near the centre of things, and is at the most a pardonable exaggeration. No one would suppose that he meant it with absolute literalness. 'A close relation to everything' he certainly had had in the considerable and intensely important period which his own knowledge covered, and this period he justly describes as 'for a long time back'—for, as Professor Cadbury shews in his second article, that is the meaning of ἄνωθεν, not 'from the first' (as if he had said ἀπ' ἀρχῆς).

It thus appears that this well-attested meaning for παρακολουθεῖν, together with the meaning proper to ἄνωθεν, give exactly what is needed to explain an otherwise inexplicable fact in the literary procedure of the accomplished writer of the first Christian history.

JAMES HARDY ROPES.

MARK XI 27 AND PARALLELS.

IN the April number of the JOURNAL (vol. xxiv p. 317) Mr Cheetham says: 'For this method of countering an unreasonable demand by requiring a condition unlikely to be fulfilled by the opponent, we may compare our Lord's reply to the question in St Mark xi 27 and parallels: "By what authority doest thou these things and who gave thee this authority?" He answers by putting another question: "The baptism of John, was it from heaven, or from men?" which they cannot answer. Both these cases are instances of "answering a fool according to his folly".'

I have nothing to say as to Mr Cheetham's other instance (John ii 19). But to my mind this view of Mark xi 27 (which I suppose represents the ordinary belief) is very repulsive, and I fancy that it has scandalized many. I certainly remember one highly intelligent woman of my acquaintance, who put it to me as the one thing in the Gospel narrative which made her question our Lord's perfection of character. This method of dealing with a reasonable, or even an unreasonable, question seemed

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to her altogether unworthy of Him. To me the words when rightly considered have always seemed to be one of the most pregnant utterances in the Gospels.

Jesus, having certainly assumed a rôle, which could only be justified by possession of high authority, is asked for His credentials by the presumptive Heads of the Church—a perfectly proper request. But who are these Heads? What is the test of Headship? Surely Headship in spiritual matters is shewn by pronouncing boldly, to the best of one's judgement, on any great question which arises in the Church. Jesus calls on these titular leaders to prove their leadership by giving judgement on the greatest question which before His own appearance had confronted the Jewish Church of His times. The question therefore is not a 'poser', but a statement of the conditions under which ecclesiastical authority may be regarded as having spiritual authority. And the statement seems to me absolutely just.

It is, of course, the case also that the question which He calls on the priests to decide, if they claim to be the true Heads of the Church, is one especially appropriate. The two missions are closely bound together, and there is a special fitness in John's successor demanding that, before He acknowledges their right to question Him, they must face, as they had never done, the position of His predecessor.

The idea that the question is just an awkward poser may perhaps have been held by Mark. At any rate the reasons for hesitation which he puts into the mouth of the priests is the one thing which gives colour to such an idea. But these reasons are, of course, his conjectures and are no necessary part of the story. The answer and counter-question of Jesus stand by themselves as a proclamation of the true test of spiritual authority. If you claim to be judges you must judge. If you claim to be leaders you must lead.

My belief that this is the real meaning of the story is the chief of many reasons why I reject the theory of Mr Arthur Gray (published in the *Hibbert Journal* vol. xix p. 42) that John is the Son and Heir of the parable of the Wicked Husbandmen. Our Lord does not accuse the priests, as that theory implies, of being accomplices in the murder of John (a charge for which, so far as I know, there is no historical foundation). He accuses them of evading and ignoring him. Whatever may be the case in other matters, they do not in their dealings with John correspond to the pope of Dante, who made 'St Peter's burying-place a sewer of blood': they correspond rather to the one who made *il gran rifiuto.*

F. H. Colson.

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A NEW FRAGMENT OF THE *APOLOGY* OF ARISTIDES.

THE *Apology* of Aristides, although a popular work in the early Church, had for centuries become little more than a name. Its reappearance in the modern world dates from 1878, when the Lazarists of Venice published an Armenian version of the first few chapters. But it was not till 1889 that a complete version in Syriac was discovered by Dr J. R. Harris in the convent of St Catharine on Mt. Sinai. This discovery rapidly bore fruit, for it led Dr A. Robinson to identify a long speech in the late romance of *Barlaam and Josaphat* as substantially the same work. The result was a joint edition by the two scholars in *Texts and Studies* vol. i (1891), comprising the Syriac version with English translation, Latin and English versions of the Armenian fragment, and the newly unearthed Greek text.

A comparison of the discrepancies between the Syriac and the Greek versions instantly raised the question of the original text. Was the Syriac an expansion or the Greek a compression? Various opinions were put forward, but direct evidence was lacking till the publication last year among the *Oxyrhynchus Papyri* (vol. xv, no. 1778) of a small fragment from the original Greek text. After a full review of the previous positions the editors come to this conclusion: 'Though open to criticism especially for its verbosity, to which much of its comparative length is due, the Syriac has at any rate some of the advantages claimed for it by Dr Rendel Harris, in places reproducing the original more faithfully than BJ and retaining words and phrases which the Greek redactor discarded. The latter often preserves the language of Aristides with much fidelity but . . . makes such short cuts and readjustments as seemed suitable for his purpose.' This verdict with little modification is borne out by the latest piece of evidence, a papyrus leaf containing fifty-one lines of the original text, recently acquired by the British Museum.

The papyrus (Inv. No. 2486) consists of a complete sheet forming two leaves of a codex, one leaf containing the Aristides text, the other occupied by the Song of Solomon v 12—vi 10. The whole sheet measures 19·5 cm. × 26·3 cm., the columns about 15 cm. × 10·5 cm. The writing is a medium-sized sloping uncial of the early fourth century with no punctuation marks (although a slight space occasionally marks a stop). An angular sign, not of the ordinary shape of a breathing, is placed over ω in l. 44. The common confusion of ει and ι occurs once or twice, ι adscript is omitted, θεός, κύριος, and χριστός have their usual contracted forms. The inclusion of two apparently so disparate works

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in the same volume is at first sight rather surprising but may be due to private taste. The Song preceded the Aristides if the sheet was folded in the usual (but by no means universal) way, i. e. recto inwards. In this case the intervening leaves of the quire must have contained the rest of the Song (occupying probably from three to four pages) and the first part of the Aristides (occupying, to judge from the English, about thirteen leaves). The quire would therefore have consisted of at least nine sheets. The reverse order, i. e. verso inwards, would, by placing the Aristides before the Song, reduce the minimum number of sheets by five.

The Greek text is a good one; there are a few slight mistakes but serious corruption seems to occur only in l. 2. The English translation

Recto

πειθοy[τε]s και τους εχθρους ευ ποιησαι και αι γυ
ναικες αυτων αγναι και παρθενοι εισιν και
ταις γαστρασιν ουκ υποτιθεασιν οι δε ανδρες
αυτων ενκρατευονται απο πασης συνουσιας
ανομου και ακαθαρσιας μαλλον δε και αι
γυναικες ομοιως ενκρατευονται ελπιδος γαρ
μεγαλης αντεχονται της μελλουσης ⌈αλλα και
δουλους η παιδισκας εαν εχωσιν η τεκνα πει
θουσιν αυτους χρειστιανους γενεσθαι ινα ε
χωσιν ευνοους και οταν γενωνται τοιουτοι
αδελφους καλουσιν αυτους αμεριστοι οντες
θεους αλλοτριους ου προσκυνουσιν ⌋ πραεις και
επιεικεις και αιδημονες και αψευδεις εισιν
και αλληλους αγαπωσιν χηραν ουκ υπερ
ορωσιν ορφανον δε σωζουσιν ο εχων
τω μη εχοντι ανεπιφθονως χορηγουσιν
ξενους ϊνα ειδωσιν υπο την ιδιαν στεγην εις
αγουσιν και χαιρουσιν επ αυτω ως επι αδελ
φω αληθινω ου γαρ κατα σαρκα αδελφους
εαυτους καλουσιν αλλα κατα ψυχην ⌈τελευτ
ω]ντα δε πενητα εαν ειδωσιν καθ εκασ
τ]ος δυνανται αφθονως συμβαλλομενοι θα
πτουσιν καταδικασθεντας δε η φυλακισθεν
τας εαν ακουσωσιν ενεκεν του ονοματος
του X̄υ κατακεκριμενους συνβαλλομενοι
πεμπουσιν αυτοις α χρεαν εχουσιν ει δυνα
το]ν και ρυονται ει δε τις δουλος εστιν η πενης

l. 2. This can only mean 'Their women are pure and virgins and abstain from prostitution'. One would have expected *τὰς γαστέρας*. Something appears to have gone wrong with the text as the women are again mentioned in l. 6 in a sentence omitted by the Syriac. Perhaps for *γυναῖκες* we should read *θυγατέρες*, or the Syriac translator may have confused *γαστράσιν* with some form of *θυγάτηρ*.

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of the Syriac is taken from *Texts and Studies* vol. i, and passages which do not occur in the Greek are italicized. There are eight of these and they are chiefly emphatic amplifications. Two small sentences in ll. 6, 37–38, are completely omitted in the Syriac. Cases of mistranslation, inexact translation, and completely loose translation are pointed out in the notes. On the whole, however, the Syriac gives a tolerably close rendering, although it does not appear to reproduce the terseness and austerity of the Greek. The text is printed as it stands except for the division of the words. In this way its nature can be most easily realized. Passages enclosed so ⌜ ⌟ have no parallel in the BJ text.

and they do good to their enemies: and their wives,
O king, are pure as virgins and their
daughters modest: and their men
abstain from all unlawful wedlock
and from all impurity
in the hope of the
recompense that is to come *in another world*: but as for their
servants or handmaids, or their children if any of them have any,
they persuade them to become Christians for the love that they
have towards them; and when they have become so
they call them without distinction brethren:
they do not worship strange gods: and they walk in
all humility and kindness and falsehood is not found among them,
and they love one another: and from the widows they do not turn
away their countenance: and they rescue the orphan *from him
who does him violence*: and he who has gives to him who has not
without grudging; and when they see the stranger they bring him to
their dwellings, and rejoice over him as over a
true brother; for they do not call brothers those that are after the
flesh but those who are in the spirit *and in God*: but when one
of their poor passes away from the world and any of them sees him,
then he provides for his burial according to his ability;
and if they hear that any of their number is imprisoned or
oppressed for the name of their Messiah
all of them provide
for his needs, and if it is possible that he may be delivered
they deliver him. And if there is among them a man that is poor

l. 6. Omitted in the Syriac.
l. 9. 'That they may have them well-disposed.' The Syriac mistranslates.
l. 17. ἵνα—a mistake for ἐάν, cf. l. 21.
ll. 21–23. The Syriac is inexact.

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Verso

νηστευουσιν ημερας $\bar{\beta}$ η και $\bar{\gamma}$ και ο[τ]ι μελλουσ[ιν
εαυτοις τειθεναι πεμπουσιν εκεινοι[ς] οιομε
νοι αυτοι ευφρανεσθαι ως αυτοι επ ευφρασια⟨ν⟩
κεκλησθαι] και τα προσταγματα του $\overline{\theta υ}$ ασφα
λως φυλαττουσιν οσιως και δικαιως ζωντες
και ως $\overline{κς}$ ο $\overline{θς}$ αυτοις προσεταξεν ευχα
ριστουσιν αυτω κατα πρωϊας και πασαν ωραν
εν παντι βροτω και ποτω και τοις λοιπ̣οις αγα
θοις Γεαν δε και αποθανη τις ευσεβης εξ̣
αυτων χαιρουσιν και ευχαριστουσιν και προσ
ευχονται περι αυτου και προπεμπουσιν ως
αποδημουντα επαν δε τεκνον γεννηθη
αυτοις ευχαριστουσιν τω $\overline{θω}$ εαν δε νηπιον
ε]ξελθη υπερευχαριστουσιν οτι αναμαρτητ̄ο
απηλθεν εαν δε αμαρτιας τις εχων απο
θανη κλαιουσιν ως επι κολασιν απερχο
{χο}μενου αυτου ταυτα ουν ὢ βασιλευ τα
δογματα αυτων εισιν ων χρειαν αυτοι
εχοντες του $\overline{θυ}$ αιτουνται παρ αυτου και ου
τως διαπερωσιν τον κοσμον τουτον με
χρι τελειωσεως χρονων οτι ο $\overline{θς}$ αυτοις παν
τα υπεταξεν δουλα ευχαριστοι ουν εισιν
αυτω και δι αυτου⟨ς⟩ η συμπασα διοικησις εγι
νετο και η κτισις] οντως ουν ουτοι ευρον

ll. 28–31. The Syriac makes no attempt to translate.

l. 31. *κεκλῆσθαι*—one would expect *κεκλημένοι*. The Syriac is apparently translating $\overline{χυ}$, not $\overline{θυ}$.

l. 33. *και ως*—BJ *καθὼς*.

εὐχαριστοῦσιν—the Syriac uses three verbs to translate this one word. 'The goodnesses of God' appears to be a translation of *τοῖς λοιποῖς ἀγαθοῖς*.

ll. 37, 38. *προσεύχονται περὶ αὐτοῦ*—omitted in the Syriac translation.

l. 42. *ἁμαρτίας*—the Syriac gives a doublet in translation.

l. 43. *κλαίουσιν*—Again observe the exaggeration in the Syriac.

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or needy *and they have not an abundance of necessaries* they fast two or three days that they may supply the needy with their necessary food.

And they observe scrupulously the commandments of their Messiah: they live honestly and soberly, as the Lord their God commanded them: every morning and at all hours *on account of the goodnesses of God towards them* they praise and laud him: and over their food and over their drink they render him thanks. And if any righteous person of their number passes away from the world they rejoice and give thanks to God and they follow his body as if he were moving from one place to another: and when a child is born to any one of them they praise God, and if again it chance to die in its infancy, they praise God mightily, as for one who has passed through the world without sins. And if again they see that one of their number has died in his iniquity *or in his sins* over this one they weep *bitterly and sigh* as over one who is about to go to punishment: such is the ordinance of the law of the Christians, O king, *and such their conduct.* As men who know God they ask from Him petitions which are proper for Him to give and for them to receive: and thus they accomplish the course of their lives. And because they acknowledge the goodnesses of God towards them, lo! on account of them there flows forth the beauty that is in the world. And truly they are of the number of those that have found the truth.

ll. 44–48. The Syriac seems a very loose translation. 'What they need of God, they ask of Him'—ἔχοντες should grammatically be ἔχουσιν.

ll. 48–51. 'Inasmuch as God put all things in subjection to them, they are therefore grateful to Him, and for them (reading δι' αὐτοὺς) was the whole order and creation made.' Cf. *Ep. ad Diognetum* x 2 ὁ γὰρ θεὸς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἠγάπησε, δι' οὓς ἐποίησε τὸν κόσμον, οἷς ὑπέταξε πάντα τὰ ἐν τῇ γῇ. The Syriac goes entirely off the rails.

H. J. M. Milne.

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Didache i 3–ii 1

THE interesting article on the *Didache* in the January number of the JOURNAL (vol. xxiv p. 147) by Mr Connolly calls for a brief note by way of supplement. The author omits to notice an important piece of evidence for the diffusion in Eygpt—as well as in Syria, whence both the *Didascalia* and the *Apostolic Constitutions* are supposed to emanate—of a text of the *Didache* including the so-called Interpolation i 3—ii 1. It occurs in a papyrus fragment of the *Didache* attributed to the fourth century, published in *Oxyrhynchus Papyri* vol. xv p. 14.

The papyrus, it may be noted, supports the text of the *Didache* used by the author of the *Apostolic Constitutions* in certain small points against the text in Bryennius's MS, where the latter has evidently been corrected to conform to the standard text of the Gospels. Thus both *Ap. Const.* and *Pap.* read τοῦτο and φιλεῖτε against τὸ αὐτό and ἀγαπᾶτε. There are other interesting variants.

B. H. STREETER.

A NEW OLD-LATIN FRAGMENT.

THE discovery of even the smallest scrap of a pre-Vulgate Biblical MS is so rare an event that each fragment deserves to be chronicled in this JOURNAL. In the *Revue Bénédictine* for May 1923 Dom Donatien de Bruyne has published two leaves from the binding of a MS of Ambrose *De fide catholica*, which is now in the library of the Abbey of St Paul in Carinthia (25. 3. 19), but formerly belonged to Reichenau. The leaves contain Lk. i 64–ii 51. The text presents no certain sign of mixture with the Vulgate, being nearest to the Irish text *r* in the first half of the fragment and to the African *e* in the second half, the change occurring about Lk. ii 20. Readings of special interest are: Lk. i 70 ab aeo (*sic*) = ab eo rr_2, a mistake for ab aeuo *ff q* (other texts have 'a saeculo', &c.); ii 11 conseruator salutis = rr_2; i 80 and ii 40 conroboratur = *e*; ii 36 profetis = *er*; ii 49 quid utique = *e*; ii 25 religiosus (i.e. εὐλαβήσ, or εὐσεβήσ), where the other texts have 'timens' or 'timoratus'.

Dom de Bruyne proposes to call the fragment *β*.

F. C. B.

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REVIEWS

Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft.
Dr KARL BUDDE on Mic. ii, iii.

DR MARTI has done good service to Old Testament study by carrying on the *Z. A. W.* through the difficult years of the war. The quality of this periodical has been well maintained. In vol. xxxviii (1919–1920) Ed. König makes a much needed protest against the tendency to look for metrical form in the Old Testament in all places, likely and unlikely. Edm. Bayer, it seems, thinks that even Dan. i 1, 2 is 'nicht in Prosa geschrieben, sondern rhythmisch abgefasst', thus:

(Strophé) In the third year of the reign of Jehoiakim,
The king of Judah,
Marched Nebuchadnezzar,
The king of Babel,
Against Jerusalem
And besieged it.

(Antistrophé) And the Lord gave into his hands Jehoiakim the king of Judah,
And part of the vessels of the house of God,
And he carried them into the land of Shinar
To the house of his God,
And the vessels
Into the treasury of his God.

We may be grateful to König for exposing this nonsense, for there are other passages (e.g. parts of Gen. i and ii) in which the 'discovery' of metre is equally unjustifiable, though the *reductio ad absurdum* is not so evident.

In the same volume E. Hertlein writes on 'Rahab' without fear of Gunkel. His conclusion is 'Der Gedanke an mythische Nebenbedeutung von Rahab, dieser Benennung Aegyptens, ist ganz aufzugeben'. In vol. xxxix K. Budde writes at length on 'Ephod und Lade' in answer to W. R. Arnold's study 'Ephod and Ark' (reviewed in the *J. T. S.* vol. xx 84, 85). In vol. xl Hugo Gressmann publishes in a revised form a considerable article on 'Teraphim' written eighteen years ago by the late G. Hoffmann.

An article on Micah ii, iii by the veteran scholar K. Budde (*Z. A. W.* xxxviii 2–22) calls for a longer notice. The text of the two chapters

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has undoubtedly suffered in several particulars, and Budde in succession to Wellhausen (*Skizzen u. Vorarbeiten* v, 1892) and Duhm (*Z. A. W.* xxxi 87 f, 1911) attempts to improve it.

But Budde, it seems, is too ambitious: he desires not only to restore the text, but further to 'restore' it in a metrical form. He is able to start from the *datum* that *v.* 2 consists of a couplet in the 'Kinah measure'. Verse 1, however, according to M.T., is written in obstinate prose. All that Budde can do is to discover (with the help of an emendation) *one* 'Kinah-verse' embedded in the first clause. So he reads the opening words of *v.* 1 thus:

הוי חשבי־און על־משכבותם
ופעלי רע . .

'Ho! the devisers of mischief on their beds,
And the workers of evil' . . .

Here, according to the usual pointing, the first line contains three stresses, while the second contains two—making altogether a *Fünfer* or 'Kinah-verse'. It is a rough example at best, but it seems to content the metricists. In offering this emendation Budde believes that he is improving the sense as well as the form. 'Men upon their beds', he asserts, 'do not *work evil*; they *devise* it only.'

But Budde walks on treacherous ground. The 'Kinah-metre' which he introduces corresponds to the Elegiac metre of Classical fame. But why forsooth should the Prophet use Elegiacs in *v.* 1, when he is simply denouncing the evil-doers? Surely plain prose, even rugged prose, is a more suitable vehicle for the opening of such an indictment as this of Mic. ii. The case is different in *v.* 2. The Prophet has passed on to contemplate the case of the sufferers, and two Elegiac verses fitly deplore their woes. A fact which the metricists ignore is that there is so little difference between Hebrew prose and verse, that the one passes almost insensibly into the other.

Verse 1 (M.T.) rightly understood agrees better than Budde's reconstructed text with the contents of *v.* 2.

The two verses may be rendered from the Hebrew as follows:

Micah ii 1, 2.

1. Woe to them that devise iniquity and work evil upon their beds! In the light of the morning they do it, because it is in the power of their hand.

2. And they covet fields and seize them,
And households (wives) and take them;
And they oppress a man and his household (his wife),
And a man and his inheritance.

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Micah is speaking of the oppression of the poor by the rich. He cites two grave instances of this: on the one hand, the rich take away the lands of the poor, and on the other, they take their wives from them. But Budde does not recognize the allusion to the wrong done to home life, because it is covered by the decent Oriental use of the word 'household' wrongly translated 'house' here. He remarks, blindly enough, *Auf das nächtliche Lager gehören nur Gedanken* (Ps. iv 5, xxxvi 5), *keine Taten*, 'To the nightly couch belong only thoughts (Ps. iv 4, xxxvi 4), no deeds'. Further he asserts that the second half of the verse contemplates the assignment of thoughts to the night and of deeds to the day. Surely Dr Budde is again mistaken. This second half of the verse partly corrects and supplements the first: it tells us that the offenders committed their crimes openly, 'by light of the morning', because they were confident that their strength could overbear all resistance.

Budde's misunderstanding of the word *house, houses* (household, households) is doubtless due in part to the common misunderstanding of the word in the Tenth Commandment (Exod. xx 17). In its original form this Commandment consisted no doubt of the single clause,

'Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's household (*bayith*)'.

This clause, however, is expanded in the second (explanatory) half of the verse as follows:

'Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's wife, nor his manservant, nor his maidservant, nor his ox, nor his ass, nor anything that is his.'

Primarily then the prohibition is against coveting and taking away by force the wife of the poor neighbour, one of the commonest forms of oppression in the East. The same crime is denounced again in *v.* 9, 'The women of my people ye drive out from their pleasant houses (households), from their children ye take away my glory (i. e. their young mothers) for ever'.

To prevent misapprehension it must be added that the Hebrew word *bayith* (*beth*) cannot mean 'house' (in the English sense) in the Tenth Commandment. The poor man's wife may be desirable in the East, but not the poor man's 'house'. He lives in 'a house of clay whose foundation is in the dust' (cf. Job iv 19). 'I am going to be married in a fortnight', said an Egyptian in 1895 to the writer, 'and I have to get my house built first.' 'How long will that take you?' 'Ten days—with my brother to help me.' The poor man's 'house'—built of brown earth—may be swept away any night in a storm; it is not valuable enough to be mentioned along with the ox and the ass in the Decalogue.

Nor again is Budde well advised when he follows Wellhausen in treating ii 12, 13 without any hesitation as an Exilic passage, which

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promises the restoration of the exiles from the lands of their dispersion to their own land. The passage is as follows:

12. 'I will surely assemble (אסף), O Jacob, all of thee;
I will surely gather (קבץ) the remnant of Israel;
I will put them together as sheep enclosed (צאן בצרה)
As a flock . . . [continuation very doubtful].

13. 'The maker of breaches is gone up before them,
They have made breaches and passed through,
[As through] the gate, and are gone forth.
And their king hath passed through before them;
But JEHOVAH is on high among them.'

'[Diese] Verse', says Wellhausen in his positive way, 'gehören nicht bloss nicht an diese Stelle, sondern sie sind unecht. Sie setzen das Exil und die Diaspora voraus.' This verdict Budde plainly accepts.

Here surely is a case of one mistake leading to another. If Budde believes *vv.* 12, 13 to be an Exilic prediction of the Return, he must find some other place for the passage. It does not fit its present context. So suggestions are made that it should stand somewhere else—preferably in ch. iv after *v.* 5 *or* 7 *or* 8. But why does it as a matter of fact stand just here and away from iv 6, 7? This is a question which neither Budde, nor Wellhausen before him, chooses to answer. Moreover, if this be a passage of comfort, wherein does the comfort lie—in a promise to 'assemble' people, who are *not described as scattered*?

It may be safely said that the language of these verses does *not* justify the positive tone of Wellhausen. JEHOVAH 'gathers' peoples, His own and others, in the Old Testament for more purposes than one. In Ps. l 5 (אסף) it is to judge Israel; in Isa. xxiv 22 (אסף) it is to 'visit' 'the kings of the earth' and to shut them up in prison; in Mic. iv 11, 12 (אסף and קבץ) it is to destroy the peoples. There is nothing in Mic. ii 12 which would exclude any of these purposes; on the contrary the assertion, 'I will put them together as sheep in a fold' (or 'sheep enclosed'), suggests detention rather than a step towards freedom. Otherwise the language is colourless. There is nothing about 'bringing from the East' and 'gathering from the West' nor 'from far . . . from the ends of the earth' (Isa. xliii 5, קבץ, 6): there is no address of affection like 'My servant' in Isa. xliv 1, nor any encouraging word like 'Fear not' (Isa. xliii 1). Finally, if Wellhausen and Budde think that the antithetic use of 'Jacob . . . Israel' is a mark of Exilic date because it is found in Deutero-Isaiah, it is sufficient to refer to Mic. i 5 where the use occurs already. If it be a promise of

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Return from Exile, which our passage presents, it is a colourless and comfortless promise.

A different interpretation is suggested by a consideration of *v.* 10, 'Arise ye and depart, for this (Jerusalem *or* the territory of Judah) is not your rest'. This is a sentence of Exile; may not *vv.* 12, 13 be a description of the carrying out of the sentence? If it be so, ch. ii hangs well together throughout, and becomes a unity.

JEHOVAH decrees the punishment of Jerusalem for the sins enumerated in *vv.* 1–9. An enemy besieges the city. It is forced to capitulate. Then all the people are collected together to go forth and make their submission to the conqueror. The Remnant of Israel, the fugitives from the Northern Kingdom, share in the disaster. The breaching party of the hostile army makes breaches in the walls, and the inhabitants are driven out through the breaches. All are herded together to await the decision of the conqueror—some to be slain on the spot, others to be driven away into Exile. To crown their woe the mournful procession of captives is headed by their king, himself a captive.

Meanwhile at the head of the whole scene (like Sennacherib at the fall of Lachish in the well-known Assyrian bas-relief) sits JEHOVAH as supreme judge. This, I believe, is the meaning of the emphatic clause ויהוה בראשם with which *v.* 13 closes. It is a mistake to supply הולך as the missing verb, as Budde is inclined to do. The clause is not a mere echo of the preceding ויעבר מלכם לפניהם, and בראשם is no mere synonym of לפניהם, for בראש means rather 'above' than 'before' as in 1 Kings xxi 9, 'Set Naboth *on high* among the people'.

With this thought of JEHOVAH sitting on high above His people, the connexion with ch. iii becomes clear. The first word of iii 1, ואמר (καὶ ἐρεῖ LXX), is to be rendered 'And (or better "Then") He shall say'. JEHOVAH's rebuke to the heads of the people is to the effect that now at last they will learn the meaning of 'judgement', for it is falling upon themselves:

> Hear, I pray you, O chief men of Jacob
> And princes of the house of Israel,
> Must ye not [now] make acquaintance with judgement (המשפט, '*the* judgement, my just judgement on yourselves')?

Similarly *v.* 2 stands in connexion with ii 12. The words are:

> 'Who hate good and love evil,
> Who pluck their skin from off them,
> And their flesh from off their bones.'

Here Budde agrees with Wellhausen that the pronouns ('*their* skin', &c.) have no antecedent, and is prepared (apparently) to sacrifice 2 *b*. The

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answer to this is that the pronouns had an antecedent, until Wellhausen and his followers decreed that there is no connexion between the end of ch. ii and the beginning of ch. iii. In ii 12 Jacob is compared to sheep and again to a flock, so that *iuxta sensum* there is no difficulty in understanding the reference of 'their skin' and 'their flesh' in iii 2. The metaphor is too common to be misunderstood: did not Ezekiel complain that the shepherds of Israel 'eat the fat, and clothe them with the wool' (Ezek. xxxiv 3)? Further, is not the impression of the crime of the princes deepened by the withholding of the clear identification of the sufferers till *v.* 3,

'Yea, who (ואשר) have eaten the flesh *of my people*?'

Finally, it seems to me that Budde is seriously at fault in objecting to אז at the beginning of iii 4, though here he can claim the support of the οὕτως of LXX. אז is not 'ungeschickt', but most happy, if I have rightly interpreted ii 12, 13. *Then*—on that day when the enemy is already executing JEHOVAH's judgement on Jerusalem, *then* at last the offenders shall cry to JEHOVAH, but their God will not hear them.

Generally, I believe, it may be said that though the text of Mic. ii, iii has suffered, the case is far from being so desperate as Budde (following Wellhausen) represents. A line of thought can be traced without much difficulty from ii 1 as far as iii 4 (inclusive) as follows:

ii 1, 2. Arraignment of those who seize fields and carry off the wives of others.

3. 'Against this family do I devise an evil.' (The evil is defined in *vv.* 10, 12, 13.)

4. A lamentation of the oppressed.

5. The robbers of land shall have no descendants to hold it.

6. (A prophetic aside.) The offenders try to silence or corrupt the prophets who rebuke them!

7–9. A renewed arraignment of the oppressors.

10. Exile is announced as the punishment.

11. (Another prophetic aside.) Only false prophets are listened to!

12, 13. Though Jacob seems safe in the fenced cities of Judah (and in particular in Jerusalem), JEHOVAH will send up the 'Breach-maker' (i. e. the Assyrian) and the whole population will be gathered out of the land which has been defiled. The words 'I will surely assemble', &c., take up and define the announcement of *v.* 3, 'Against this family do I devise an evil'.

JEHOVAH sits on high above His people, while the judgement is being executed.

iii 1–3. And summons the offenders to recognize the execution of His judgement in the evils which befall them.

4. The offenders cry to JEHOVAH, *when it is too late.*

W. EMERY BARNES.

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Prophecy and Religion: Studies in the Life of Jeremiah. By JOHN SKINNER, D.D. (Cambridge University Press, 1922.)

THE appearance of a work on a subject of such great importance by so eminent a scholar as Dr Skinner is a matter of considerable interest to students of the Old Testament. It may be said at the outset that although Dr Skinner has little to say that is new, his trained insight and wide acquaintance with the literature of his subject makes his volume an exceedingly valuable synthesis of previous work.

In an introductory chapter the place of Prophecy in the Religion of Israel is debated, with the final conclusion that 'the higher prophecy of the Old Testament represents a transitional phase in the developement of religion from a nationalistic basis, on which history is the chief medium of divine revelation, to an individual and universal basis, on which God enters into immediate fellowship with the human soul'. What follows is an elaboration of this thesis by a consideration of the life and ministry of the greatest of all the Hebrew prophets.

Dr Skinner tells us that his choice of the subject was influenced by a long-standing interest, and his presentation of it is marked by a deep sympathy and understanding for which no other explanation would be adequate. His conclusions are for the most part such as will commend themselves to the large body of present-day scholars; I cannot but feel, however, that he attaches too much value to the suggestion of Duhm that Jeremiah remained ignorant of the conditions of Jerusalem until the visit described in v 1 ff, which visit he compares in its effect with that of Luther to Rome in 1510. When we remember that Anathoth was scarcely an hour's walk from Jerusalem, and that the religious instincts of the prophet would naturally lead him to take a profound interest in all that happened there, we can hardly fail to agree with Giesebrecht that any theory which postpones his first acquaintanceship with it till comparatively late in his ministry must be regarded as fanciful.[1] In one other passage Dr Skinner adopts a theory which has not met so far with wide acceptance in this country (though accepted by Duhm, Cornill, and others), that is the suggestion of Marti that viii 8 is a condemnation of Deuteronomy. Even if any law-book at all approximating to Deuteronomy existed in Jeremiah's day—an admission which I personally am not prepared to make save for purposes of argu-

[1] The passage in question seems to belong to a date shortly after the disaster at Megiddo (608 B.C.); Jeremiah's call took place in 626.

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ment—it is surely an exaggeration to say, as Dr Skinner does, that it was 'the only written law which we can readily imagine to have been the object of such religious confidence as is described in the first half of the verse' (p. 103).[1] The attitude of Jeremiah to the reforming movement as a whole is described and estimated with skill and clearness, and, though the writer's conclusions may not commend themselves to all scholars, he has stated them with much power.

A whole chapter is devoted to the great prophecy of xxxi 31 ff (the New Covenant). Dr Skinner sees in this passage a combination of the two ideas which run through the eschatological teaching of the prophet: the clinging to the national idea of a religious community, and the conception of religion as direct intercourse between the soul and God. 'It must have been written by Jeremiah, and is rightly regarded as his most noteworthy contribution to the ideal religion of the future.'

One of the most interesting chapters is that in which there is a discussion of what are known as the 'Confessions of Jeremiah', a discussion that is of that striking series of poetic utterances scattered about the middle chapters of the canonical book in which the prophet describes, as none other has done, the intimate relation between Jehovah and His servant. That the revelation should have been made by Jeremiah, perhaps the most reticent and diffident of all the prophets, has long been a matter for wonder. Dr Skinner adopts Wellhausen's suggestion that these passages were not published during the lifetime of Jeremiah, but were intended 'for the guidance and edification of future generations of seekers after God'. Whilst not venturing to reject a theory having behind it the authority of one of the most eminent of all those who have laboured on the study of the Old Testament, I would mention another possible explanation: viz. the idea that Jeremiah in making public these intimate experiences was attempting an *apologia pro vita sua*; he was endeavouring, that is, to shew to the people whom he loved that all the heavy denunciations which he had been compelled to utter against them had not been delivered without bitter cost to himself.[2]

In the closing passage of his admirable and suggestive volume Dr Skinner expresses his belief in the theory that the figure of Jeremiah suggested to the prophet of the Exile the picture of the Suffering Servant. 'In his life of unrewarded labour, of unparalleled endurance, and absolute fidelity to God, men even read lessons of which his own

[1] I give Dr Skinner's rendering of the verse for reference:

How can you say, 'We are wise,
And the *Tôrā* of Yahwe is with us'?
Why mark you! it has been turned to falsehood
By the false pen of scribes!

[2] See further *The Book of the Prophet Jeremiah* (Westminster Commentaries) pp. xlii f.

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writings betray no consciousness. They learned from contemplation of its long tragedy a truer insight into the great law of vicarious suffering, which led them on to the conception of the mission of Israel as the oppressed and afflicted servant of Yahwe, and, still further, to the idea of the one perfect and sinless Servant of the Lord—the Man of sorrows and acquainted with grief, the Lamb of God which taketh away the sin of the world.'

L. ELLIOTT BINNS.

New Testament History, by G. W. WADE, D.D., with a contribution by J. H. WADE, M.A. (Methuen, 1922.)

THIS book contains a thorough and well-digested account of the main problems in New Testament criticism, and is likely to prove very valuable to theological students. The work is divided into three parts: the first part sketches the developement of Judaism from the Exile to the fall of Jerusalem, and describes the political and religious condition of the world at the time of the rise of Christianity; the second part explains the *data* and the methods of textual criticism, and gives a very full discussion of the documentary criticism of the different books of the New Testament; the third part makes use of the critical conclusions of the preceding section to interpret the history of Jesus Christ, and of the expansion of Christianity in the Apostolic Age. In the third part there is also a review of the theological developement of early Christianity as revealed by the documents: the teaching of Jesus as recorded in the Synoptic Gospels is first examined; then the other documents of the primitive Church are reviewed approximately in chronological order under the three heads of Eschatology, Christology, and Soteriology.

A book of this kind is concerned to marshal effectively a large amount of detailed criticism. In this lies the value of the work, and in this too lies the difficulty of a reviewer. I may say, however, that wherever I have tested the author's work it has appeared to me to be thoroughly well done: the main points are clearly presented and the student is always referred to the evidence of the documents themselves. Dr Wade is critical, but cautious. He will not allow for more than fragments of Pauline material in the Pastoral Epistles, but he accepts the Pauline authorship of Ephesians and the Petrine authorship of 1 Peter; he also believes the Epistle of James to be the work of the Lord's brother.

It is not to be expected that any two persons would arrive at the same conclusions on all the many open questions which are here

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reviewed, and the present writer has found points where he would interpret the evidence otherwise. On pp. 615, 616 Dr Wade interprets ὁ κύριος in Mark v 19 of Jesus. Surely it is more probable that Luke has understood Mark aright when he substitutes for ὁ κύριος, ὁ θεός. On p. 629 Dr Wade speaks in these words of the Breaking of the Bread by the earliest disciples: 'the principal end for which [the disciples] met privately was to preserve, by a solemn Breaking of Bread together, the memory of the Last Supper.' Is not this rather too precise? Is it not more probable that the primitive Eucharist perpetuated a custom which had already grown up among the disciples during the life of Jesus? (Compare Mark vi 41, viii 6, and parallels, and Luke xxiv 30, 31). That the Last Supper would dwell preeminently in their minds is in every way probable, but we have no evidence that 'the words used on that occasion were repeated' at the Breaking of the Bread, and the testimony of the *Didache* suggests caution. On pp. 159, 160 Dr Wade is disposed to account for the fact that Luke does not reproduce the material of Mark vi 45–viii 10 by supposing that he used an earlier form of Mark from which this section was absent. If we adopt this hypothesis we preclude the hypothesis which has much to recommend it, that Mark vi 30–vii 37 and Mark viii 1–26 are variant versions of the same cycle of events, for we break the connexion between the narrative of the feeding of the five thousand and the narrative of the subsequent crossing of the lake, which, as they stand, are closely parallel to the narratives of the feeding of the four thousand and of the subsequent crossing of the lake. On p. 414 Dr Wade argues for the probability that the feeding of the five thousand and the feeding of the four thousand are doublets, but he does not consider the further question of the possible relations between the two sets of incidents which follow upon the two narratives of the feeding of the multitude. On p. 101 Dr Wade says that 'the Sadducees attached little importance to any part of the Old Testament Scriptures except the Law'. This was true of the Samaritans, but it is doubtful if it was true of the Sadducees. Origen and other Fathers of the Church assert that the Sadducees rejected all the Old Testament except the Law, but it is probable that they misread Jos. *Ant.* xiii 10. 6 and xviii 1. 4. See Schürer II p. 480 n. 26 (4th edition) and Meyer *Ursprung und Anfänge d. Christentums* II p. 294 n. 1.

One is naturally inclined to compare Dr Wade's new book with Professor Moffatt's *Introduction to the Literature of the New Testament.* Neither book makes the other superfluous. Professor Moffatt does not, like Dr Wade, include within his scope the general historical background of the New Testament writings; on the other hand he is at pains to indicate the historical developement of New Testament

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criticism, and he gives exhaustive references to the literature of the subject. At times indeed one is tempted to feel that Professor Moffatt weighs authorities more diligently than he weighs evidence. Dr Wade keeps us to the evidence; he does not burden his pages with numerous references to modern critical literature—continental literature is very seldom referred to—nor does he give bibliographies. Some general indication of the history of the developement of New Testament criticism would perhaps have been a desirable addition to the book, but Dr Wade might reply that it already contains 690 closely printed pages, of which little could be spared, and when we have so much that is good, it seems greedy to ask for more.

The Divinity of Christ in the New Testament, by J. HERBERT WILLIAMS. (John Murray, 1923.)

THE author of this book—a Roman Catholic layman—recognizes two types of Christological belief. On the one hand is the belief, which Mr Williams seems to regard as equivalent to Catholic Christology, that Jesus is God; on the other is Unitarianism which 'fails to acknowledge the Divinity of Jesus'. The author takes selected texts from the New Testament and aims at proving that the beliefs of the New Testament writers belong to his first category. The method is not promising, nor are the results helpful. The work is also repeatedly inaccurate. The *Didache* does not say 'Hosanna to God, the son of David', as Mr Williams alleges on p. 2, but 'Hosanna to the God of David'. On p. 48 we are told that 'St Ignatius who named Jesus his God, is not said to have found any defect in the Synoptic Gospels, but to have accepted them as being Scripture'. The last half of this statement is interesting and might be very important, but Mr Williams does not tell us who says that St Ignatius accepted the Synoptic Gospels as Scripture.

The Story of the Passion: its own message considered in addresses.
The Story of the Resurrection.

By HENRY WACE, D.D., Dean of Canterbury. (John Murray, 1922, 1923.)

IT is good that the Dean of Canterbury has had the strength to close his literary career with these simple yet weighty studies in 'the cardinal truths of the Christian Faith as they were uttered by our Lord Himself on the Cross, and when risen from the grave'. It may be said at once that the Dean's method of exposition will not always satisfy the critics,

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nor would he expect it to do so; but no one can fail to be impressed by the vigorous thought and the humble faith which these tersely written addresses reveal.

The Contents of the New Testament, by HAVEN MCCLURE, Secretary of the English Council Indiana State Teachers' Association. (Macmillan, New York, 1921.)

IT is said in the Preface that the object of this book has been 'to present the results of the labours of the world's greatest Bible scholars in a manner intelligible to the younger mind and to the general reader'. The author interpolates a 'social' interpretation of Christianity into a not very trustworthy account of New Testament criticism. A table of contents would make the book more manageable.

J. M. CREED.

The Epistle to the Hebrews: its doctrine and significance, by E. F. SCOTT, D.D., Professor of Biblical Theology in Union Theological Seminary, New York. (T. & T. Clark, 1922.)

DR SCOTT decides that the Epistle was written by a hellenistic Christian to a group of converts (not from Judaism) at Rome. The later age of slackened zeal is already setting in and he would invigorate them. They are thinkers and should be teachers, and he supplies them with a gnosis; as we would say, with a theology. This theology is quite unaffected by St Paul, and on one side is very primitive: there is little or no sacramental doctrine, and the early idea of the parousia is revived: half the epistle is archaic. But there is also a modern strain. Alexandrine platonism with its two worlds traverses apocalyptic expectation, hope merges in faith. Yet this merging is incomplete; the argument is confused:

'The Epistle does not succeed in its endeavour. . . . Its doctrine of Christ is at the best vague and tentative—a mosaic of various speculations which fall asunder when we try to think them together. Here, as in other respects, we have to recognize in Hebrews the product of a transition age, which was breaking away at every point from the earlier teaching while still acknowledging its authority.'

The author insists that Christianity is final. But before Christianity he recognizes no religion except Judaism. Faith therefore in Hebrews becomes quite other than the Christian faith. For Christian faith is Paul's faith, the new impulse of the new creation: faith in Hebrews is but a continuation of Jewish faith. So again, the author's idea of

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religion is purely worship: true religion is access to God. But his tie to the past makes him think of worship as it appears in levitical priesthood; this priesthood has been reformed or completed in Christ: and after all, says Dr Scott, 'the whole idea of priesthood is part and parcel of a byegone phase'.

Thus archaism disturbs the author's theology. He would correct it by a modern touch. From Alexandria he brings a philosophy which transmutes Judaic hope into philonic faith, the two ages with the two worlds. 'The hope for good things to come merges in the faith which lays hold on present though invisible realities. The inheritance which awaits us in the great future is described as already ours, since we have obtained access to the higher world.' But 'when our Epistle was written the Church was striving towards this reinterpretation of the Christian message, but had not yet accomplished it. The apocalyptic ideas were still a living element in the tradition, and the new conceptions which had filtered in from hellenistic thought had not grown strong enough to displace them. Our author is content to leave the two presentations side by side. He tries to find room for both of them in a theology which is at once primitive and hellenistic, and which therefore suffers, in spite of its grandeur and suggestiveness, from a lack of inner harmony'.

Is it possible that he shares with Plato the penalty of vividness? He is indeed hardly a philosopher at all, but he is much of an artist, and perhaps Dr Scott scrutinizes his imagery too strictly. Of course there are not really two worlds, but even Plato found it difficult to talk as if there were not: and cannot faith rest in the eternity within and yet admit hope for the journey through time? The levitical priesthood too: that priesthood yields a vivid vocabulary which this author uses, but he never treats the levitical priesthood as the type which Christ fulfilled. He never confuses type with shadow, and he saw no possibility of bringing the shadowy rites of the tabernacle to perfection. He distinguishes from these the eternal priesthood which he styles 'after the order of Melchisedek'; a fanciful title perhaps, but he describes the quality clearly. There is no bygone phase in it; nor is it Jewish; the scandal of it is that it comes even nearer to St John than Dr Scott so rightly brings the whole epistle—it is 'for the whole world'.

And, to continue protest for a moment, surely Dr DuBose, with 'the mystery of man is the mystery of death, and the mystery of death is the mystery of man', understands Hebrews better than Dr Scott who thinks that the author finds no real explanation of the salutary death of Christ. That is partly because Dr Scott sees so little intensity in Hebrews: it is an outcome of a period of lassitude when Christians have not yet resisted unto blood. 'Not yet': that is the gravity of this

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epistle of martyrdom, of martyrdom in its hardest stage, not yet, but imminent. No doubt experience evoked in Paul a living faith: no doubt in Hebrews reflection illuminates theology. But there is no antithesis. Experience continues. Hebrews affords a glimpse of continuing experience which astonishes conscience and explains how such experience renews essential faith, faith which sees Him who is invisible because it faces facts.

However, all this opens legitimate discussion, and whatever conclusions were reached Dr Scott's book would still be rich and right. His habit is to put the case formally against the author in an incisive paragraph: then to go over it again, elaborating towards equity. In the last chapter, on the historical and religious value of the epistle, he strikes a balance thus:

'The Epistle commends itself to us the more readily because the mystical element is so entirely absent from it. Our age has little sympathy with the mystical side of religious feeling. Pauline and Johannine ideas have entered deeply into our traditional beliefs, and have moulded the language of devotion, but it may be doubted whether our response to them is wholly genuine. . . . In this message of Hebrews there is indeed an element lacking, and we are not taken back to the ultimate springs of religion, as in the deeper utterances of Paul and John. But it is a noble and inspiring message, which, in these modern days of uncertainty, we can understand and believe. For his lack of the subtler mystical feeling the writer of Hebrews makes up by his splendid idealism. He is assured, with his whole heart, that the spiritual realities are the ground of all else, that the things which are seen were made out of things invisible. Our task, therefore, in this world of change, is to reach beyond the types and shadows to that which is everlasting. By faith we attain to the true life. Is it not this same truth which has taken possession, in many different ways, of the mind of our own time?'

And the trenchant preludes issue from Dr Scott's ambition to be faithful to evidence; to face the facts of long ago. In *The Fourth Gospel: its purpose and theology* he essayed a like task and shewed the general public how to read the Fourth Gospel with a new intelligence won by the sweat of scholars later than Maurice and Westcott. The general public is better accustomed now to such critical inquisitive study, and will welcome his new gift with lesser sense of novelty but with more immediate intelligence. Studious people will recognize the wide reading and careful thinking which lie behind these easy pleasant pages.

A. NAIRNE.

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Christian Monasticism in Egypt to the Close of the Fourth Century, by the Rev. W. H. MACKEAN, D.D. (Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, London, 1920.)

IN the past half-century the origins and early history of monasticism have increasingly attracted the attention of scholars. The subject is one which should interest any intelligent reader as well as ordinary students both of history and religion. As a careful and adequate summary of what is known concerning the rise and establishment of this movement in Egypt Dr Mackean's little volume will be welcomed.

Our knowledge of early Egyptian monasticism is by no means complete as yet. Documents indeed have been diligently sifted, and a notable advance will have been made when Bousset's profound study of the *Apophthegmata Patrum* is in the hands of scholars. But the documents alone will not suffice, as seems to be tacitly assumed. Many of them impart information through a foreign and idealizing medium and, while formally honest, shew us early monasticism in a false atmosphere. If the historian would attain to a true perspective, he must combine with the study of early documents the study of Byzantine, mediaeval, and modern monasticism in Egypt. Above all, material evidence is needed to complete his picture.

Owing to the criminal indifference of the local authorities and the lack of historical sense in all but a few of those who control archaeological work in Egypt, Christian sites of all periods are year by year being destroyed. Of the few monastic settlements which have been truly explored, none goes back to the earliest times, and unless and until some of the fourth- and fifth-century sites are identified and excavated before it is too late, we cannot claim to know, as we should know, the material side of the life lived by the Fathers of the desert.

Dr Mackean's volume, though formally divided into five sections, falls naturally into three main parts. In the first the origins—in the widest sense—of monasticism are discussed; in the second are described the outward forms which the movement assumed; and in the third certain general aspects of the monastic life are presented.

The discussion of origins is, of course, highly important, but I feel that Dr Mackean has devoted disproportionate space to this part of his subject. It is indeed a relief to find that he whole-heartedly supports the Egyptian origin of Christian monasticism; but the conclusion might have been more rapidly reached and short shrift have been given to the perverse and groundless theories of foreign influences broached in the last century. The description of the types of Egyptian monasticism

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is usually adequate, but somewhat too summary and dry. Had the author allotted greater space to this portion of his subject and illustrated his text more fully with significant anecdote, his work would have gained in interest and colour: in this connexion it is deplorable that so little use has been made of the *Apophthegmata*—a work as full of information as (normally) instinct with the best spirit of monasticism. I hasten to add that few, if any, material facts seem to have escaped the author.

Certain isolated statements in the book call for comment. On pp. 52 and *passim* the title 'Abbot' is misleading where no more than 'Father' is meant: it is best in such cases to keep the Greek form and write 'Abba Theonas' or 'Abba Serenus'. The story of Frontonius and his settlement in Nitria (p. 66) is utterly baseless, and should be dismissed as such. In the section (pp. 66 ff) on the 'Tendency towards the Desert' no mention is made of the fact (amply established by monastic literature) that the monk went into the desert to combat the demons (or as a modern Egyptian would say, the *afarât*) in their natural home. On p. 81 the whereabouts of Nitria, Cellia, and Scetis is (as usual) misrepresented. Scetis is the Coptic ϣⲓⲏⲧ, Arabic شيهات, the modern Wadi 'n Natrûn (a name which appears no earlier than the fifteenth century), the 'Mount of Nitria', many miles distant from Scetis, is known in Coptic as ⲡⲧⲱⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲣⲛⲟⲩϫ and in Arabic as الجبل برنوج: it is the desert region immediately south of the modern village El Barnûgi, situate on the edge of the Delta some twelve miles to the WSW. of the railway station of Teh el Barûd. Cellia, ten or twelve miles distant from the 'Mount', lay presumably further to the S. or SW. and deeper in the desert. Amoun, the founder of Nitria and Cellia, deserved fuller notice than is accorded him, if only because of the part played by Antony in the establishment of the second as a colony of anchorets. Indeed Dr Mackean hardly lays enough stress on the importance of these monastic centres in the deserts NW. of Egypt. The influence of Nitria, Cellia, and Scetis in the fourth century was immense; and the last-named, after enjoying unprecedented power from late Byzantine times down to the close of the Middle Ages, is still the chief centre of Egyptian monasticism.

It is almost ungracious to dwell on these minor points; for Dr Mackean has provided for students a sound and well-documented outline of the early history of monasticism. It is to be hoped that, guided by the copious references given, readers of this little book will go on to study the documents for themselves, and will ultimately follow yet further the chequered history of the monks in Egypt.

H. G. Evelyn White.

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Western Mysticism, by DOM CUTHBERT BUTLER, Benedictine Monk of Downside Abbey. (Constable, 1922.)

WHATEVER the opinions as to the author's attitude to Mysticism may be, I am convinced that this book will be generally regarded as a real contribution to the literature on Mysticism in English. As the sub-title indicates, the subject is developed through a systematic survey of 'the teaching of SS. Augustine, Gregory, and Bernard on Contemplation and the Contemplative Life'. The study leads to the formulation of a conception of 'Western Mysticism', which is to be distinguished from 'Mysticism in the West', in that the latter includes types of Mysticism more akin to that most common in the East. In a brief passage the author indicates the character of this 'Western Mysticism': 'It may be described as pre-Dionysian, pre-Scholastic, non-philosophical; unaccompanied by psycho-physical concomitants, whether rapture or trance, or any quasi-hypnotic symptoms; without imaginative visions, auditions or revelations; and without thought of the Devil. It is a Mysticism purely and solely religious, objective and empirical; being merely, on the practical side, the endeavour of the soul to mount to God in prayer and seek union with Him and surrender itself wholly to His love; and on the theoretical side, just the endeavour to describe the first-hand experiences of the personal relations between the soul and God in contemplation and union. And it is a Mysticism far removed from any kind of quietism.' It 'makes room for the soul to actuate and energize with a highly wrought activity and intense concentration on God' (pp. 187–8).

In the second part, the nature of contemplation and its relation to action are considered with reference to the three saints mentioned, but also to Plato and Aristotle, Philo, Clement and Origen, Cassian, Julianus Pomerius (author of the first Christian treatise entitled *de Vita Contemplativa*), St Thomas, Ruysbroek, St John of the Cross, and Fr Baker. In history the term 'Contemplative Life' has had two meanings: one 'a manner of corporate life ordinated with the primary object of facilitating and promoting the exercise of contemplation, by removal or reduction of the usual obstacles'. The other is a matter of personal experience: 'the effective practice of contemplation'. Considering that, in view of all sorts of intellectual and practical difficulties in contemporary religious life, there is a tendency amongst not a few Protestant divines to endeavour to evade these, advocating the sufficiency of a simple Mysticism, it is healthy to find a representative of the Church in which Mysticism has flourished so much, maintaining

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the following position: 'There are four elements in religion: the institutional or external element of Church, sacrament, and public worship; the intellectual element of doctrine, dogma, and theology; the mystical element of will and emotion and personal experience; and the element of service to others. A fully developed, properly balanced, personal religious life must be the result of an harmonious blending of these four elements . . .' (p. 292).

Dom Cuthbert Butler's exposition raises a number of interesting questions: here I limit myself to urging one of the most fundamental. Is the 'Western Mysticism' he describes something other in kind than the experience of the ordinary religious life, or is it simply that experience, more intense, more concentrated, more enduring and persistent, less alloyed by disturbing elements? From the description quoted it has been seen that the author excludes all sorts of abnormalities, such as psycho-physical concomitants, imaginative vision, &c. We cannot suppose that the author would agree that he is, or that he actually is, devoid of what we may call 'ordinary religious experience'. But with regard to Mysticism he says: 'I say quite simply that I have never had . . . anything that could be called an experimental perception of God or His presence.' Now it is important to ask, how, if at all, the author can understand what is implied by this 'experimental perception of God or His presence', if he has had *no* such experience, that is, if his ordinary religious experience is something different? Such 'experimental perception' is admittedly not an affair of the physical senses. The further question thus suggests itself: On what does the ordinary religious life, the religious experience as such, depend? As there is no *sense perception* of God, is the ordinary religious life lived simply in relation to an *idea* of God? Are people religious because they have on rational arguments accepted the idea of God? Most students of religion would be compelled to reject such a view as contrary to what seem to be the facts of the religious life. I believe that Dom Cuthbert Butler, both as *religieux* and as a student, would also reject it. Upon what then is religion really based? What is its ultimate *datum*? Is it not some kind of immediate relation to God? Is it not the same as is really implied by the phrase 'experimental perception of God or His presence'? It appears to me that it is possible to understand and to accept what the mystics quoted in this book say, only if this is the case. Otherwise, I must confess, two things are to me unintelligible: first, what these mystics mean; and second, the basis of ordinary religious life. If the contention holds, then all religious experience must be regarded as ultimately mystical. Incidentally, the author's disclaimer, never to have had 'experimental perception of God or His presence', would then be rejected.

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The book contains much to support this identification. In the passage quoted, the mystical element is included as a factor in religion as such. All the three saints discussed maintain that contemplation is open to all. In genuine religious prayer it is present. There is contemplation (see p. 284) in true participation in public worship. And 'Contemplation at its highest limit is identical with the mystical experience . . .' (p. 278).

In the Prologue the author raises the problem of the validity of the mystics' claim to be in the mystic experience in touch with ultimate reality. In the Epilogue he returns to this problem. Indirect reasons are given for the acceptance of the claim. It accords with Christian Theology beginning with the New Testament. But considering the references to St John and St Paul, this amounts to no more than accepting the statements of mystic C because you accept those of A and B. The contention that 'the psychologist and the mystic are speaking of the same thing' when the psychologist talks of the 'subliminal self' seems to be open to objection both from the side of psychology and the philosophy of religion. The discussion concerning Mysticism having a 'supernatural character' has value only against a 'naturalism' which is rarely adopted by serious students to-day. Dom Cuthbert Butler maintains, I think rightly, that the saints he has quoted from are credible witnesses. Their honesty is not likely to be disputed. Their general sanity is against their being simply deluded. But the value of their descriptions and contentions seems to be in making more explicit and emphasizing the true character of religious experience as such. The reality of the Other, which they affirm, is a conviction for the justification of the theoretical statement of which we must depend more upon the general experience than upon that of isolated individuals, however prominent they may be. So again the effects of Mysticism on life must be considered in conjunction with the sense of divine grace, the greater energy for life, and its fuller significance in the light of religious experience generally.

But though religious experience, of ordinary men as well as of saints, may be an immediate communion with God, it cannot be said yet to have provided us with any one definite intellectual concept of God. It may be doubted whether it ever will *alone*. For religion is not a water-tight compartment of life. It involves some relation to and consideration of Nature and human society. Thus, the natural sciences and metaphysics must be considered by any modern philosophy of religion. Nevertheless, I cannot agree with the dogmatic statement of the author: 'Mysticism, as such, has nothing to say to philosophy' (p. 188). Surely the most important fact for the philosophy of religion is the religious experience itself, which, if our previous remarks are valid, is pre-

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dominantly Mysticism. If the philosophy of religion has any particular contribution to make to general philosophy, to the whole of human thought, it must be on account of the special fact or facts with which it especially deals.

A Franciscan View of Spiritual and Religious Life, by DOMINIC DEVAS, O.F.M. (Thomas Baker, London, 1922.)

THESE translations of three treatises from St Bonaventure are excellent examples of the best type of exposition of Christian Ethics. They are rendered into forceful English and give a distinct impression of the real strength of character which goes with the highest spirituality.

ALBAN G. WIDGERY.

Augustins Bekehrung, von Dr JENS NÖRREGAARD, Privatdozent an der Universität Kopenhagen, übersetzt von A. SPELMEYER (Tübingen, J. C. B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1923).

IT is no wonder that men return again and again to the close and critical study of St Augustine's conversion. For it has at least a threefold interest. It is an outstanding passage in the life of one of the world's great religious personalities, on whom, as such, all the light which can be obtained is valuable. Again it is a fascinating study in psychology to observe the various angles from which Augustine himself envisages it. And, thirdly, even if the man and the records were of less intrinsic interest, the mutual relations and the relative historical value of the various presentations of it would constitute an extraordinarily attractive problem in pure historical criticism. The general outlines of the problem are familiar. There is on the one hand the famous account of the Conversion in the Confessions, written some twelve years after the event, on the other the writings *Contra Academicos*, *De Beata Vita*, *De Ordine*, *Soliloquia*, *De Immortalitate Animae*, *Epp. I–IV*, which give a practically contemporary reflexion of Augustine's life and thought in his retirement at Cassiciacum immediately after the Conversion. The problem is, how far do the latter contradict, modify, confirm, or supplement the picture given by the Confessions.

The latest full-length study of the problem is the work of a Danish theologian, Dr Jens Nörregaard of Copenhagen, and it lies before us in a very clear and readable German translation by A. Spelmeyer. This seems to me on the whole the most balanced and judicious survey

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I have come across—equally free from domination by an apologetic interest and from the desire to attract attention by iconoclasm.

It consists of three parts; the first tracing the familiar lines of Augustine's religious developement up to the Conversion; the second studying the Conversion itself and the Cassiciacum period in the light of all the relevant material, both from the Confessions and from the early writings; the third presenting a systematic study of the main religious ideas of the early writings, with a careful estimate of the relative contribution of Christianity and Neo-Platonism.

Each of the last two sections concludes with a careful summary; and some quotations from these will perhaps best indicate the lines followed by the author.

'Although the early writings attribute to Neo-Platonism a decisive significance in Augustine's developement they give *directly* only rather vague information as to what he gained from it—an ethical impulse, a deeper inwardness, a complete confidence in a spiritualistic (as contrasted with a materialistic) philosophy, combined with the rejection of scepticism, and the overcoming of Manichaeism.'

'They speak also of an intense study of St Paul.'

'A closer examination of the early writings shews that Augustine's final deliverance took place later (later, that is, than his first acquaintance with Neo-Platonism) in a crisis associated with a definite decision of the will. The struggle was primarily concerned with sexual asceticism.'

'His life at Cassiciacum shews a strong philosophic interest, but the term philosophy is not to be taken in a narrow sense; alongside of the Neo-Platonic philosophy the conception includes an important element of churchly religion (*ein starkes kirchliches Moment*); we also catch glimpses of a religious life marked by strong emotion, the general character of which is nevertheless that of "a calm after the storm".'

'Where the Confessions add new traits to this picture, these for the most part bear the impress of naturalness and probability, and can be fitted, without any forcing, into the account given in the early writings, to which they often supply an excellent commentary.'

Following Harnack, to whose *Höhepunkte in Augustins Konfessionen* (Reden und Aufsätze, Neue Folge III pp. 67–99) he acknowledges his obligations, the author thinks that Conf. VII x 16 points to a more definite experience of the Neo-Platonic vision or illumination (cf. IX x 23 ff) than we should gather from a casual reading, and he holds that greater weight should be attributed to this experience, at this point, than is usually given to it in tracing Augustine's developement.

But while the treatment of the history is sound and interesting, the distinctive feature of the book is, I think, the thoroughness of the treatment in Part III of the religious thought of the early writings. This includes chapters on Authority, the Being of God, the Doctrine of the Trinity, the Incarnation, Divine Providence, the Nature of the Soul,

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the Relation of man to God, Ethical views. In regard to all these the comparison with Neo-Platonism, wherever it is relevant, is carefully carried out. Here again the author's conclusions may be quoted:—

'(St Augustine's) doctrine of the Trinity, and his Christology, are, in spite of all the Neo-Platonic influence which they shew, orthodox even in points in which it must have been difficult for a Neo-Platonist to accept orthodox views (in the questions of oneness of essence and the Incarnation—even if the significance of the latter is still unduly limited). His view of the Holy Spirit by no means corresponds to Plotinus's conception of the World-Soul.'

'His conception of God is in many respects dependent on Plotinus, but he makes less use of the *via negationis*. God is for him personal, He consciously exercises will and love, draws men to Him and redeems them, guides and maintains the world which He has created—not of necessity, but freely, out of love.'

'The soul is not of the Divine Essence and can never become so. It can only have the Divine image in itself renewed.'

'The representation of the way of salvation is strongly influenced by Plotinus, but redemption is made much more dependent upon the Divine authority, revelation, and aid.'

'For Augustine God and the soul never melt into one another. His mysticism is personal mysticism.'

Dr Nörregaard's summary is as frank when he has to take a critical attitude towards the Confessions as it was when his results were confirmatory:—

'Only up to a certain point does (this result) agree with the representation in the Confessions of what he gained from the study of St Paul—but up to a certain point it does agree. He *had* gained something which went beyond what he had learned from Neo-Platonism. And if he had not yet begun to speak clearly of the grace of God, it is at least a beginning in that direction when he attributes everything to Divine aid. But it is nevertheless clear that the tone and colouring of Conf. VII 27 is to be ascribed to the Christian Bishop and his understanding of St Paul.'

Special mention should be made of the chapter on 'the Overcoming of Scepticism'. Here the author has to deal with Thimme's suggestion that prior to the Cassiciacum period Augustine was converted *neither* to Christianity *nor* to Neo-Platonism, and that his conversion, if so it can be called, took place during this period in the form of a gradual liberation from (philosophic) Scepticism. Quite a plausible case can, as a matter of fact, be made out for this view, and Dr Nörregaard faces it fairly and deals with it painstakingly and effectively.

It may be added, in conclusion, that he prefaces his whole discussion with a brief critical survey of the literature of the subject, which appears to be both comprehensive and judicious.

W. MONTGOMERY.

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CHRONICLE

THE HISTORY OF RELIGIONS.

'ASSURÉMENT, tu es dans une vallée, et moi, je suis dans une autre vallée.' The words are cited from the old Arab writer Hariri by MM. E. Dinet and Sliman ben Ibrahim as the motto of their *essai critique* entitled *L'Orient vu de l'Occident* (Geuthner, Paris). Can the West and the East understand each other? A sympathetic understanding of other religions is the first need of every student of religions, and our authors utter a reasoned protest against the common western views of Islam which betray an ignorance of Mohammedan life and thought. Their little book is worthy of serious attention, and there is much in it that calls for comment. Thus, they emphasize the very close resemblance between the African Arabs (of the Saharan tribes) and those of Arabia proper. This is important because, when we are dealing with the Semitic area, and notably the Old Testament, we can distinguish (*a*) a 'bedouin' element, usually regarded as essentially 'Semitic', but evidently common to Arabia and parts of Africa; and (*b*) if Dr Redcliffe Salaman is right, there is a marked 'Philistine', Gentile, or Greek element among the Jews (quite distinct from the familiar 'Armenoid' type). Consequently our interpretation of the Old Testament must take into account the complex ethnical factors which have operated upon Palestine itself, and must not treat 'Hebrews' or 'Israelites' as necessarily a pure stock. Next, the authors blame westerners for their rationalizing methods—they seek a literal sense, and look for reason instead of inspiration. Certain writers in particular are blamed for their 'Islamophobia'. Mohammed, our authors complain, is called an epileptic, a charlatan, one suffering from hysteria, a socialist obsessed with the idea of an impending judgement.[1] In reality he was a *socialiste religieux*. Would westerners like it if the exaggerations in the Apocryphal Gospels were used to invalidate the simpler narratives of the Canonical Gospels? In a word, the westerner

[1] He is also called a gormandizer (pp. 15, 25, 31). It may be of psychophysical interest to observe that much the same was sometimes said of Buddha, that Ikhnation (Amenhotep IV) is depicted as a very hearty eater, and that Sir James Frazer, in the volume noted below, refers to the excessive hunger of the Tongan inspired priests (*The Belief in Immortality* ii p. 78 sq.). Compare Matt. xi 19?

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works *sur le cadavre*, and interprets from his own logical mind, not from that of the Arab; he leaves no room for the mystical and unconscious forces in history, and tries to reconstruct Oriental history and religion in the light of *la logique rationnelle*. It is impossible not to feel some sympathy for the attitude of the Oriental to the detached, critical treatment by the western world of Oriental life and thought, and I put this book at the head of the 'Chronicle' because it is a necessary reminder that the student of religions is working upon a delicate field which involves the susceptibilities of others than his own countrymen.

M. Charles F. Jean, Lazariste, Diplômé de l'École des Hautes Études, writes, in *Ma Mission scientifique en Orient* (Gabalda, Paris, 1921), for others than Orientalists. He gives some account of his journey in the East, where he visited Carthage, the fine museum at Constantinople, Palestine, and the no less splendid collection of antiquities at Cairo. In an interesting way he conveys much useful information; the cuneiform texts he copied, the famous Taanach altar (p. 85), the extraordinary Hittite monuments (p. 98), Arab art, and so forth. One of the most instructive sections translates an old cuneiform text of about the twenty-sixth century B.C., which speaks of the advent of a king, or a god, or some Messianic king—it is difficult to decide (p. 61): it tells how the gods are now good, old men leap, children sing, women conceive and bear children, prisoners are delivered, the sick recover, the naked are clothed, and so on. M. Jean comments on the fascination of the Old Orient and the disillusionment of the New. While the book, noticed above, observes that even desert custom is being seriously affected by the present *bouleversement* (*L'Orient vu de l'Occident* p. 99), M. Jean speaks pessimistically of the lethargy, misery, and dirt—except in the great towns which are more or less cosmopolitan (p. 181). The mind of the Oriental world to-day is indeed a problem. From the same author we have also *Le Milieu biblique avant Jésus-Christ* (Geuthner, Paris, 1922). This, the opening volume, deals with the history and civilization; a second will turn to the literature, especially that of Egypt and Mesopotamia, and the third will study the religious and moral ideas. The plan is excellent; and the first volume shews that the aim is to present large impressive pictures of what we may call the 'Bible Lands'. We have here the thread of history in broad and clear outlines, with closer attention to just those features which the author considers of greater significance. Various attempts are being made in these days to place the Bible in the light of the new knowledge of the old world, and especially of the Middle East. Each has its merits, and the reader who desires a simple sketch of events will find M. Jean's volume interesting and stimulating. It goes down to and includes the Graeco-Roman period; it contains useful

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lists of geological periods, prehistoric ages, pottery periods, dynasties, &c. A special feature is the joint subject-index and lexicon which contains a great variety of miscellaneous information (e. g. Nabataeans, Ships, Pergamos, Thebes, &c.).

The Book of Genesis translated into Colloquial English, by Theodore H. Robinson, M.A., D.D., belongs to a series projected by the National Adult School Union, in response to repeated requests, among working men and women, for a simple version of the Old Testament. 'Literary elegance has been sacrificed to clearness of expression and simplicity of language.' The three main sources (J, E, and P) are printed separately—an index enables the reader to find any passage—and notes make the connexion clear, or explain some of the translations. It is an interesting experiment. Gen. xii 3 now reads: '. . . and all the nations of the world shall regard you as a type of the prosperous man', Gen. xv 6 'Abram trusted Yahweh, and so put himself in the right with Yahweh'. It remains to be seen whether these renderings of the two great passages require an explanation no less than did the old and familiar version.

Another venture in translation is that of the *First Twelve Chapters of the Book of Isaiah* by H. W. Sheppard, M.A. (Bowes, Cambridge, 1922). It is part of a larger work which is to appear in due course. It is characteristically 'conservative': e. g. Is. i 7 ('a desolation as by havoc of cloud-burst'), *v.* 20 ('by the sword shall ye be eaten'). In v 1 he takes Keren ben Shemen as a proper name. As an example of style we may cite x 33 sq.: 'Behold the Lord Jehovah Sabaoth heweth away the tree-crown with a crash, and the topmost lofty ones are being felled, yea, the high ones shall be humbled; and stricken shall be the thickets of the forest with iron, and Lebanon with lordly cedar shall fall.'

There are some who think that the Old Testament cannot be translated—only interpreted. The German series *Die Schriften des Alten Testaments in Auswahl* was in many respects admirable; a Dutch equivalent is now contemplated (*Tekst en Uitleg: Praktische Bijbelverklaring*, Wolters, Groningen and The Hague). Genesis, part I (i—xxv 18, 160 pages), by Prof. F. M. Th. Böhl, contains an introduction, a new translation (the three sources are distinguished, but not separated), and extensive notes or excursuses on the subject-matter. We may quote, in passing, his translation of Gen. xii 3 '. . . en met uwen naam zullen alle geslachten op den aardbodem elkander zegen toewenschen'. Dr Böhl has established a reputation for a sound knowledge of the ancient monuments and an entire independence of judgement; and this work, intended especially for the ordinary intelligent reader, will be warmly welcomed by all students of the Old Testament. He considers that the 'literary critical' investigations have been pursued

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too schematically and mechanically; he notes the work of Dahse and Wiener on the LXX evidence for the insecurity of the Divine Name as a literary criterion. None the less, not only does he accept the three main sources (as already mentioned), but he recognizes that the Pentateuch comes before us in a post-exilic form. However, the problems are much more complex than had been thought, and Dr Böhl is ready to admit several ancient traditions of the pre-Mosaic age. This is quite in accord with the present tendency to find, on the basis of the external evidence, a not inconsiderable knowledge of events of the second millennium B. C. Böhl's book is of special value for the attention he pays to the external material (notably the Boghaz Keui evidence); and it is of special interest to the present writer who, again on the basis of the external evidence, is more than ever driven to the conclusion that, although some knowledge of the second millennium B. C. was preserved, little of what we have can be used in any historical sketch of that period.

Of four books relating to Rabbinical Judaism the first, by Miss Jennie Reizenstein, *Rabbinic Wisdom* (Union of American Hebrew Congregations, Cincinnati, 1921), is intended primarily for Jewish religious schools. It is a collection of sayings and stories of religious and ethical interest, arranged under such headings as Ambition, Moderation, Loyalty, &c., and accompanied with illustrations suitable for the young. It throws much incidental light upon early Jewish psychology and methods of inculcating lessons—and is therefore indirectly useful for Biblical study. It may be conjectured that the quaint stories of the clever Athenian and the still shrewder Jew (pp. 56 sq., 190) are part of a stock which is not only, as we know, not yet extinct, but doubtless dates back from very early times.

In *Intimate Glimpses of the Rabbi's Career* (Cincinnati Hebrew Union College, 1921), Henry Berkowitz, D.D., deals with the religious problems in modern Jewry, in addresses to young ministers. It includes such subjects as Bible teaching, the attitude to critical and modern views of the Old Testament, the attitude to Christianity, the use of New Testament texts, and, *inter alia*, the essential difference between teaching and preaching in the pulpit.

Attention may also be drawn in a word to the new and well annotated translation of the *Sifre* to Deuteronomy by Gerhard Kittel (Kohlhammer, Stuttgart, 1922). The first part extends to Deut. xi 28 (144 pages) and promises to be of permanent value.

Of equal value but of more general interest is Jews' College Publications, no. 8: *Types of Jewish-Palestinian Piety* by Dr Adolph Büchler. It is a study of 'the Ancient Pious Men from 70 B.C. to A.D. 70', a closely-packed and intensive discussion of 264 pages (an index is

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sadly missed) of a subject of the first interest to Jews and Christians alike. There are four chapters: (i) Hillel the Hasid, (ii) the ancient pious men, (iii) the pious men in the Psalms of Solomon, and (iv) Honi the Hasid, and his prayer for rain. Aroused largely by Kohler's identification of the 'pious' with the Essenes, Dr Büchler has made an entirely fresh survey of the material, which deserves most careful attention. His criticism, in chap. iii, of some current views of Judaism or rather of Pharisaism, at least shews that the Psalms of Solomon need reconsideration in the light of his evidence, and his elaborate enquiry into Honi (Onias) and his and other prayers for rain is a very important contribution to the interrelations between religion and magic. Whether Dr Büchler has proved all his points is another matter. Whatever 'Pharisaism' was, or was not, we may observe a somewhat excessive scrupulosity (p. 144)—one man was so scrupulous that even his ass refused to eat untithed fodder (p. 89)—an extreme sensitiveness to the slightest moral or religious deviation (p. 75), and a marital strictness to the extent that precautions were taken to avoid desecration of the Sabbath by child-birth (p. 33).[1] Such data as these, and the inquisition into the sins, if any, of the deceased (pp. 17, 41), if they illustrate ancient piety, certainly carry us back to Babylonian and other 'Confessions' rather than forward. In like manner, all that we read of the control of rain (chap. iv), shews that, although Honi's daring and presumptuous attitude to God was exceptional (pp. 221, 246, 252, 254), we have here a tendency which helps us to understand, not merely such familiar incidents as Gideon's child-like requests (contrast the Deuteronomic prohibition, 'Thou shalt *not* test the Lord thy God,' Deut. vi 16), but also the more daring actions and attitudes which were condemned of old, or which modern students describe as frankly magical.[2] When rain-making seems to have run in Honi's family (p. 202), and when successful prayers for rain led to the discussion to whom to ascribe merit (p. 217 sq.), we are obliged to recognize that the problem of magic is more subtle and of more vital importance for our ideas of religion than is often admitted.

L'Origine commune des Religions (Alcan, Paris, 1921) is the posthumous publication of M. André Longuet, an engineer, who had devoted his leisure to a study of the main features in the early developement of religious belief and practice. Struck by the fundamental significance

[1] Readers of *Auld Licht Idylls* will recall a fair parallel to the last-mentioned in the story of Sandy Whamond.

[2] Perhaps I may add that when I ventured to describe early Semitic religion as being 'often that of the trustful and, it must be said, of the spoilt child' (*Camb. Anc. Hist.* i 201), I was not aware that Simon b. Shetah, discussing Honi's action, 'admitted' (to cite Dr Büchler) 'that in spite of his unreasonable, nay sinful conduct, God had accepted his prayer as that of a spoilt child'.

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of early ideas of 'two', 'division', 'distinction', &c., he proceeded to trace out their working, shewing, for example, how ideas of couples, opposites, and contrasts run throughout the ancient religions. The argument is not altogether new; and notice might have been taken of the Chinese Yang and Yin and its strange dualistic, physical philosophy. It is, however, useful to have the theory elaborated before us; there is much in it: the Hebrew *bayin* 'between' and *bīn* 'to discriminate', *bīnāh* 'knowledge', &c., are naturally connected. Moreover, the habit of systematizing upon the basis of pairs and contrasts is so deeply imprinted upon us that men will develope their religious and political systems on the same principle, so that if our rival is an x we must be anti-x, and so forth. No doubt if M. Longuet had lived, and had been able to continue his enquiries, he would have co-ordinated his work with that of others who have investigated primitive ways of thinking; and the volume before us is a proof that he would have done much more valuable work.

Sir James Frazer's second volume of *The Belief in Immortality and the Worship of the Dead* (Macmillan, 1922) takes us to Polynesia; the third volume will deal with Micronesia and Indonesia. Written in his inimitable and attractive style, it introduces us to Maoris, Tongans, Samoans, Hawaians, &c., and, what is the most characteristic and valuable feature, explains the physical and economic conditions, the government and the social institutions of the tribes whose religious beliefs are illustrated and summarized. The concise and picturesque descriptions of the various peoples, and the laborious collection of material give the volume a permanence, which is quite independent of the particular theories and hypotheses, to which the learned author himself would no doubt be prepared to ascribe only a secondary importance. The volume naturally lends itself to quotation; but only a few points can be noticed here. For example, as a matter of principle it may be questioned whether the sacrifice of *all* first-born sons was ever regular or widespread (p. 89)—sporadic, it certainly was. The interesting accounts of the resort to confession of sin in time of danger (pp. 189, 207) have considerable significance for the psychology of religion; repeatedly one feels that the volume is weak on the psychological side. If Samoan worship is certainly not 'pure totemism' (p. 201), we as certainly need some theoretical treatment of religion in order to determine what 'pure' totemism is, and why we have made it our criterion. The clarification of concepts is urgently needed in the study of religions. That crude and barbarous superstitions have 'accidentally led to good results' (p. 48) is in a line with Sir James Frazer's conscious or unconscious philosophy, but it has tremendous implications. Finally, are we to suppose (from pp. 51, 431) that when

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we have duly considered the advantages and disadvantages of the belief in immortality it is open to us to decide whether it is or is not true? Elsewhere one has read of elaborate statistics which are presumed to establish the real value of beliefs in immortality and in the existence of God—truly, we are a long way yet from a *science* of religion when such methods prevail! In fact, Sir James Frazer leads us to the stage where most fundamental questions arise; and the most objective collection of data speedily involves us in problems of method, upon which we are still looking for light. We may see things differently from the gifted author of the *Golden Bough*, but he himself more than any other prepared the torch, lit it, and is generously handing it on to others.

More systematic, as the title suggests, is *The Comparative Study of Religions* (Williams and Norgate, 1923), by Alban G. Widgery, M.A. It comprises an introductory chapter on the study as a whole, and six chapters on (i) the sources and nature of religious truth, (ii) supernatural beings good and bad, (iii) the soul: its nature, origin, and destiny, (iv) sin and suffering: salvation and redemption, (v) religious practices, and (vi) emotional attitudes and religious ideals. The volume contains the substance of lectures given in Baroda and Mysore: the author spent six and a half years in India, and was able to gain a first-hand acquaintance with Hindu, Buddhist, Jain, and Zoroastrian sources. His careful treatment of Indian religions gives his book a value of its own; and one cannot too clearly recognize how important it is that missionaries and others who have to enter into Indian life should have a knowledge of Indian religious and other ideas. There is a new self-consciousness in India, as striking as that which has grown up in the world of Islam, and it is perhaps too often the case that intelligent Indians know more of Christianity (theoretical and practical) than theologians know of the great religions of India. This is not to mention the fact that sometimes the religions of the East treat problems in a way which challenges the Christian treatment and suggests a wider outlook (cf. p. 22 sq.). The religions outside India are of course embraced in Mr Widgery's survey, although less fully; and he has made it his aim to describe the chief facts as far as possible in the language of the sacred scriptures, liturgies, and formularies of the religions themselves. His general treatment is in touch with psychological and philosophical ideas, and he urges that 'the philosophy of religion needs to be developed in relation with a much wider empirical survey of religion than is usually found in works on that subject' (p. vii). In his introductory chapter he deals in a suggestive way with questions of method, pointing out, *inter alia*, that 'the History of Religions supplies the material for their comparative study, which will systematize it in a particular manner to become the subject-matter of the Philosophy of Religion' (p. 31). But it need hardly be

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said that such a method is hardly opportune. We are not yet at the stage where the tasks can be so neatly delimited, and it is a weakness in Mr Widgery's excellent book that he pays too little attention to the true history of religion and to the lower religions. It is surely dangerous in such a work as his to speak of customs which 'had their origin in superstition' (p. 331). He follows a particularly unsafe theory of religious developement or evolution; and he unconsciously illustrates the fact that some fundamental questions of religion must first be handled before it is possible even to systematize the data of religions in any scientific or critical manner. He well reminds us how the late Dr Merz, in his fine survey of the thought of the nineteenth century, emphasized the importance of the study of religion for the philosophical thought of the twentieth. Indeed he recognizes the true clue to the methodology of the subject when he observes how 'on the side of thought the religions have pointed beyond the limited range of the physical world' (p. 377). This is well put. The study of religions, in fact, leads up to and starts from one great initial problem—the true interrelation between the religious consciousness and all its fruits, on the one side, and the non-religious, on the other: the relation between the religious and the non-religious spheres of life and thought. The problem of the true interconnexion between what is religious, what is anti-religious, and what is non-religious appears—to me at least—absolutely primary for any methodology of the subject, and one cannot help being struck with the gap between such a work as that of Sir James Frazer, which is more particularly concerned with the lower religions, and that of Mr Widgery, which pays insufficient heed to them. On such subjects as magic and religion, and the position of fetishism and totemism, Mr Widgery is all too inadequate. They may have been unnecessary for his purpose; but a science of religion, and a preparation for a philosophy of religion, need the widest possible basis. After all, the 'magic' mind and the 'fetish' spirit are by no means confined to those levels which we are inclined to regard as 'lower'. An index of subject-matter (in addition to the present index of persons and religions) would add greatly to the value of a book which needs reprinting at a European press.

We have left to the end a book which for its breadth and depth deserves the foremost place—*L'Étude comparée des Religions: Essai critique*, by H. Pinard de la Boullaye, S.J. (Beauchesne, Paris, 1922; pp. xvi + 516). The first volume, on the History, deals not with the history of religions or of religion, but with the history of the studies which have been devoted to the comparison of religious beliefs and customs. It is to be followed by a second, which will concern itself with the methods of conducting the enquiry. A more opportune work can scarcely be imagined, and all who are interested in the growth of

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the spirit that enquires into religions, and in the rise of different attitudes and schools, will find here a clear, well-documented and extremely interesting survey. Fr Pinard takes us back to the pre-Christian age, and rapidly notes the attitude of the Greek thinkers to religion and myth. Successive chapters deal with the Early Christian period (the apologists, controversialists, &c.), the Arabic, Jewish, and European scholastics, the Renaissance and the Reform, the advent of rationalism, of agnosticism, and of positivism and pragmatism. Two chapters deal with the leading schools of the nineteenth century up to the present day; and in a concluding chapter the author surveys the main currents of the age and presents a summary of the 'curve', if we may use the term, of the study as a whole. The book will add to the very notable contributions which Roman Catholic writers have recently been making to the study of religion. It takes, to be sure, a dogmatic attitude which will be understood, but the writer has been at such pains to cover the field, to furnish full bibliographical material, and to enable the reader to realize the vastness of the study, that his book is really indispensable to those who are attracted by the problem of the religious outlook of the age. Fr Pinard is laudably up-to-date—the work of the late Dr Rivers, for example, comes up for notice—and we shall look forward keenly to his second volume, when his point of view, principles, and methods may be more justly and critically examined than they can be at present.

STANLEY A. COOK.

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RECENT PERIODICALS RELATING TO THEOLOGICAL STUDIES

(1) ENGLISH.

The Church Quarterly Review, July 1923 (Vol. xcvi, No. 192: S.P.C.K.). H. COOMBS Diary of a Somerset incumbent a hundred years ago—M. E. SANDBACH-MARSHALL Religious belief as derived from experience—W. H. RIGG Dr Garvie and the authorship of the Fourth Gospel—C. CANELLOPULOS Christian reunion from the point of view of the Eastern Orthodox Church—G. LEIGH Links between Dante and Duns Scotus—R. HANSON Pascal—J. LEIPOLDT The Coptic Version of the Acts of the Apostles—A. NAIRNE Samuel Butler—Short Notices.

The Hibbert Journal, July 1923 (Vol. xxi, No. 4: Williams & Norgate). W. W. DAVIES Centenary of Ernest Renan—C. D. BROAD Butler as a theologian—A. N. WHITEHEAD The rhythmic claims of freedom and discipline—G. M. SARGEAUNT Studies in the Laws of Plato—A. WEIR The sainthood of Marcus Aurelius—O. LODGE The first man and the second—W. LUTOSLAWSKI The conversion of a psychologist—J. E. CARPENTER Early conceptions of Law in Nature—C. G. MONTEFIORE Judaism and Europe—J. E. M'FADYEN Miracle in the Old Testament—K. WYCHE Ita de Trinitate sentiat—E. W. ADAMS Thought and the Letter—J. MACKAY Spiritual conditions in Canada: a reply—W. F. ALEXANDER Bishops' courts under Elizabeth—Discussions, Survey, and Signed Reviews.

The Expositor, July 1923 (Eighth Series, No. 151: Hodder & Stoughton). G. A. SMITH Jeremiah in the siege—J. DE ZWAAN Some remarks on the 'ethics' of Jesus—A. M. POPE Paul's previous meeting with Jesus—J. MOFFATT The difficulties of the Diatessaron—D. M. BAILLIE Philosophers and theologians: an eirenicon—W. EWING The remedies of the Good Samaritan.

August 1923 (Eighth Series, No. 152). J. OMAN Method in Theology—W. HENDERSON-BEGG The place of the Old Testament in modern Christian teaching—H. L. SIMPSON Rizpah's Watch—O. C. WHITEHOUSE The historical background of the Deutero-Isaiah—A. T. ROBERTSON The New Testament use of μή with hesitant questions in the indicative mood—C. R. PALMER To whom did the Beatitudes originally refer?—R. HARRIS Base-born and true-born.

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(2) AMERICAN.

The Journal of Religion, July 1923 (Vol. iii, No. 4: University of Chicago Press). S. MATTHEWS Theology from the point of view of social psychology—P. R. HAYWARD A normal religious childhood—E. B. HARPER Social re-education and nervous disorders—A. RAMAGE Religion and the new democracy in British politics—A. S. WOODBURNE The present religious situation in India—F. J. MCCONNELL What shall the Churches do with the young radicals?—A. VON HARNACK The sect of the Nicolaitans—G. B. SMITH Where does the doctrine of Evolution leave Religion?

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(3) FRENCH AND BELGIAN.

Revue Bénédictine, August 1923 (Vol. xxxv, No. 3: Abbaye de Maredsous). G. MORIN Une lettre apocryphe inédite de Jérôme au Pape Damase—D. DE BRUYNE Un feuillet oncial d'une règle de moniales—P. SCHEPENS and D. DE BRUYNE Encore le *Benedicite*—A. WILMART Une prière inédite attribuée à Saint Anselme: La recension interpolée des prières—A. VAQUIER Une réforme de Cluny en 1428—Comptes rendus.

Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique, July 1923 (Vol. xix, No. 3: 40 Rue de Namur, Louvain). L. VAN DER ESSEN Hucbald de Saint-Amand (c. 840–930) et sa place dans le mouvement hagiographique médiéval—L. ANTHEUNIS Un réfugié catholique aux Pays-Bas: Sir William Stanley (1548–1630)—A. LEMAN Urbain viii et les origines du congrès de Cologne de 1636—Comptes rendus—Chronique—Bibliographie.

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—F. M. ABEL La liste géographique du papyrus 71 de Zénon—P. SYNAVE Le ve Congrès international des sciences historiques—L. H. VINCENT L'année archéologique 1922 en Palestine—Recensions—Bulletin.

(4) GERMAN.

Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche, June 1923 (Vol. xxii, Nos. 1 & 2: A. Töpelmann, Giessen). D. PLOOIJ Eine enkratitische Glosse im Diatessaron—C. CICHORIUS Chronologisches zum Leben Jesu—W. MUNDLE Das Kirchenbewusstsein der ältesten Christenheit—E. RODHE Gottesglaube und Kyriosglaube bei Paulus—H. H. WENDT Zum ersten Johannesbrief—K. KUNDSIN Eine wenig beachtete Ueberlieferungsschicht im vierten Evangelium—W. MICHAELIS Der Attizismus und das Neue Testament—E. BICKERMANN Das Messiasgeheimnis und die Komposition des Markusevangeliums—E. BECKER Gnostische Einflüsse in der παρθένοι-Darstellung von El Bagawât?—E. HENNECKE Der Prolog zur 'Apostolischen Ueberlieferung' Hippolyts—Notizen vom Herausgeber.

Theologische Quartalschrift (Vol. civ, Nos. 1 & 2: H. Laupp, Tübingen). RIESSLER Zur Chronologie des A. T. S.—FRINGS Das Patmosexil des Apostels Johannes—OESTERLE Klandestine Ehen nach altem Rechte—GEISELMANN Das Irrationale Ottos im Lichte des kath. Glaubensbegriffs—LANDESDORFER Die Boghazköi—Texte und die Ḫabira-Frage—Rezensionen—Analekten.

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The Journal
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JANUARY, 1924

NOTES AND STUDIES

TATIAN'S DIATESSARON AND THE DUTCH HARMONIES.

Dr D. Plooij, of Leyden, published early last year, in English, a study of the mediaeval Dutch Harmony known as *Het Leven van Jezus*, which raises the question of the value of that curious work as an authority for the text of Tatian's Diatessaron.[1] Dr Plooij's study publishes no new texts, but he gives four useful photographs of the Liège MS from which in 1835 G. J. Meijer of Groningen edited *Het Leven van Jezus*, and he brings forward a number of points which he considers to establish the critical value of the text. His conclusions will be found on pp. 67, 68. 'The Old Latin Diatessaron is not a Harmony made up from portions of the Latin Gospels, but is an independent translation from the Syriac.' 'The Old Latin Gospels have been influenced largely by the Latin Diatessaron.' 'The Latin Text underlying L (the Liège Harmony) shews unmistakeable marks of identity with the Text of Ephrem's Commentary.' These are very formidable statements and their cogency can only be estimated after a general consideration of the evidence and a careful evaluation of the relative weight of its several parts. I shall therefore leave Dr Plooij, and proceed to a fresh statement from my own point of view.

The authorities from which our ideas of Tatian's Diatessaron are derived are the following:—

(1) *Ephraim's Commentary.* This is extant only in Armenian. It is quoted by the pages of Moesinger's Latin translation (1876), but the most accurate representation of the Gospel quotations in it is to be found in Appendix X to J. Hamlyn Hill's translation of the Arabic Diatessaron, in which Dr Armitage Robinson has arranged the quotations in an English translation made by him direct from the Armenian in the order of the Arabic Harmony.

With the quotations in Ephraim's Commentary may be associated

[1] *A Primitive Text of the Diatessaron*: The Liège MS of a mediaeval Dutch Translation, a Preliminary Study by Dr D. Plooij, with an Introductory Note by J. Rendel Harris. Leyden, Sijthoff, 1923.

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the occasional Gospel quotations in Ephraim's other works and in the Homilies of Aphraates and other early Syriac writers. They will be found gathered together in my *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* ii 107–160.

(2) *The Arabic Diatessaron* (A). This is the elaborate Harmony published by Ciasca (1888), of which English translations have been made by J. Hamlyn Hill (1894) and H. W. Hogg (1897). I quote from Mr Hill's book mainly because it contains Dr Robinson's Appendix, mentioned above. This Arabic Harmony is translated direct from the Syriac, but the Syriac from which it was translated was a revision in which the wording had been almost entirely assimilated to the wording of the Peshiṭta or Syriac Vulgate.

(3) *Codex Fuldensis* (F). This is the well-known codex of the Vulgate N. T., prepared for and corrected by Victor of Capua in A.D. 546, whose annotations and signature (and the blot which he made in signing his name) are still to be seen in the book. The Gospels are given not separately but in a Harmony, in which the order of Tatian is very generally followed, but the wording is that of the Latin Vulgate.

(4) *The Dutch Harmonies*, and particularly the Liège MS (L). L is a codex written about 1300, and contains a Harmony of the Gospels very similar in order to the Codex Fuldensis (F). The Dutch translation may have been made from the Latin about the middle of the thirteenth century (*Plooij*, p. 65)

Besides L there is a MS at Stuttgart (S), similar in general arrangement to L, but it seems to be an independent translation, as the Dutch is different and it keeps closer to the wording of the Latin Vulgate. A fragmentary MS in the Cambridge University Library (C) agrees in general with S, but sometimes approaches L. Dr Plooij does not doubt that L is the most interesting of these Dutch texts, and so far as I have been able to judge this really is the case. Besides Meijer's edition of 1835, both L and S have been printed side by side in full by J. Bergsma, *Bibliotheek van middelnederlandsche Letterkunde* 54, 55, 61 (1895–1898).

I quote F, L and S by the chapters into which they are divided.

When we compare the Arabic, the Dutch and the Fulda texts together it is at once evident that they fall into two classes, the Arabic on the one side, and all the rest on the other. They often agree all together, and where they do so, no doubt they preserve the arrangement of Tatian's mosaic. But elsewhere A and F differ seriously, and where they do so L (and its near relation S also) almost always goes with F. We ask, therefore, which of the two branches of transmission most resembles the arrangement of the ancient Syriac Diatessaron? The decisive factor in this question will be the evidence of Ephraim, and the answer is not doubtful. The Arabic order is the order of Ephraim's

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Commentary, and therefore it is the Arabic which is unaltered, and the Western texts that are peculiar. The evidence is best shewn in a Table: in the centre are short catchwords describing fifteen sections in the order that Ephraim refers to them, Moesinger's pages and the chapters of A are given on the left and the chapters of F and L on the right.

Moes. pp.	*Arabic*		*Fuld.*	*Liège*
52 ff	v 22–32	Marriage at Cana.	46	57
57	v 43	*Impleta sunt tempora* (Mk. i 15 &c.).	18	28
58	vi 5–22	John's disciples baptize.	21	32
,,	vi 46, vii 9[1]	James (*sic*) the Publican called.	20[1]	31[1]
59	v 44–vi 4	Call of Peter.	19	29 f
59 f	vii 11–24	Paralytic healed.	55	68
61	vii 31–36	'Sons of the Bride-chamber.'	57	71
61 f	vii 37–viii 2	Disciples pluck corn-ears.	69 f	86 f
62–73	viii 26–xi 3	Sermon on the Mount.	23–44	35–50
74	xi 4	Centurion's servant.	48	59
,,	xi 17	Widow of Nain.	50	62
,,	xi 24	'Foxes have holes.'	52	64 f
75	xi 32	Storm on the Lake.	53	66
,,	xi 38	'Legion.'	54	67
76 ff	xii 7 ff	Jaïrus's daughter.	61	75

It is clear that Ephraim's order is the order of the Arabic, or very nearly so. Ephraim and A put the Marriage at Cana before the call of Peter and the Sermon on the Mount, F and L put it after. Ephraim and A put the healing of the Paralytic and the disputes about Sabbath observance before the Sermon, F and L put them after—a long way after, in fact, for in F and L the Paralytic comes just before the story of Jaïrus's daughter and the disputes about the Sabbath some way after that. In other words, for this part of the Gospel story the Arabic preserves the Old Syriac mosaic, while F and L agree in another order which is not the order of the Old Syriac mosaic.

Later on in the Gospel, at the same place, between the talk with Nicodemus and the withering of the Fig-tree, F 121 and L 164 insert the story of the Woman taken in Adultery, which is absent from A (between xxxi and xxxii) and which is wholly unknown to Ephraim. Further, the story of the Sinful Woman who anointed our Lord's feet (Lk. vii 36–50) is given in A xiv 45–xv 11 between sections correspond-

[1] A vi 46 and F L have 'Matthew', A vii 9 'Levi'.

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ing to Matt. xii 22 f and Lk. x 1 ff; Ephraim (*Moes.* 113 f) comments on the story between comments on Matt. xii 22 and Lk. x 1. But F and L combine this story with the meal in the house of Simon the Leper, just before the Passion, and identify the woman with Mary of Bethany, sister of Lazarus (F 138 f, L 186).

These are not new discoveries: they have been known to all scholars who have worked seriously at the Diatessaron ever since the publication of Ciasca's Arabic text. But it seems to me most important to bear them in mind, before picking out little details that sound picturesque and acclaiming them as self-evident survivals of the work of Tatian, as it seems to me that Dr Plooij does. What these serious variations in the order shew is that a very intimate connexion exists between the mediaeval Dutch Harmonies and the Harmony of Victor of Capua, preserved in Cod. Fuldensis. The divergences of Fuldensis from the united testimony of Ephraim and the Arabic have hitherto been generally regarded as corruptions, as alterations of the primitive Diatessaron, whether due to Victor of Capua himself or to some other editor of an original Greek or Syriac Harmony. But it is conceiveably possible that the agreement of F and L bears witness to a pre-Syriac form of the Harmony, something that Tatian left behind him before he returned to his native Mesopotamia. In any case the agreement of Ephraim and the Arabic does prove the unlikelihood that the peculiar recension of the Tatian Harmony found in F and L was a direct translation from the Syriac.

There is no doubt that the Arabic is intrinsically a *better* Gospel Harmony than that in Codex Fuldensis, but this rather suggests that the Arabic may be a later, improved form. Certainly the side-lights upon Tatian's methods thrown by Dom Connolly (*J. T. S.* xii 268–273) suggest that the scrupulous ingenuity of the Arabic text is not primitive: the drastic throwing together of Jn. xii, Matt. xxvi and Lk. vii 36 ff in F 138, 139, is what we should expect from what Dom Connolly has brought forward. But in this case the witness of Ephraim is definitely on the side of A and against F: it was therefore not a feature of the *Syriac* Diatessaron.[1]

Before considering the text of the Latin and Dutch Harmonies it will be useful to examine their contents. The Diatessaron, speaking generally, aims at incorporating all the significant matter of all Four Gospels into one narrative. A glance at Appendix II in Hamlyn Hill's book shews that very little indeed is omitted from the Arabic. The Genealogies are not in Ciasca's text, but each of his MSS finds a place

[1] It should not be forgotten that the identification of the 'sinner' with Mary Magdalene and Mary the sister of Martha is the official tradition of Rome, as attested by the services for July 22.

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for them, and the story of the Woman taken in Adultery is absent, as it is from all Syriac versions of the Bible. But this is practically all that is missing, except St Luke's own Preface.

When we turn to F and L the case is different. The facts are as follows:—

Matthew.

xii 7 *om.* F L: this is a doublet of Matt. ix 13.

xii 22 *om.* F 62, but L 77, S 73 have 'blind and dumb', which ultimately comes from Matt. xii 22.

xiii 12 *om.* F L: a doublet of Matt. xxiv 29, where alone F L have the saying.

xv 29–31 *om.* F L: this is a characteristic Matthaean summary of healings and is given a place in A xxiii 1–2, 4.[1]

xv 39: F 90 follows Mk. viii 10 (Dalmanutha), but L 122 has Magedan.

xvi 2–4[a] *om.* F L: see on Lk. xii 54 ff.

It should be added that Matt. xii 33 is omitted in L 79, S 74, but the verse is given in F 63 and A xiv 32: this is a doublet of Matt. vii 17, 20.

It is obvious that St Matthew's Gospel was intended to be used to the full and that the intention has been very well carried out. Matt. xvi 2–4[a] ('the Face of the Sky') is the only serious omission.

Mark.

i 23–27 *om.* F: see on Lk. iv 33 ff.

iii 21 *om.* F 69, L 86: this is the verse which tells us that the family of Jesus (οἱ παρ' αὐτοῦ) thought Him mad. In all Western texts before the Vulgate the sense of Mk. iii 21 is quite changed,[2] but A vii 46 inserts it after Matt. xii 8 = Mk. ii 28 ('The Son of Man is Lord of the Sabbath') and it is added there also in *a*.

iv 36[b] *om.* F 53, L 66, i. e. F and L leave out the detail that 'other ships were with them', though they insert that Jesus was 'in the stern, on the cushion' (*ver.* 38), both details being peculiar to Mark. A xi 33, 34 has both details.

v 32 *om.* F 61, L 75, A xii 19: this is where Mark says that Jesus turned round to see who had touched Him, a statement that seems to imply want of knowledge. Note therefore that *c* and *e* omit 'to see her that had done this thing' and that W omits ἰδεῖν. (Both syr. *S* and syr. *C* are wanting here.)

vi 52, 53 *om.* F 82, L 102: but A xix 13 has *ver.* 52.

viii 22–26 *om.* F 90, L 122: this is the healing of the blind man at Bethsaida given in A xxiii 26–30.

[1] The verses are added as a footnote or gloss at the end of L 121.

[2] See the full discussion in *J. T. S.* xvii 10 f.

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viii 32 *om.* F 91, L 124 ('speak the word openly'): this is given in A xxiii 42 in wording which agrees with *k* and syr. *S*.

ix 30 *om.* F 94, L 131: given in A xxiv 48.

ix 49 f ('salted with fire', F 96): *om.* L 133 but not S 123.

xv 25 ('the *third* hour') *om.* F 168, L 227, and A li 2, i.e. the statement of Jn. xix 14 that it was the *sixth* hour is preferred.

Besides these a very large number of the so-called 'picturesque details' of Mark's narrative are not inserted, e.g. Mk. i 36, ii 2, iii 9–11, x 32[a], x 50, xi 23[b], though nearly all appear in their place in the Arabic. There was evidently no great effort made in the recension represented by F L to include all the material of Mark.

Luke.

iii 24–33 *om.* F L, i.e. that part of the Lucan Genealogy which is parallel to, though different from, Matthew's.

iv 33–36 *om.* F 49, i. e. F omits altogether the story of the demoniac in the Synagogue of Capernaum, told in Mk. i 23 ff, Lk. iv 33 ff, but omitted in Matthew: it is given in L 60, S 58, and in A vi 41 ff.

iv 44 *om.* F L: given in A vi 35.

vi 39 ('can the blind lead the blind?'): this Saying is omitted by F L from the great Sermon and only given in what corresponds to Matt. xv 13 (F 85, L 112). But the Arabic gives it in both places (A x 17, xx 37).

vii 1–9 (= Matt. viii 5–13): in F 48, L 59 the story of the Centurion's boy is wholly told from Matthew (except Lk. vii 10), but in A xi 4 f, 7 f, the characteristic Lucan details appear, and they are also referred to by Ephraim 74.

vii 36–38: in F 138, L 186, where the Lucan story of the 'woman that was a sinner' is combined with the anointing of Jesus by Mary just before the end, the opening verses of the Lucan version are naturally omitted.

viii 1–3 *om.* F 71, L 89. A note at the end of L 89 points out that Lucas 'continuert' (i. e. as we say, 'introduces') the Parable of the Sower by these verses. The passage is given in the text of S 85, and in A xvi 19–21.

x 26–27 *om.* F 129, L 173, A xxxiv 25 ff. This omission is owing to the fact that all branches of the Diatessaron, including Ephraim 194 f, combine the Parable of the Good Samaritan with the Answer about the Great Commandment in Jerusalem.

xi 36. No attempt is made to represent this peculiar variant of Matt. vi 23 in F 37, L 45. It is added in A ix 50, but in a text agreeing with syr. vg, not with the curious text of syr. *S*.

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xi 53 f and the beginning of xii are omitted by F and L, but appear in A xli 16–20, placed at Jerusalem in the last days in the context of Jn. xii 36.

xii 54–57 *om.* F L. Neither form of the Saying about the Weather has a place in F or L, neither that in Lk. xii 54–57, found in all MSS, nor that in Matt. xvi 2^{b}, 3, omitted in the best Greek MSS and in the Old Syriac. Both forms are combined in A xiv 37–40.[1]

xvii 7–10 *om.* F 122, L 165, but it is inserted at this point in A xxxiii $11–15^{a}$. It is also given in L 162 (not in F 119).

xxii 27–30 *om.* F 113, L 154, but it is inserted in S 145. In A xliv 31–33 the words are given, but in the context of F 155.

xxiv 12 *om.* F L and in A liii, but of course it might be considered that Jn. xx 3–10 was equivalent.

Here it seems likely enough that the omission of Lk. viii 1–3, xii 54–57, xvii 7–10 and xxii 27–30 is due to carelessness on the part of the original Harmonist. Such detached passages are more likely to have been left out in the first edition of a Harmony than to have been dropped at a subsequent revision.

John.

i 29–31. In F 16, L 25, *ecce qui tollit peccatum mundi* is added to *ecce agnus dei* in the section corresponding to Jn. i 36 ff: otherwise Jn. i 29–31 is unrepresented in F and L. In A iv 30, v 5, both Jn. i 29 and i 36 are represented.

ii 12. In F 22, L 33, and in A vi 36, the only equivalent of this verse is Matt. iv 13.

iii 35 *om.* F 21: L 32 omits *deus uerax est . . . loquitur* (*vv.* $33^{b}–34^{a}$), also *enim* (*ver.* 34^{b}) and *filium* (*ver.* 35). Clearly the common original of F and L was here defective.

iv 43–45 *om.* F 88, L 115, although in F and L Jn. v 1 ff follows continuously.

vi 1–6 is not represented in F 81, but L 100 has words representing vi 5 and 6.

vii 44 *om.* F 130, L 174.

viii $20–21^{a}$ *om.* F 132, L 176.

xiii 2–3 om. F 155, not L 207.

xiv 14 *om.* F 158, L 210.

xix 5. Nearly all the Johannine details of the Passion are included in F L, but xix 5 (Pilate's *Ecce homo!*) is left out.

Note that Jn. vii 40–43 is added after Matt. xii 23 in L 77, S 73, as well as in its proper place (L 174, S 168), but not in F 62 or in A.

It is evident that in St John, as in St Matthew, an attempt was made

[1] So also in Ephr. *Rom.* v 320 B (see *Ev. da-Meph.* ii 134).

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to represent all the contents. The omission of vii 44 and of viii 20 is very curious, as the note of place in viii 59 is preserved.

This is the most convenient point to examine one or two peculiarities in the Latin text of F, and of that underlying L, which call for notice.

The wording of F is that of the Latin Vulgate: it is, in fact, one of the leading authorities for it, having a text akin to the Codex Amiatinus, i.e. to the Cassiodorian tradition. What the character of the text was in its immediate ancestor, that is to say in the MS discovered by Victor of Capua, is not very easy to determine.

The wording of L, the Liège Harmony, is a very vigorous and lively Dutch. The mediaeval dialect in which it is couched has to an English ear a much more homely sound than the modern classical language. The very glosses have an informal, friendly look: 'blasphemie agin the Holy Ghost, that's perseverance in sins'[1]—this kind of language gives the impression of a free, unconventional treatment of the text. But most of this is the effect of language, what would be got by putting the Authorized Version into dialect. As a matter of fact the Dutch is a fairly faithful rendering of a Latin text which differed very little from that of the Vulgate. It needs proof that this Latin was different from that of Cod. Fuldensis itself. It sounds quaint and delightful to read about the Jewish Popes ('die yoedsche papen') and the Jewish Bishops ('beschope'), but the first term only corresponds to *pontifices* and the second to *principes sacerdotum*. For all critical purposes we must only take account of the underlying Latin.

Whatever the earlier text of the Latin Diatessaron may have been, it is clear that in the final forms in which we have it the text has been assimilated to the Vulgate. Therefore no critical argument can be drawn from readings of F or L which only imply the wording of the Vulgate. This sounds like a truism, but Dr Plooij does not seem to me to bear it in mind. On pp. 47–52 of his book he has an elaborate Note on Jn. vi 15, the starting-point of which is that F has *fugit* and L 'ontflo hi' to render ἀνεχώρησεν. There is in this verse a well-known various reading φεύγει for ἀνεχώρησεν, and it is obvious that F and L 'support' φεύγει. But among the comparatively few witnesses for φεύγει is the Latin Vulgate.[2] In other words F and L present the current text of their age and country. The reasons which led St Jerome to retain the Old Latin *fugit* in this passage do not immediately concern us; the point is, that he did so and thereby made *fugit* the only current reading in this verse throughout Latin-speaking lands. Whatever the text of the MS Victor of Capua found may have been, *fugit* came into

[1] 'Blasphemie iegen den heilegen gheest dats perseuerancie in sunden' L 79.

[2] The list is ℵ* *a ff* vg syr.*C* (NB. *not* syr.*S* or Diat. *Arab*).

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cod. Fuldensis as a matter of course, along with the rest of the pure Vulgate text, and the same may be said of the Latin ancestor of L, whether it was a direct descendant of F or of the ancestor of F.

Another instance of the same sort of thing, which has even taken in Dr Rendel Harris, occurs in L 48, corresponding to Lk. xi 8. In F 41 this begins with *dico uobis*, as in Wordsworth and White's critical text of the Vulgate and as in the Greek and the English. But L prefixes 'And he that stands without, he will remain shouting and knocking on the door'.[1] How vivid, how picturesque! Where did the mediaeval Dutch Harmonist get this striking addition? The answer is that he got it from the contemporary, mediaeval Latin Vulgate, which prefixes *et ille si perseuerauerit pulsans* to Lk. xi 8, in agreement with the Old Latin *ffilm* and *r* (hiant *ae*). Even if this picturesque addition, modelled of course on Lk. xiii 25, be due to Tatian in the first instance, a mediaeval Harmony would be likely to have it in any case, for the addition is found in most MSS of the Vulgate, including the Amiatinus itself.

In the above instance L under the influence of the later Vulgate text presents a reading to us unfamiliar, while F being in the wording of the early Vulgate has not got the reading. The reverse occurs in F 124, L 168, A xxxiii 38 = Matt. xxi 31. The evidence of Ephraim 191 makes it clear that the Old Syriac Diatessaron had the 'Western' reading ὁ ἔσχατος, but A xxxiii 38 having been assimilated to the text of the Peshiṭta has 'The first'. F 124, agreeing as usual with the better MSS of the Vulgate, has *nouissimus*, but L 168, in agreement with the majority of the later MSS of the Vulgate, has 'dirste', i.e. 'The first'. It is in accordance with general probability that the original text of Tatian had here 'The last one', so that F happens here to represent it correctly while L does not, but no significance attaches to this because the reason for the reading of F and of L is in each case the Vulgate text with which they were in contact.

The only way that it seems to me we can learn anything securely about the text of F's immediate ancestor is by examining the very few passages where owing to some accident of transcription it does not follow the Vulgate at all. Five of these may be discussed here.[2]

1. Lk. xix 28 = F 139 (end), L 187 (beginning), A xxxix 18.

[1] Dr Harris (*Plooij* p. 2) remarks on this: 'When the midnight visitor in the Gospel parable "continues knocking and shouting" to his sleepy and unwilling friend, we not only see the action more vividly, but we also make connection with the attached moral . . . that to him that *knocketh*, it shall be opened.'

[2] The insertion of Jn. viii 55 between Jn. vii 29 and 30 in F 105, L 143 has some Latin support elsewhere, and must have arisen through some fault of a scribe rather than from the ingenuity of a harmonist. The verse is given again in its place in Jn. viii.

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After the story of the anointing of Jesus at a supper (combined in F and L with the story of the Sinful Woman, Lk. vii 39–50) all three forms of the Harmony make Jesus proceed to Jerusalem. In L and A here follows the Entry with the cry of Osanna, in F it is put earlier, but Ephraim 207 makes it clear that here L and A preserve the true order of the Diatessaron, a fact which should be remembered when the relation of L to F is being considered. In any case Lk. xix 28 is inserted at this point in F L and A; but in F it is so isolated, being sandwiched between Lk. vii 50 and Jn. xii 20, that it seems to have not been identified by Victor of Capua, and so to have escaped assimilation to the Vulgate text. It runs thus:

Et his dictis abiit ascendens Hierosolymam.[1]

The Greek is καὶ εἰπὼν ταῦτα ἐπορεύετο ἔμπροσθεν ἀναβαίνων εἰσ Ἰεροσόλυμα. There are three forms in which this text is transmitted,

(i) retains ἔμπροσθεν and has a full stop after 'Jerusalem': so all Gk. MSS (exc. D) lat. *f*-vg syr.vg and A xxxix 18.[2]

(ii) substitutes δέ for ἔμπροσθεν, so that there is a stop after ἐπορεύετο, and the rest of the verse goes with *ver.* 29: so D *e* and syr. *S C.*

(iii) omits ἔμπροσθεν but keeps the stop after 'Jerusalem': so F with (*a*) *c ff i l q r s.* All these have *abiit* for ἐπορεύετο except *a*, which has *ibat* (with *d*). *b* has lost a leaf here.

The conclusion to be drawn from this seemingly insignificant variation is now obvious and important. The ancestor of cod. Fuldensis was in Latin and had a 'European' text. There is no evidence except in Latin for the intermediate reading by which ἔμπροσθεν is dropped but the stop at Jerusalem is retained.

The rendering of L 187 *init.* ('The next day afterwards Jesus went Jerusalem-wards') is too free to enable us to guess whether it represents *abiit* or the *praecedebat* of the Vulgate.

2. Lk. ix 11 (*sic*)[3] = F 119 (end), L 162 (end), A xxxii 23.

Between the story of the Pharisee and the Publican and the visit of Nicodemus to Jesus L inserts Lk. xvii 7–10, a passage left out altogether in F and inserted elsewhere (xxxiii 10 ff) in A. But immediately before the story of Nicodemus there comes both in F and A and in L a combination of Matt. xxi 17, Mk. xi 11, and Lk. ix 11: the latter verse, being so far from its context, was left unrevised in F. It runs:

[1] Ranke (p. 125) actually identifies it with Matt. xx 17 (*sic*, Ranke has '27' by a misprint).

[2] Syr.vg has 'went forth forward' for ἐπορεύετο ἔμπροσθεν, 'went forth' (or 'went out') being a legacy from the Old Syriac. The Syriac for 'forward' is literally 'before him', and the Arabic took 'he went out before himself' to mean 'he went out at his ease', i. e. 'without hurrying', using the idiomatic phrase *'ala risleh*. There is nothing here in the Arabic beyond a rather free rendering of the Peshiṭta.

[3] In Ranke (p. 105) by a misprint '19' is put for '9'.

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Et sciens turba quod exiit extra ciuitatem secuti sunt eum, et suscipiens eos quibus necessaria erat cura sanabat.

A has 'And all the people, because they knew the place, came to Him and He received them; and those that needed healing He was healing'.

It may be remarked in passing that this is a very good instance of the way in which the mosaic of Tatian often has been very well preserved: this verse keeps its place both in F and A, though so isolated from its context that Ranke identified it wrong and both our Arabic MSS assign it to Matthew. It should be further noticed that neither F nor A has here the clause that says Jesus was speaking to them of the Kingdom of God. L 162 has the same mosaic as F and A, but it inserts a free rendering of Jn. vii 53 in front of Lk. ix 11: so also S 153.

It would be confusing here to exhibit the various Latin renderings of this verse, for the sentence in F does not come very close to any of them. In fact the sentence looks to me more like one constructed with Lk. ix 11 in mind than a formal extract. The nearest is *e* (*qui necessariam habebant curam curabat*), but F is neater than this. I should judge from this verse that the ancestor of F, i.e. the MS Victor of Capua found, was a rendering in Biblical style, but not always a direct mosaic of fragments of the Latin Bible.[1]

3. Mk. xii 37 = F 142.

This verse is inserted in A xl 31 after Matt. xxiii 5^{a}, where it is followed by Mk. xii 38, and so back into the main stream of the Matthaean denunciation of the Scribes and Pharisees. But in F by some accident of transcription it comes in after Matt. xxiii 7 (after *rabbi*), and so has escaped revision from the Vulgate.[2] It runs:

Et omnis populus libenter audiebant eum.

It is perhaps worth notice in passing that *c e* and *k*, representing the African text, have *illum* and put *libenter* later. But all Latin Biblical texts here have *multa turba*, while *omnis populus* really implies the λαόσ of Lk. xix 48, xxi 38. Here again the older Latin text of 'Tatian' is not a literal mosaic, but an adaptation.

It is therefore important to repeat that *omnis populus* does not occur in any Biblical text of Mk. xii 37. If the influence of the Diatessaron on Latin Biblical texts had been as great as Dr Plooij wishes us to infer I should have expected at least one of our Old-Latin texts here to have agreed with the text of F.

4. Lk. xxii 39 = F 159.

Secundum consuetudinem in montem Oliueti.

[1] Something therefore like the long Biblical extracts in the Verona fragments of the Latin *Didascalia*.

[2] The phrase from Mark is left out in L 190, but is given here in S 185, C 28 *v*.

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So the Old Latin *a b d e ff i l q* and *f*, but the Vulgate codices all have *Oliuarum*. This verse is an isolated phrase from Luke inserted between Jn. xiv and xv.[1]

5. Lk. xii 49, 50 = F 109, L 149.

Nescitis quia igne ueni mittere in terra, et quid uolo nisi ut accendatur? Baptismum habeo baptizari, et quomodo turbor usque dum perficiatur.

nescitis quia F = G (*b*) *e ff l*] *om.* rell. ignem rell. terram rell.
nisi ut F = Θ T V W vg.*cl*] nisi *l* vg.wordsw., si *b ff i q r* 𝔓*J M O Q Y Z, sic r_2 D R 𝔓^{mg}, si iam *d*, ut *f*
et quid . . . accendatur] *om. e*
baptismum F = *d e l*] baptisma rell. habeo F = *c ff i l q*] *pr.* autem rell.
turbor F = *b e ff i l q r*] coartor *f* vg, urguor *d*, anxior r_2
usque dum F = rell.] quoadusque *e*, donec *f*, ut *i**
perficiatur F = rell.] consummetur *d r* r_2.

I do not understand how these verses have escaped revision, but it is evident that they have done so and that they present a normal 'European' text. L 149 agrees entirely with F. It has: 'Ende wetti nit dat ic en vir hebbe bracchtt in ertrike . ende wat willic el dan datt berne? Ic hebbe noch toverlidene en doepsele . ende hoe sere sal ic gheturbeert moten syn eert overleden sal werden.' That is to say 'And wot ye not that I a fire have brought on earth, and what will I else than that it burn? I have yet to endure a baptism, and how bitterly shall I be perturbed ere it shall be endured.' The Stuttgart MS (S) has the same interpretation in almost the same words.

It should be noticed here that in Lk. xvi 11, a verse which occurs immediately before this passage, F (and S) read *quod uestrum est* in accordance with a well-known various reading in Vulgate MSS (= B^c D E K* Q X* Z* *gat q* r^2), but L has 'deẹulike rikheit' (i. e. 'the eternal riches').

This is the most convenient place to add a few notes upon the Table of Capitula prefixed to F. The first and obvious remark to be made is that this Table of the 182 chapters into which the Harmony is divided has not been revised to agree with the Vulgate, or indeed with the text

[1] 'Berch van oliveten' in L 213 might, I suppose, stand for either reading. There immediately follows in L 214 'Ic ben die gewarege wyngart', corresponding to *ego sum uitis uera* (Jn. xv 1), a rendering on which Dr Plooij lays great stress (pp. 58, 70), because it agrees with those Syriac quotations of the passage that speak about 'the Vineyard of truth' (see *Ev. da-Meph.* ii 143). But as in the only other place where 'Vine' occurs in the Gospel, viz. Matt. xxvi 29 (and parallels), L 206 has 'van wyngards vrochte' for *de hoc genimine uitis*, no stress at all can be laid on this curious coincidence. Dr Plooij notices this rendering of Matt. xxvi 29, but does not seem to see its significance.

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of which it professes to be an Index. No doubt it was simply copied out almost unchanged from the old codex that Victor found.

The Gospel-text implied in these Capitula is just what would be expected from the preceding paragraphs, *viz.* an Old-Latin text of the same type as *b* and *ff*, but at the same time marked by a number of words and phrases that are not found in any Biblical version. 'African' phraseology is noticeably absent, but there are one or two passages that seem to shew the influence of the Vulgate. The results of a pretty thorough examination of the Capitula may be analysed as follows:—

(i) *Non-Biblical expressions.* VIII. infugatus (Matt. ii 13) LV. subreguli (Jn. iv 46) LXVII. proelium (Lk. xiv 31) LXXV. uadit dormitu (Mk. iv 27) LXXVII. ciues indignati (Matt. xiii 54) CVIIII. mercennarios (Matt. xx 1) CXXII. de iudice duro (Lk. xviii 6) CLVIII. pauefiat cor (Jn. xiv 27) CLVIIII. baiulet (Lk. xxii 36).

(ii) *Old-Latin expressions.* XXXVIII. de indumento (Matt. vi 25, Lk. xii 23)[1] LXVIIII. iuxta mare (Matt. xiii 1) CLVII. ut uos uentilet (Lk. xxii 31).

(iii) *Expressions agreeing both with European texts and the Vulgate.* LI. foueas (Matt. viii 20, Lk. ix 58) LVI. conuiuium (Lk. v 29) XCVII. substantiam . . . deuorauit (Lk. xv 30) CIIII. similitudinem (Lk. xiii 6), also XVCI and CVI (Lk. xv 3, *not* vg) CLX. palmites (Jn. xv 1, 4 ff).

(iv) *Vulgate readings.* LII. increpauit (Matt. viii 26) LXII. Behelzebub (Matt. xii 24) LXV. exprobrare (Matt. xi 20) LXXVI. sagena (Matt. xiii 47, also *d*).

In (iv) the most significant is *Behelzebub*, with final *b*, as all Old-Latin texts end the name with *l*. The Dutch Harmonies have *Belsebuc*. The other three might really be expressions not found in the Old-Latin, but afterwards independently used by Jerome.

One final point demands separate treatment, although some of the evidence has been given already. Dr Plooij, in his study of L, assumes that it, with the other Dutch Harmonies, is not a direct descendant of the Codex Fuldensis. I am of that opinion myself, but in view of the close agreement of F and L in their arrangement, coupled with the often paraphrastic renderings of the Latin found in the Dutch text, it is desirable to collect the passages that do indicate that L is rather the great-nephew than the grandson of F.[2]

[1] This is the only expression that might be claimed as 'African' (= $k^1/_1$): it is more significant that *indumentum* occurs in $g^2/_2$, a half-Vulgate MS that is known to have some connexion with the 'Diatessaron'.

[2] The following illustrates the free paraphrastic style of L. In F 121, L 163–4, both texts give the story of the Woman taken in Adultery ([Jn.] viii 1–11).

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In the first place F begins with Lk. i 1–4 (St Luke's Preface), followed by Jn. i 1 ff; L, like all other known forms of the Diatessaron, leaves out Lk. i 1–4 altogether and begins at once with Jn. i 1. This is however not decisive, for a passage like the Preface to Luke might be supplied or dropped at the beginning according to the taste of an editor. More cogent are the passages noticed above, where L preserves passages or details of passages which do not appear at all in F. They are:—

L 32 and F 21 have different omissions in Jn. iii 33^{b}–35.

L 60 (with S 58) has Lk. iv 33–36 = Mk. i 23–27: F 49 omits.

L 77 (with S 73) combine Matt. xii 22 with Matt. ix 32 f: F 62 has no detail taken from Matt. xii 22.

L 100 preserves details from Jn. vi 5, 6: F 81 has nothing from Jn. vi earlier that *ver.* 7.

L 122 has Magedan, which may come from Matt. x 39 or the *O. Latin* text of Mk. viii 10: F 90 has Dalmanutha (Mk. viii 10, vg.).

L 207 has Jn. xiii 2–3: F 155 omits.

In all these six places the Arabic has the passages exactly, or almost exactly, in the same place as L, so that the natural inference is that L has them by inheritance, not by adoption from the Gospel text.

The case of Lk. xvii 7–10 is somewhat different: this is omitted in F 122, L 165 (the Withered Fig-Tree), but is given in A xxxiii 11–15^{a}; it occurs in L 162 (after the Pharisee and the Publican), but not in F 119 or A xxxiii 21. Here therefore we may suppose that the Latin Diatessaron really omitted the passage, but that it has been added in L by some editor who noticed that these words had no place.

In Lk. xvi 11 F 109 has a peculiar reading (*uestrum*), found in some other Vulgate MSS, while L 149 has the better reading (*uerum*), which is also the reading of the O. Latin.

Besides these readings, all of which create a presumption that L is not derived directly from F, there are at least two major variations between L and F in order. The Entry into Jerusalem with the Ass and the cries of Osanna is given in L 187 and A xxxix 19 ff at the latest possible moment, after the Cleansing of the Temple and the

F prefixes to it [Jn.] vii 53 *et reversi sunt unusquisque in domum suam*: L does not have this verse here but prefixes 'When Jesus had spoken this word He went out of Bethany', [Jn.] vii 53 having been already used in L 162 in these words 'Ende en ighewelc ghinc thus wert van den ghenen die daer versament hadden gheweest' (i. e. 'And each one went house-ward of those who there had been assembled'). On the other hand, while F 130 ends with Jn. vii 52, L 174 adds to it *ver.* 53 in these words 'Ende alse dat gesproken was so schit igelic van den andren . ende elec ghinc te sire herbergen wert' (i. e. 'And when that was spoken each parted from the other, and each went to their habitations'). There is no question here of various readings: the Dutch sentences represent the same Latin.

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disputes with the Chief Priests and the Raising of Lazarus. In F 117 it comes much earlier, before the Cleansing and the disputes and the story of Lazarus. That the order of L and A is primitive appears from the fact that it is the order of Ephraim 207 f. If L were a direct descendant of F, how could L have been corrected to agree exactly with the Eastern tradition?

The other case is not quite so clear, for this time it is L that goes against the Eastern tradition. According to Ephraim 221 Judas Iscariot was not worthy of the bread *with wine* which was given to the other Apostles. In agreement with this in F 157[a] and A xlv 12 ff Judas does not eat the Eucharist at all, for he has already gone out. In L 206, on the other hand, the whole of Jn. xiii is put after the Eucharist, so that Judas does eat of it. The evidence of A and of Ephraim tells us that F and not L has here preserved the true order of the Diatessaron, but be that as it may it is not likely that L is here a direct descendant of F.

It is time now to sum up these investigations and to form one or two general conclusions. The textual tradition of the 'Diatessaron' falls into two well-defined branches, the Eastern and the Western. On the one side are Ephraim and the Arabic Harmony, on the other Victor of Capua's edition (preserved in cod. Fuldensis) and the Dutch Harmonies. In cases of difference between these two main divisions there is very little cross-voting, only just sufficient to shew that the Dutch Harmonies are not directly derived from Victor's edition. Characteristic of the Western form is a series of omissions, apparently due to oversight, not to dogmatic or literary considerations, and on the whole a less elaborate system of mosaic.

In a small number of passages the text of cod. Fuldensis has not been assimilated to the Vulgate. These passages may be taken to preserve unchanged the text of the immediate ancestor of F, that is to say of the text of the Diatessaron which Victor of Capua happened to find. Their wording is similar to that of Old-Latin MSS of the 'European' family, and in one instance at least (Lk. xii 49, 50) these Old-Latin readings of F reappear in L. The common ancestor of F and L, therefore, was a Latin Diatessaron, not a Greek or Syriac text, and its cast of language was similar to that of the 'European' MSS. This seems to me to disprove Dom Chapman's ingenious conjecture (*Early Hist. of Vg. Gospels* p. 79) that Victor's MS was a Greek Diatessaron, a theory to which I was inclined to give a too hasty assent, and further it seems to shew that it was Victor who first assimilated the Old-Latin Diatessaron to a Vulgate wording. When and how the Latin ancestor of L was assimilated to the Vulgate we

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cannot tell: perhaps it was a gradual process, not quite completed even in the MS from which the Dutch Harmony was first made.

The fact that the ancestor of cod. Fuldensis was an Old-Latin Harmony makes it quite likely that Zahn has given too late a date to it. 'Not earlier than 500' is Zahn's opinion, but an Old-Latin codex might be as old as 400 or 300 A. D.

Thus the result of our investigation has been to push back the Latin Harmony to an age comparable with St Ephraim and the rest of the Syriac evidence. Which form was the older, the Western or the Eastern, the Latin or the Syriac? The Syriac in its earliest form we know to have played its part at the very beginnings of Syriac Christianity. It is commonly supposed to have been introduced by Tatian himself, when he went back to his native 'Mesopotamia', i. e. it can be traced back to about A. D. 170. On the other hand, as I have pointed out in the course of this investigation, the Latin form of the Harmony is on the whole rougher and cruder, while the Syriac form has the characteristics of a 'second edition, revised and enlarged'. No direct evidence for the Diatessaron in Greek has appeared.

Here we must leave scientific deduction. But I should like to conclude with a couple of conjectures. It has been sometimes said that the Diatessaron was the last of the Gospels, the last attempt to gather together all the Gospel material as a substitute for Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John. Is it not equally possible that it was never a rival at all to the Gospels themselves, but was the first of the versions?

The 'Gospel', the Corpus of writings which the sense of the Church had selected, especially at Rome, in the very generation when Tatian lived and worked, consisted of four Greek books. Such a selection was a practical assertion that these books were in some way 'inspired'. A few years after Tatian had departed to the East a Greek writer in the West, St Irenaeus, is found asserting the mysterious and providential significance of the quadruple number or these apostolic books, so that to cut and pare them into a single framework might seem hazardous at so late a date as 160 or 170, especially in Rome. But during the very same period a great change was coming over the Roman Church; it was ceasing to be a community of Greek-speaking persons and becoming more and more a community of Latin-speaking persons. Except the writings of Hippolytus, Tatian's own Address to Greeks is the latest important Greek work written by a Christian domiciled in Rome. In what form should these Latin-speaking Roman Christians hear the 'Gospel'?

The question was soon answered once for all, probably through the action of the Christians of Roman Carthage. Latin-speaking Christians were to have the Gospel, the whole Gospel, all the Gospels, in their native tongue. The sacred, inspired, apostolical Greek text might

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continue to be read from time to time, at certain services, but the full text of all Four Gospels was turned into Latin and soon—we do not know quite how soon—it was used in worship.

May not the original Diatessaron, the first Harmony of the Gospels ever made, have been a Latin Epitome for Latin Christians, who as yet had nothing but the Greek original? If this was so, many difficulties disappear. It explains the absence of any direct trace of the Diatessaron in Greek. It explains, moreover, the absence of references to the Diatessaron in the literature of the Christian West and the rarity of surviving copies. The particular usefulness of the work had soon come to an end, for within thirty years, perhaps less, all Four Gospels were available in Italy in Latin. The work did not altogether perish, but copies were seldom made. When they were made, no doubt the wording was always more or less assimilated to the current text of the Latin Bible.

It may further be asked whether there is any valid reason for regarding Tatian as the compiler of this original Latin Diatessaron. We do not know that Tatian was interested in Latin-speaking Christianity, or even that he was familiar with the Latin language. That Tatian had anything to do with any ancestor of Codex Fuldensis, or that such a Harmony was known in the West as *Diatessaron*, is not an immemorial tradition; it is nothing more than a conjecture made by Victor of Capua on the strength of a passage in Eusebius. The MS found by Victor was anonymous, and he had no traditional evidence for connecting it with the name of Tatian. All the tradition that connects Tatian with the Diatessaron relates to the Diatessaron in Syriac, or is most easily so interpreted. Eusebius never seems to have seen the work himself.

We know from Epiphanius (*Haer.* xlvi 1) that Tatian spent the latter part of his life in his native 'Assyria', i. e. no doubt Osrhoene, the country round Edessa. Here he found, or founded, a Syriac-speaking Christian community. At Edessa itself there may have been some Greek culture, but elsewhere the only language used was Syriac, and even in Edessa Syriac was on a social equality with Greek, for it was the language of an independent royal State. Some two hundred years later we find this Syriac-speaking Church, which had Edessa as its centre, using the Diatessaron almost to the exclusion of the Four Gospels, and the literary tradition identifies its author with the Ṭaṭianos of whom Eusebius speaks.

The weight of evidence—or rather the absence of evidence to the contrary—suggests that the Four Gospels had not been translated into Syriac when Tatian came back to the East. Here therefore was another great opportunity for the Diatessaron. But in putting this Harmony into Syriac Tatian did not simply translate the Latin work: it was equally easy for him to compile it anew from the original

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Greek, and in so doing to introduce changes and improvements in the mosaic, such as a 'second edition' almost always presents. For some time this Syriac Diatessaron had no rival, and therefore it became to the early Syriac-speaking Christians 'the Gospel' in a way that the Latin Diatessaron never did. The Syriac Diatessaron greatly influenced the wording of the Separate Gospels for generations, while the Latin Diatessaron influenced the separate Latin Gospels much less, and in its turn was greatly influenced by them.

It seems to me that the one moment in the West when we may look for a considerable influence on the text of the Gospels from the Diatessaron was in the earliest days of what is called 'the European Old-Latin', when the Latin Gospels current in Roman Africa were being accepted and adapted for Roman and Italian use.

The other conjecture refers to the name of Tatian. The author of the 'Address to Greeks' called himself *Tatianus*, but he was an 'Assyrian' by birth, i. e. he came from the Syriac-speaking lands of Mesopotamia. What did his mother call him? What was his real name?

It is remarkable that the Syriac-speaking Church preserved no tradition about 'Tatian'; they only identified the author of their Diatessaron with the Τατιανόσ about whom Eusebius had written. On the other hand, they had no doubt as to who brought the Gospel to Edessa. It was Addai. Tradition put him into the time of the Apostles and made him one of the Seventy-two, but the 'Doctrine of Addai' tells us that what he brought to Edessa was nothing else than the Diatessaron (*D. of Addai* 36). Eusebius thought this name Addai should be spelt Θαδδαῖοσ in Greek. But why should it not be *Tatian*?

Of course Addai and Ṭaṭianos are not much alike to look at, whether we write them in Greek or in Syriac. But it is not a question of philological equivalence. Jason and Jesus, Jakim and Alcimus, Silas (i. e. *Sh'īlā*) and Silvanus, are not more different. The main elements of Addai are the doubled dental, the *a*-vowel, the long syllable at the end. Possibly it is derived from the name of the God Hadad or Dadda: possibly the Hermetic 'Thoth', spelt in Greek Τάτ, may have been regarded as a sort of equivalent, so that *Tatianus* meant 'Tat's devotee'. But as I say, it is not a question of philology or scientific comparative religion, but of almost individual caprice. In such a matter certainty cannot be looked for, but if my conjecture be adopted, I venture to think it would afford a simple solution of a historical difficulty, which is, that the Syriac-speaking Christians preserved the tradition that 'Addai' brought the Diatessaron to their land, but do not seem to have heard of 'Tatian' except from the Greek writer Eusebius.

F. C. BURKITT.

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ON THE TEXT OF THE BAPTISMAL CREED OF HIPPOLYTUS.

THE work of Hippolytus on *The Apostolic Tradition* contains the earliest continuous text of a baptismal Creed that has been preserved. Earlier extracts from the Creed are either too uncertain or too fragmentary to enable us to reconstruct with accuracy the texts which they presuppose. As an addition, therefore, to existing materials for the history of the Creed a set formula dating from the early decades of the third century, and emanating from Rome, is a document of which the importance can hardly be exaggerated. But owing to the number of texts in which it has been handed down it cannot be safely quoted as evidence for the Roman Creed of the early third century until its authentic form and content have been ascertained, as nearly as possible, and accretions, gathered in the course of transmission, have been eliminated; for even in the best versions that we have of it (those in the early Latin translation and in the *Testamentum Domini*) it is certain, I think, that the original text has received at least some slight addition or modification. I have been hoping to see some treatment of this Creed from a competent hand, but up to the present I am not aware that anything has been undertaken, and so I am induced to make a beginning with a bare statement of the textual evidence.

Fortunately, although no Greek text has been preserved, the materials at our disposal are by no means scanty, though their quality is unequal. We possess in all six versions or recensions:—

1. in the Latin fragments contained in the Verona palimpsest published by E. Hauler[1];

2, 3, and 4. in the Ethiopic (*Eth*), Arabic (*Arab*), and Coptic (*Copt*) versions edited by Mr G. Horner[2];

5. in the *Testamentum Domini*[3] (*Test*), based for this portion on the treatise of Hippolytus;

6. and in the *Canons of Hippolytus*[4] (*CH*), based on the same treatise.

[1] *Didascaliae Apostolorum fragmenta ueronensia latina*, etc., Leipzig, 1900.

[2] *The Statutes of the Apostles, or Canones ecclesiastici*, Williams & Norgate, 1904.

[3] Ed. J. E. Rahmani, Mainz, 1899.

[4] H. Achelis *Die Canones Hippolyti* (Texte u. Unters. vi), 1891; and W. Riedel *Die Kirchenrechtsquellen des Patriarchats Alexandrien*, Leipzig, 1900. I shall follow the more literal German version of Riedel in preference to the Latin version made for Achelis.

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It will be well to give at once the text as it stands in what is, on the whole, the most trustworthy of these authorities, the Latin version (the first clause is unfortunately missing through the loss of several pages of the palimpsest).

. . . manum habens in caput eius inpositam baptizet semel. Et postea dicat: 'Credis in Christum Iesum, filium Dei, qui natus est de Spiritu sancto ex Maria virgine, et crucifixus sub Pontio Pilato et mortuus est et sepultus, et resurrexit die tertia vivus a mortuis, et ascendit in caelis et sedit ad dexteram patris venturus iudicare vivos et mortuos?' Et cum ille dixerit, 'Credo', iterum baptizetur. Et iterum dicat: 'Credis in Spiritu sancto, et sanctam ecclesiam, et carnis resurrectionem?' Dicat ergo qui baptizatur: 'Credo'. Et sic tertia vice baptizetur.

I.

The Ethiopic, Arabic, and Coptic versions present a difficulty which we must endeavour to clear away at the outset. They have each in reality *two* Creeds in connexion with the rite of baptism as described in our document.

(1) The first is a declaration of belief 'in one God the Father Almighty, and in His only Son our Lord Jesus Christ, and in the Holy Spirit, the giver of life to all creation, the Trinity equal in Godhead, one Lord and one kingdom, and one faith and one baptism in the holy Catholic Church, and eternal life'.

Only in the Arabic has this first Creed the form of an interrogation, beginning with 'Dost thou believe?'; in the other two versions it begins with 'I believe'. Yet all three presuppose an interrogatory formula, for they all prescribe that the candidate is to say 'I believe' at the end. When he has thus answered, the minister lays his hand upon his head and dips him three times in the water. Then is added: 'and he who is baptized shall make declaration every single time that he is dipped.' The three declarations and dippings imply the use of a Creed that was divided into three interrogations, each followed by an immersion; but the formula itself, with its single 'I believe' at the end, provides no place for them. The account proceeds: 'and afterwards he shall say to him again: Dost thou believe?'[1] &c., thus introducing

(2) the second Creed, which answers to that found in the Latin version and in *Test* and *CH*. But here in *Eth*, *Arab*, and *Copt* we have another anomaly, viz. that in this second Creed the first article is omitted, and the interrogation starts with the second article: 'Dost thou believe in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ . . .?' The interrogation as to the Holy Spirit thus becomes the second instead of the third; and the third is moved on and placed before the clause on 'the

[1] I have quoted from the Ethiopic; the Arabic and Coptic are to the same effect.

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resurrection of the body'. There is but one response, 'I believe', at the end of the whole Creed, and no mention at all of immersions. Clearly all is not well with these texts.

The Latin version, as already stated, is defective just at the point where it would have enabled us to check the Oriental versions. Nevertheless I think we shall be able to recover the substance of the missing sentence, and indeed the actual words of the first clause of the Creed. The surviving fragment (see above) begins with the words: 'manum habens in caput eius inpositam baptizet semel.' Then follow the second and third interrogations in their natural places and each followed by the response 'I believe', and an immersion. Here all is so far in order; and we find the same arrangement in *Test* and *CH*. These two documents also reproduce the text of the Creed with far less variation from the Latin than do the other three versions, and they give the first clause in its normal place.

Test introduces the Creed thus: 'And when he who is being baptized goes down into the water, let him who baptizes him say, while his hand is laid upon him, thus: Dost thou believe in God the Father Almighty? Let him who is being baptized say: I believe. Let him immediately baptize him once.'

CH is sufficiently close to this to shew that neither document has departed far from the common source: 'And so he goes down into the water. The presbyter lays his hand upon him ("upon his head" Achelis) and asks him as follows: Dost thou believe in God the Father Almighty? He who is baptized answers: I believe. He dips him once in the water, while his hand is laid upon his head.'

In the light of these derived texts we shall not be far wrong if we reconstruct the defective sentence of the Latin thus: '⟨Et cum descenderit, qui baptizatur, in aquam, manum ei inponens dicat qui baptizat: Credis in Deum patrem omnipotentem? Dicat qui baptizatur: Credo. Tunc (?)⟩ manum habens in caput eius inpositam baptizet semel.'

The confusion in *Eth*, *Arab*, and *Copt* would seem to have been brought about by some scribe or editor, probably in Egypt, who wished to find a place in this collection of 'apostolic' documents for a short form of baptismal Creed, with which he was familiar, side by side with that in the text before him.

II.

Neglecting therefore the first Creed in the three Oriental versions, we must now set out the text of the second, the original, formula as it stands in each of the documents enumerated above. I place in square brackets certain words and clauses which will easily be recognized as

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interpolations into the third-century text of Hippolytus, and which may accordingly be left out of account in the ensuing attempt to reconstruct that text. The Latin text, already given, will be repeated at the end in order to be followed by an apparatus shewing the variants of the others.

The Ethiopic (Horner, p. 154).—'Dost thou believe in [the name of our Lord] Jesus Christ, the only Son of God [the Father], that He became man [in an incomprehensible miracle] by the Holy Spirit and by[1] Mary the virgin [without seed of man], and He was crucified in the time of Pontius Pilate, and He died [by His own will for our salvation], and rose from the dead on the third day, [and released the captives,] and ascended into the heavens, and sat down at the right hand of the Father, and He shall come to judge the living and the dead [at His appearing and His kingdom]? And dost thou believe in the Holy Spirit, [the good and the sanctifier,] and in the holy Church? And dost thou believe the resurrection of the body [which shall happen to all men, and the kingdom of the heavens, and eternal judgement]?' And he who is baptized shall answer concerning all this, saying: 'Yes, I believe in this.'

The Arabic (Horner, p. 254).—'Dost thou believe in Jesus Christ [our Lord], the only Son of God [the Father], that He became man [by an incomprehensible miracle] from the Holy Spirit and from Mary the virgin [without seed of man], and was crucified in the time of Pontius Pilate, and died [by His own will to save us withal], and rose from the dead on the third day, [and released the captives,] and ascended into the heavens and sat down at the right hand of the Father, and He shall come to judge the living and the dead [at His appearing and His kingdom]? Dost thou believe in the Spirit, the holy, [the good, the sanctifier] in the holy Church? And dost thou believe in the resurrection of the body [which shall happen to every one, and the kingdom of the heavens and eternal judgement]?' And he shall answer for all those things, saying: 'Verily I believe in this.'

The Coptic (Horner, p. 318).—'Thou believest [our Lord] Jesus Christ, the only (*lit.* one) Son of God [the Father], that He became man [by a miracle for our sake, in an incomprehensible unity,] in His Holy Spirit from Mary the [holy] virgin [without seed of man]; and that He was crucified [for us] in the time of Pontius Pilate, He died [voluntarily for our salvation withal], He rose the third day, [He released those who were bound,] He ascended into the heavens, He sat at the right hand of [His good] Father [in the height], and He comes again to judge the living and the dead [according to His appearing and His kingdom]? And thou believest in the holy, [good and lifegiving] Spirit, [purifying the universe,] in the holy Church[2] . . .?' Again let him say: 'I believe.'[3]

[1] Mr Horner's text adds 'our Lady'; but this is read by only one of his MSS.

[2] 'Two lost folia of the [Sahidic] MS have been supplied from the recent Bohairic MS of Tattam' (Horner, p. 318 note).

[3] This of course is from the Bohairic of Tattam.

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Testamentum Domini ii 8 (translated literally).—'Dost thou believe in God the Father Almighty?' Let him who is being baptized say: 'I believe.' Let him immediately baptize him once. Let the priest say again: 'Dost thou believe also in Christ Jesus, the Son of God, [who came from the Father, who of old is with the Father]; who was born of Mary the virgin through the Holy Spirit; who was crucified in the days of (= under) Pontius Pilate, and died; and rose the third day alive[1] from the dead; and ascended to heaven and sat at the right hand of the Father; and cometh to judge the living and the dead?' But when he (= *ille*) says, 'I believe', let him baptize him the second time. And again let him say: 'Dost thou believe also in the Holy Spirit in the holy Church?' And let him who is being baptized say: 'I believe.' And so let him baptize him the third time.

Canons of Hippolytus can. xix (Riedel, p. 212, Achelis, p. 96).—'Dost thou believe in God the Father Almighty?' He who is baptized answers: 'I believe.' He (*jener*) dips him once in the water, while his hand is laid upon his head. Then he asks him the second time as follows: 'Dost thou believe in Jesus Christ, the Son of God, whom Mary the virgin bore of the Holy Spirit, [who came to save the human race,] who [for us] was crucified in the time of Pontius Pilate, who died, and on the third day rose from the dead, ascended to heaven, sat at the right hand of the Father, and will come again to judge the living and the dead?' He (*jener*) answers: 'I believe.' And he dips him the second time in the water. Then he asks him the third time as follows: 'Dost thou believe in the Holy Spirit, [the Paraclete, who emanates from the Father and the Son]?' When he (*jener*) says, 'I believe', he dips him the third time in the water.

The Latin version (Hauler, p. 110: I omit here all but the actual text of the Creed).

1. ⟨Credis in Deum patrem omnipotentem?⟩
2. Credis in Christum Iesum, filium Dei,
3. qui natus est de Spiritu sancto ex Maria virgine,
4. et crucifixus sub Pontio Pilato
5. et mortuus est
6. et sepultus,
7. et resurrexit die tertia vivus a mortuis,
8. et ascendit in caelis et sedit ad dexteram patris
9. venturus iudicare vivos et mortuos?
10. Credis in Spiritu sancto,
11. et sanctam ecclesiam,
12. et carnis resurrectionem?

[1] Dr Maclean (*The Testament of our Lord*, 1902, p. 126) translates: 'and died and rose the third day, [who] *came to life* from the dead.' But the unpointed Syriac word should undoubtedly be vocalized *ḥayya*, 'alive', and not *ḥĕya*, 'He came to life'. This is indicated by the construction and confirmed by 'vivus' in the Latin.

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1. Supplied from *Test* and *CH*. 2. Christum Iesum: so *Test*; Iesum Christum *Eth Arab Copt CH*. filium Dei: so *Test CH*; 'the only Son of God the Father' *Eth Arab Copt*. 3. de . . . ex: 'by . . . and by' *Eth*; 'from . . . and from' *Arab*; 'in his Holy Spirit from' *Copt*; 'of Mary the virgin through the Holy Spirit' *Test*; 'whom Mary the virgin bore of the Holy Spirit' *CH*. (In the eucharistic prayer of the *Apost. Trad.* 'ex Spiritu sancto et virgine natus'; and ἐκ . . . καί *passim* in writings of Hippolytus). 5. et mortuus est: all authorities. 6. et sepultus: all other authorities omit. 7. vivus: so *Test*; the rest omit. 8. sedit: so *Eth Arab Copt Test CH* (Riedel: 'sedet' Achelis). 9. venturus (without 'inde' or 'unde'): '*and* will come' (or 'cometh') all other authorities. 11. et sanctam ecclesiam: 'and in the holy Church' *Eth*; 'in the holy Church' (with intervening epithets after 'Holy Spirit') *Arab Copt*; 'in the holy Church' (immediately after 'Holy Spirit') *Test*; om. *CH*. 12. et carnis resurrectionem: om. *Test CH*.

NOTES.

1. It can hardly be by chance that the two eastern documents *Test* and *CH*, which shew no signs of any literary relationship beyond their common dependence on the *Apostolic Tradition* of Hippolytus, agree in presenting us with the simple formula 'in God the Father Almighty'. Rufinus says expressly that this was the first article of the Roman Creed, and in the earliest Roman texts we find nothing more. We may compare also Hippolytus *c. Noet.* 8 ἀνάγκην οὖν ἔχει καὶ μὴ θέλων ὁμολογεῖν πατέρα θεὸν παντοκράτορα, and Dionysius of Rome (in St Athanasius *de Decretis Nicaenae Synodi* c. 26 *fin.*) ἀλλὰ πεπιστευκέναι χρὴ εἰς θεὸν πατέρα παντοκράτορα.

2. 'et in Christum Iesum, filium Dei.'—*Test* also has 'Christ Jesus', which is the more noteworthy inasmuch as this order is unusual in Syriac. Hippolytus *c. Noet.* 8 proceeds (after the words quoted just above) καὶ εἰς Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν, υἱὸν θεοῦ, and Dionysius of Rome (as above) καὶ εἰς Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν, τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ. Tertullian also, where he appeals to the witness of the Church of Rome (*de Praescr.* 36), writes: 'et Christum Iesum, ex virgine Maria filium Dei creatoris', though elsewhere he has the order 'Iesum Christum' (cf. *de Virg. vel.* 1, *de Praescr.* 13, *adv. Prax.* 1, 2); and in Novatian *de Trin.* 9 we find: 'credere . . . in Christum Iesum, dominum Deum nostrum.' The same order 'Chr. Ies.' is found in the Roman Creed as represented by Marcellus, Rufinus, the Athelstan Psalter, and Codex Laudianus.

For 'filium Dei' practically all other western texts have 'filium eius unicum (or 'unicum f. e.'), dominum nostrum', while the earliest Greek Creeds still further define the relation of the divine Sonship. Our text therefore would seem to shew the Roman Creed at an earlier stage, when (perhaps in East and West alike) it was felt to be enough to assert that Christ Jesus was 'God's Son', without comment.

3. '*de* Spiritu sancto *ex* Maria virgine.'—*Eth* and *Arab* appear to represent ἐκ πνεύματος ἁγίου καὶ (ἐκ) Μ. τῆς παρθένου: and '*de* Sp. sancto *et* M. virg.' is the mode of expression in the earliest Roman Creed texts. Moreover in the eucharistic prayer contained in the *Apost. Trad.* itself we read in the Latin version: 'et filius tibi ostensus est ex Spiritu sancto *et* virgine natus.' Further, καί in the second place is regular in other writings of Hippolytus: cf. *c. Noet.* 4 ἐκ πνεύματος ἁγίου . . .

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καὶ παρθένου, and again *σὰρξ . . . ἡ ἐκ πνεύματος καὶ παρθένου*, *ibid.* 17 *παρὼν ἐφανέρωσεν ἑαυτὸν ἐκ παρθένου καὶ ἁγ. πν.*, *Philos.* viii 17 (Hermogenes confessed that Christ was the Son of God) *καὶ αὐτὸν ἐκ παρθένου γεγενῆσθαι καὶ πνεύματος*, *ibid.* ix 30 (the Jews say that the Christ is to be born of the race of David) *ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐκ παρθένου καὶ ἁγ. πν.*, *Fragm. in Gen.* (Berlin ed. vol. i part 2 p. 59) *ὅτι ἐξ ἁγ. πν. καὶ ἐκ Μαρίας ἐγεννήθη*, *Fragm. in Psalm.* (*ibid.* p. 147) *ἐκ τῆς παρθένου καὶ τοῦ ἁγ. πν.*, *Fragm. in Prov.* (*ibid.* p. 165) *ἐκ πν. ἁγ. καὶ παρθένου γεγεννημένου*. I have no doubt therefore that 'ex' in the Latin version of the Creed, whether it be due to the translator or to a subsequent scribe, should for the reconstruction of the Greek be corrected to 'et'. Indeed it is difficult to see how 'de . . . ex' could have been represented in the Greek.

The insistence of Hippolytus upon the birth 'from the Holy Spirit and the Virgin' is a noteworthy feature in his writings. This formula is brought by him into connexion with his characteristic view that the birth in flesh vindicated for the Divine Logos the title of 'Son' in its full scope, 'shewing' Him, as he says, to be 'perfect Son of God', *τέλειος υἱὸς θεοῦ* (see especially *c. Noet.* 4 and 15: but the same idea is traceable in many other passages). Now we read in Origen *de Princip.* lib. i Praef. § 4 'Corpus assumpsit nostro corpori simile, eo solo differens, quod *natum ex virgine et Spiritu sancto est*' (see also *Com. in Ioan.* xxxii 16, ed. Brooke ii p. 178 *ἐκ παρθένου τῆς Μαρίας καὶ ἁγίου πνεύματος*); but are similar expressions to be met with before the third century? Irenaeus and Tertullian would seem to have known as a formula no more than 'of the Virgin Mary'. Is it not conceiveable that Hippolytus himself was responsible for the introduction into western Creeds of the form of words 'de Spiritu sancto et Maria virgine'?

5–6. 'et mortuus est et sepultus.'—Here 'et mortuus est' is read in every one of our six authorities for the text, but the addition of 'et sepultus' is found in the Latin version alone. The western Creeds of the fifth century have only 'et sepultus est', to which 'mortuus' was later on prefixed. But on the evidence before us we must certainly, I think, read 'et mortuus est' alone as representing the original text of Hippolytus. This is what we regularly find in Justin Martyr: e. g. *Dial.* 85 *καὶ σταυρωθέντος ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου ὑπὸ τοῦ λαοῦ ὑμῶν καὶ ἀποθανόντος καὶ ἀναστάντος ἐκ νεκρῶν καὶ ἀναβάντος εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν* (see also 1 *Apol.* 21, 31, 42, 46, *Dial.* 63, 95). It would be easy for 'et sepultus' to creep in in a Latin translation made in the fourth or fifth century.

7. 'et resurrexit die tertia vivus a mortuis.'—Harnack notes (in his edition of the Epistle of Barnabas, p. 117) that the order by which the verb is placed first is characteristically eastern, the western order being 'tertia die resurrexit a mortuis'. But possibly the difference is one merely between Greek and Latin customary usage; in the case of a Greek document written in the West the distinction can hardly be insisted upon.

As to 'vivus', this is found only in a few western texts, as that of Niceta and certain Spanish Creeds. The word 'vivus' here might accordingly be suspected as possibly a Latin interpolation by a non-Roman translator or scribe; but its appearance in *Test* as well proves that it stood already in Greek copies of the *Apost. Trad.*, so that there is no longer any sufficient ground for rejecting it. At the beginning of the third century the Roman Creed was probably not so rigid in its formulation but that the personal element may still have had some play; and a variation of this type might have been introduced by Hippolytus, or have found a place in the Creed of some local churches.

9. 'venturus iudicare.'—The familiar western form is 'inde (*or* unde) venturus (est) iudicare'; but in Tertullian we find 'sedentem nunc ad dexteram patris, venturum iudicare vivos et mortuos' (*de Virg. vel.*, and similarly in *adv. Prax.* 2).

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10–11. 'Credis in Spiritu sancto, et sanctam ecclesiam?'—Here our authorities are at variance. *CH* omits everything after the clause as to the Holy Spirit. *Eth* supports the Latin, reading 'and in the holy Church'. *Arab*, *Copt*, and *Test* would appear to represent not καὶ εἰς (τὴν) ἁγίαν ἐκκλησίαν, but ἐν τῇ ἁγίᾳ ἐκκλησίᾳ, this being connected with 'the Holy Spirit' as defining His sphere of action among men. There may be something to be said in favour of such a mode of introducing the mention of the Church, but on the whole it seems more probable that the agreement of the Latin and the Ethiopic gives us the original form of the clause.

12. The clause 'et carnis resurrectionem' does not appear in the texts of *Test* and *CH*, and accordingly there is room for some hesitation in regard to it. But it is found in all the other versions, and the probabilities are in its favour, for we read in Tertullian (*de Praescr.* 36): 'videamus quid didicerit (*sc.* Romana ecclesia), quid docuerit, quid cum Africanis quoque ecclesiis contesserarit: unum Deum dominum novit, creatorem universitatis, et Christum Iesum ex virgine Maria filium Dei creatoris, *et carnis resurrectionem*.' His employment of the order 'Christum Iesum' (see under 2 above) would seem to shew that he really had a knowledge of the contemporary Roman Creed, though he gives so very free and summary a description of its contents.

Finally, we note the absence of 'remissionem peccatorum' and 'vitam aeternam', both of which stood in the baptismal interrogations of the African Church in St Cyprian's day (*Epp.* lxix 7, lxx 2).

The following attempt to reconstruct the Baptismal Creed of Hippolytus is offered as a basis for criticism and correction.

Πιστεύεις εἰς θεὸν πατέρα παντοκράτορα; Πιστεύω.
Πιστεύεις εἰς Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν, (τὸν) υἱὸν (τοῦ) θεοῦ,
τὸν γεννηθέντα ἐκ πνεύματος ἁγίου καὶ Μαρίας τῆς παρθένου,
τὸν ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου σταυρωθέντα,
καὶ ἀποθανόντα,
καὶ ἀναστάντα τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ζῶντα ἐκ (τῶν) νεκρῶν,
καὶ ἀναβάντα εἰς τοὺς οὐρανούς,
καὶ καθίσαντα ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ πατρός,
ἐρχόμενον κρῖναι ζῶντας καὶ νεκρούς; Πιστεύω.
Πιστεύεις εἰς πνεῦμα ἅγιον,
καὶ ἁγίαν ἐκκλησίαν,
καὶ σαρκὸς ἀνάστασιν; Πιστεύω.

III.

Dr Brightman has said of the Creed of Hippolytus that it 'suggests the need of some revision of the ordinary account of the developement of the Roman Creed'.[1] The first question which would seem to arise is this: What is its relation to the baptismal Interrogations in the Gelasian Sacramentary?[2] and is it possible any longer to regard the

[1] In the volume of *Essays on the Early History of the Church and the Ministry*, edited by the late Dr Swete and published after his death (Macmillan, 1918), p. 345, note.

[2] These are as follows: 'Credis in Deum patrem omnipotentem? Credo. Credis et in Iesum Christum filium eius unicum dominum nostrum, natum et passum? Credo. Credis et in Spiritum sanctum, sanctam ecclesiam, remissionem peccatorum, carnis resurrectionem? Credo.'

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brief summary 'natum et passum', in the second of those Interrogations, as belonging to 'the first stage of the process by which the Creed was developed out of the baptismal formula'?[1] Already in Justin Martyr and Tertullian we meet with passages which appear to imply a much more expanded form of the article on the Son than that which appears in the second Gelasian Interrogation; and for my part I find it difficult to believe that in the two words 'natum et passum' we have the earliest formulation of the Roman clauses relating to the Incarnation, Passion, &c. They seem too allusive, they imply too much and say too little; in short, they read like a *later epitome* rather than a first attempt at statement.[2] Again, in the light of the formula of Hippolytus I am tempted to doubt whether, for the second and third centuries at any rate, a distinction can be drawn between 'Creed' and 'baptismal Interrogations'.[3] The Interrogations of Hippolytus appear to me to be co-extensive with the full Roman Creed of his day, and his formula would serve as well for a *Credo* as for a *Credis?* Is he not representative in this of what went before him?

A fresh consideration of these and similar questions seems to be called for, and the suggestions here made are put forward in the hope that they may have the effect of stimulating discussion and giving us some new light on the early history of the Creeds.

R. H. CONNOLLY.

THE MEANING OF ἐπίκλησις.

OF all terms used by liturgical writers none is more important than the word ἐπίκλησις. It has often been held that, though ἐπίκλησις has other meanings, yet, when applied in early Christian literature to the form of Eucharistic consecration, it has the definite signification of a 'prayer' or 'petition'. But a very competent scholar—Dom Connolly—who has done much valuable work in this field of study, has recently questioned this. In an article published in the *Downside Review* (January 1923) he examines the subject and comes to the conclusion that 'the characteristic use of the words 'invocation', 'invoke',

[1] Prof. C. H. Turner *The History and Use of Creeds and Anathemas in the Early Centuries* (S.P.C.K., 1906), p. 14.

[2] It is surely remarkable that the omissions in the Gelasian formula, as compared with the Roman Creed of about the year 400, affect just those statements which receive the chief emphasis in the second century—the birth from a virgin, the crucifixion under Pontius Pilate, the resurrection and ascension, and the future coming of Christ as Judge of the living and the dead. In almost all other respects the Gelasian Interrogations have kept pace with the developements in the Roman Creed up to the fifth century.

[3] See again Prof. Turner *op. cit.*, p. 17 f.

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is not to express the idea of petition, but to designate this or that religious formula as one involving the use of names—whether it be names or titles given to God, or those of demons, aeons, or any other supernatural powers: and whether the formula be pious and orthodox, or profane and superstitious' (p. 33). Everything from the pen of one so learned as Dom Connolly demands respectful attention. But it is possible that a careful examination may disclose facts to which he has not given sufficient consideration.

It will be noticed that Dom Connolly's conclusion affects the verb ἐπικαλεῖν as well as the verbal substantive ἐπίκλησις derived from it. In classical Greek ἐπικαλεῖν has three meanings: 'to invoke' (in the sense of 'appealing to for help'), 'to surname', and 'to accuse'. In later Greek the first of these is expressed by the middle voice (ἐπικαλεῖσθαι), and in this sense *invocare* is its Latin equivalent.

We have already seen Dom Connolly's definition of ἐπικαλεῖσθαι (*invocare*). Let us compare it with an older one. Origen, as represented by Rufinus (*Comm. in Rom.* viii 5), quotes 1 Cor. i 2, and says: 'Si ergo et Enos et Moyses et Aaron et Samuel " invocabant Dominum, et ipse exaudiebat eos ", sine dubio Christum Iesum Dominum invocabant: et si invocare nomen Domini et orare Dominum unum atque idem est, sicut invocatur Deus, invocandus est Christus; et sicut oratur Deus, ita et orandus est Christus'. We note that the writer here states as an undoubted fact that *invocare nomen Domini* has exactly the same meaning as *orare Dominum*, and he proceeds to draw conclusions from this fact. Further, if this be true of *invocare* when coupled with *nomen*, it must *a fortiori* be true of *invocare* when it stands alone without *nomen*. For our purpose it is of little importance whether Rufinus translated the above passage from Origen or whether he composed it himself. What is important is, that it is impossible to reconcile Rufinus's definition with Dom Connolly's. Rufinus asserts and Dom Connolly denies that the characteristic use of *invocare* (and therefore also of ἐπικαλεῖσθαι) is, to express the idea of petition. Which of the two are we to follow? It will be casting no slur on Dom Connolly's scholarship if I venture to express the opinion that on such a point—the meaning of a word in a then-living language—Rufinus is by far the safer authority. A brief examination of the use of ἐπικαλεῖσθαι in the LXX and the N.T. may possibly confirm us in this judgement.

Ἐπικαλεῖν occurs 176 times in the LXX (Swete's text), in 120 of which it is in the middle voice, and in 110 of these 120 occurrences it signifies 'to invoke'. In the N.T. there are thirty occurrences of ἐπικαλεῖν, in sixteen of which it is in the middle voice, and in all these sixteen its meaning is 'to invoke' or 'appeal'. In quite a considerable number of instances the actual words (Judg. xv 18, 19;

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3 Kgs. xvii 21, xviii 26; 1 Chron. iv 10; Ps. lxxxviii 27, cxiv 4; 2 Macc. xiv 34–36, xv 22–24; 4 Macc. xii 18; Acts vii 59) or the contents (Job xvii 14; Wisd. xiii 17; Ecclus. li 10; 2 Macc. iii 15, iii 22, vii 37, 38, viii 2–4, xii 36, xiii 10, 11, xiv 46; 3 Macc. i 27, v 7, 8) of an 'invocation' are given, and in every case (with the apparent exception of Judg. xv 18 and the possibly real exception of Ps. lxxxviii 27) they form a petition or prayer of some kind with no more prominence given to any name or names than is given in other prayers. A comparison of 2 Macc. xv 22–24, the prayer of one who was ἐπικαλούμενος, with 3 Macc. vi 1–15, the speaker of which merely προσηύξατο (it was the elders round him who were expected ἐπικαλεῖσθαι), will serve as a good illustration of this latter point.

There may be, and probably are, examples of the use of *invocare* or ἐπικαλεῖσθαι in some special sense. Rufinus's definition does not cover these; his aim is to give the normal meaning of the word. And it is the normal meaning which we require for our present purpose.

It would seem then that Dom Connolly's conclusion fails, so far as the verb 'to invoke' is concerned; 'the characteristic use' of ἐπικαλεῖσθαι and *invocare* is 'to express the idea of petition'. We have now to examine whether it possesses any more value with regard to the substantive ἐπίκλησις (*invocatio*).

In classical Greek ἐπίκλησις has three primary meanings corresponding to those of ἐπικαλεῖν: an 'invocation' (in the sense of 'appeal' or 'petition'); a 'surname'; and an 'imputation'. The third of these does not concern us; the other two we shall denote by α and β respectively.

But secondary meanings are always possible, and ἐπίκλησις acquired a secondary meaning (γ); it came to be used of religious formulae other than petitions. Thus it is applied by early Christian writers to formulae as different as that of Christian baptism and those of heretical and magical incantations. But did this secondary meaning supersede the primary ones? Certainly not; ἐπίκλησις continued to be used with meaning β. Did it continue also to be used with meaning α? Dom Connolly thinks it did not. He says: 'I do not know of any passage in an ante-Nicene writer which can be held to justify the statement that ἐπίκλησις signifies a *petition*' (p. 29). Is Dom Connolly correct or not? That is the question we have to consider.

Unlike ἐπικαλεῖν, ἐπίκλησις is a rare word. It is never found in the N.T. or in the Apostolic Fathers, and only twice in the LXX. And our object may be best served by giving a *catena*—doubtless, far from complete—of passages in patristic writings (including the LXX) in which it occurs, beginning with those where it is used in sense β. As these have little bearing on our subject, it will suffice to give references,

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except in one case where the meaning might be disputed: 2 Macc. viii 15; Justin M. *Dial. Tryph.* xci 3, cxi 2, cxxviii 1; Athenagoras *Legatio* xviii 4 (in a quotation from Orpheus); Clement of Alexandria *Stromata* vi 16. 137; Hippolytus *Philos.* ix 12. 26; Origen *Hom. in Ier.* ix 3, *Contr. Cels.* i 25; Eusebius *Orat. in Tricenn. Constant.* xvii 4. It would be possible to render the first of these (ἕνεκα τῆς ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἐπικλήσεως τοῦ σεμνοῦ καὶ μεγαλοπρεποῦς ὀνόματος αὐτοῦ) 'because of the *invocation* on them', &c., and this rendering has the support of the Vulgate. But '*surnaming*' is a more likely translation; God is besought to help His people because they are called by His name.

We now come to the passages in which ἐπίκλησις (or *invocatio*) has the α or the γ meaning, and for convenience of reference we will number each occurrence of that word in them.

1. 2 Macc. xv 26 μετὰ ἐπικλήσεως καὶ εὐχῶν συνέμιξαν τοῖς πολεμίοις.

2, 3. Irenaeus *Contr. Haeres.* i 13. 2 (Stieren's ed.) ποτήρια οἴνῳ κεκραμένα προσποιούμενος εὐχαριστεῖν καὶ ἐπὶ πλέον ἐκτείνων τὸν λόγον τῆς ἐπικλήσεως, πορφύρεα καὶ ἐρυθρὰ ἀναφαίνεσθαι ποιεῖ· ὡς δοκεῖν τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν ὑπὲρ τὰ ὅλα χάριν τὸ αἷμα τὸ ἑαυτῆς στάζειν ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ ποτηρίῳ διὰ τῆς ἐπικλήσεως αὐτοῦ.

4. *Ibid.* i 13. 3 ἐπικλήσεις τινὰς ποιούμενος ἐκ δευτέρου.

5. *Ibid.* iv 18. 5 ὡς γὰρ ἀπὸ γῆς ἄρτος προσλαμβανόμενος τὴν ἐπίκλησιν τοῦ θεοῦ οὐκέτι κοινὸς ἄρτος ἐστὶν ἀλλ' εὐχαριστία.

The three following are preserved only in the ancient Latin translation of Irenaeus:—

6. *Ibid.* i 21. 5 'cum aqua et supradictis *invocationibus* ut incomprehensibiles et invisibiles principibus et potestatibus fiant.'

7. *Ibid.* i 24. 5 'utuntur autem et hi magia et imaginibus et incantationibus et *invocationibus* et reliqua universa periergia.'

8. *Ibid.* ii 32. 5 'nec *invocationibus* angelicis facit [ecclesia] aliquid nec incantationibus.'

9. Hippolytus *Philos.* vi 39. 2 πολλάκις λαμβάνων ποτήριον ὡς εὐχαριστῶν καὶ ἐπὶ πλεῖον ἐκτείνων τὸν λόγον τῆς ἐπικλήσεως, πορφύρεον τὸ κέρασμα ἐποίει φαίνεσθαι καί ποτε ἐρυθρόν.

10. Origen *Comm. in Ioann.* vi 33 οὕτως καὶ τὸ διὰ τοῦ ὕδατος λουτρόν, σύμβολον τυγχάνον καθαρσίου ψυχῆς πάντα ῥύπον τὸν ἀπὸ κακίας ἀποπλυνομένης, οὐδὲν ἧττον καὶ καθ' αὐτὸ τῷ ἐμπαρέχοντι ἑαυτὸν τῇ θειότητι τῆς δυνάμεως τῶν τῆς προσκυνητῆς τριάδος ἐπικλήσεών ἐστιν ἡ χαρισμάτων θείων ἀρχὴ καὶ πηγή.

Basil *De Spir. Sanct.* xxix (73), quotes this passage κατὰ λέξιν, as he says; but his quotation differs in some respects from the above text; *inter alia* it runs τῇ θεότητι τῆς . . . τριάδος διὰ τῆς δυνάμεως τῶν ἐπικλήσεων.

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11. Origen *Contr. Cels.* iv 33 εὑρίσκεται γὰρ ἐν τοῖς μαγικοῖς συγγράμμασι πολλαχοῦ ἡ τοιαύτη τοῦ θεοῦ ἐπίκλησις καὶ παράληψις τοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ ὀνόματος ὡς οἰκείου τοῖς ἀνδράσι τούτοις εἰς τὰ κατὰ τῶν δαιμόνων.

12. *Ibid.* v 45 ἐὰν δὲ τηρήσωμεν αὐτὸ [τὸ' Ισραὴλ ὄνομα] προσάπτοντες οἷς οἱ περὶ ταῦτα δεινοὶ συμπλέκειν αὐτὸ ᾠήθησαν, τότε γένοιτ' ἄν τι κατὰ τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν τῶν τοιωνδὶ ἐπικλήσεων ἐκ τῆς τοιασδὶ φωνῆς.

13. Eusebius *Dem. Evang.* iii 6. 34 πάλιν δ' ἐπὶ τὸν δι' ἐναντίας ἰτέον, ἐρωτητέον τε εἴ ποτε ὀφθαλμοῖς εἶδεν ἢ ἀκοῇ ἔγνω γόητάς τε καὶ φαρμακέας δίχα σπονδῶν καὶ θυμάτων καὶ δαιμόνων ἐπικλήσεώς τε καὶ παρουσίας γοητεύοντας.

14. *Id., Orat. in Tricenn. Constant.* xvi 9 τίς δ' ἕτερος ὡς ὁ ἡμέτερος σωτὴρ διὰ τῆς εἰς αὐτὸν ἐπικλήσεως καθαρωτάταις εὐχαῖς ταῖς δι' αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὸν τῶν ὅλων θεὸν ἀναπεμπομέναις τὰ λείψανα τῶν πονηρῶν πνευμάτων ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἀπελαύνειν ἐπ' ἐξουσίας ἔδωκεν;

15. Constantine *Orat. in Sanct. Coet.* xxi τό τε εὔχεσθαι τὸν ποιητὴν τοῦ βίου τέλος αὐτῷ μηκύνεσθαι θείας ἐπικλήσεως σύμβολον· παρὰ θεοῦ γὰρ τὸν βίον καὶ τὸ σώζεσθαι ἀξιοῦν εἰθίσμεθα, οὐ πρὸς ἀνθρώπου.

16, 17. Cyril of Jer. *Catech.* iii 3 ὥσπερ γὰρ τὰ τοῖς βωμοῖς προσφερόμενα, τῇ φύσει ὄντα λιτά, μεμολυσμένα γίγνεται τῇ ἐπικλήσει τῶν εἰδώλων· οὕτως ἀπ' ἐναντίας τὸ λιτὸν ὕδωρ, πνεύματος ἁγίου καὶ Χριστοῦ καὶ πατρὸς τὴν ἐπίκλησιν λαβόν, δύναμιν ἁγιότητος ἐπικτᾶται.

18. *Ibid.* iii 12 κατέρχῃ μὲν γὰρ εἰς τὸ ὕδωρ φορῶν τὰς ἁμαρτίας· ἀλλ' ἡ τῆς χάριτος ἐπίκλησις σφραγίσασα τὴν ψυχὴν οὐ συγχωρεῖ λοιπὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ φοβεροῦ καταποθῆναι δράκοντος.

19. *Ibid.* iv 13 πολλοὶ κατὰ χρόνους ἐσταυρώθησαν· ἀλλὰ ποίου σταυρωθέντος ἐπίκλησις ἑτέρου ποτὲ τοὺς δαίμονας ἀπήλασε;

20, 21, 22, 23. *Id., Cat. Myst.* i 7 ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ ἐν εἰδωλικαῖς πανηγύρεσι κρεμώμενα, ἔσθ' ὅτε κρέα ἢ ἄρτοι ἢ ἄλλα τοιαῦτα, μιανθέντα τῇ τῶν παμμιάρων ἐπικλήσει δαιμόνων, τῇ τοῦ διαβόλου πομπῇ ἐγκαταλέγεται. ὥσπερ γὰρ ὁ ἄρτος καὶ ὁ οἶνος τῆς εὐχαριστίας, πρὸ τῆς ἁγίας ἐπικλήσεως τῆς προσκυνητῆς τριάδος, ἄρτος ἦν καὶ οἶνος λιτός· ἐπικλήσεως δὲ γενομένης, ὁ μὲν ἄρτος γίνεται σῶμα Χριστοῦ ὁ δὲ οἶνος αἷμα Χριστοῦ· τὸν αὐτὸν δὴ τρόπον τὰ τοιαῦτα βρώματα τῆς πομπῆς τοῦ Σατανᾶ, τῇ ἰδίᾳ φύσει λιτὰ ὄντα, τῇ ἐπικλήσει τῶν δαιμόνων βέβηλα γίνεται.

24, 25. *Ibid.* ii 3 ὥσπερ γὰρ τὰ ἐμφυσήματα τῶν ἁγίων καὶ ἡ τοῦ ὀνόματος τοῦ θεοῦ ἐπίκλησις, ὥσπερ σφοδροτάτη φλόξ, καίει καὶ ἐκδιώκει δαίμονας· οὕτω καὶ τὸ ἐπορκιστὸν τοῦτο ἔλαιον ἐπικλήσει θεοῦ καὶ εὐχῇ δύναμιν τηλικαύτην λαμβάνει ὥστε οὐ μόνον καῖον τὰ ἴχνη τῶν ἁμαρτημάτων ἀποκαθαίρειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάσας ἀοράτους τοῦ πονηροῦ ἐκδιώκειν τὰς δυνάμεις.

26, 27. *Ibid.* iii 3 ὥσπερ γὰρ ὁ ἄρτος τῆς εὐχαριστίας μετὰ τὴν ἐπίκλησιν τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος οὐκ ἔτι ἄρτος λιτὸς ἀλλὰ σῶμα Χριστοῦ· οὕτω καὶ τὸ ἅγιον τοῦτο μύρον οὐκ ἔτι ψιλόν, οὐδ' ὡς ἂν εἴποι τις κοινόν, μετ' ἐπίκλησιν,

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ἀλλὰ Χριστοῦ χάρισμα καὶ πνεύματος ἁγίου παρουσίᾳ τῆς αὐτοῦ θεότητος ἐνεργητικὸν γινόμενον.[1]

28. Gregory of Nyssa *Cat. Orat.* xxxiii εὐχὴ πρὸς θεὸν καὶ χάριτος οὐρανίας ἐπίκλησις καὶ ὕδωρ καὶ πίστις ἐστὶ δι' ὧν τὸ τῆς ἀναγεννήσεως πληροῦται μυστήριον.

29. *Ibid.* xxxiii πῶς γάρ, φασίν, εὐχὴ καὶ δυνάμεως θείας ἐπίκλησις ἐπὶ τοῦ ὕδατος γινομένη ζωῆς ἀρχηγὸς τοῖς μυηθεῖσι γίνεται;

30. *Ibid.* xxxiv δειχθέντος γὰρ τοῦ θεὸν εἶναι τὸν ἐν σαρκὶ φανερωθέντα, τοῖς διὰ τῶν γινομένων θαύμασι τὴν φύσιν ἑαυτοῦ δείξαντα, συναπεδείχθη τὸ παρεῖναι τοῖς γινομένοις αὐτὸν κατὰ πάντα καιρὸν ἐπικλήσεως . . . ἀλλὰ μὴν ἀεὶ παρέσεσθαι τοῖς ἐπικαλουμένοις ἐπήγγελται.

31. *Ibid.* xxxv οἷς δὲ προσεπωρώθη τὰ πάθη καὶ οὐδὲν προσήχθη τῆς κηλίδος καθάρσιον, οὐχ ὕδωρ μυστικόν, οὐκ ἐπίκλησις θείας δυνάμεως, οὐχ ἡ ἐκ μεταμελείας διόρθωσις, ἀνάγκη πᾶσα καὶ τούτους ἐν τῷ καταλλήλῳ γενέσθαι.

32. Basil *De Spir. Sanct.* xv (35) ἐν τρισὶν οὖν καταδύσεσι καὶ ἰσαρίθμοις ταῖς ἐπικλήσεσι τὸ μέγα μυστήριον τοῦ βαπτίσματος τελειοῦται.

33. *Ibid.* xxvii (66) τὰ τῆς ἐπικλήσεως ῥήματα ἐπὶ τῇ ἀναδείξει τοῦ ἄρτου τῆς εὐχαριστίας καὶ τοῦ ποτηρίου τῆς εὐλογίας τίς τῶν ἁγίων ἐγγράφως ἡμῖν καταλέλοιπεν; οὐ γὰρ δὴ τούτοις ἀρκούμεθα ὧν ὁ ἀπόστολος ἢ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον ἐπεμνήσθη, ἀλλὰ καὶ προλέγομεν καὶ ἐπιλέγομεν ἕτερα ὡς μεγάλην ἔχοντα πρὸς τὸ μυστήριον τὴν ἰσχύν, ἐκ τῆς ἀγράφου διδασκαλίας παραλαβόντες.

34. *Apost. Const.* iii 16. 4 ἔπειτα ἡ σὺ ὁ ἐπίσκοπος ἢ ὁ ὑπὸ σὲ πρεσβύτερος τὴν ἱερὰν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς εἰπὼν καὶ ἐπονομάσας ἐπίκλησιν πατρὸς καὶ υἱοῦ καὶ ἁγίου πνεύματος βαπτίσεις αὐτοὺς ἐν τῷ ὕδατι.

35. *Ibid.* vii 44. 3 ἐὰν γὰρ μὴ εἰς ἕκαστον τούτων ἐπίκλησις γένηται παρὰ τοῦ εὐσεβοῦς ἱερέως τοιαύτη τις, εἰς ὕδωρ μόνον καταβαίνει ὁ βαπτιζόμενος ὡς οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι.

36. Tertullian *Ad. Uxor.* ii 6. Tertullian is dissuading Christian women from marrying heathen husbands; in a heathen household, he asks, 'quae dei mentio? quae Christi *invocatio*?'

37. Novatian *De Trin.* xiv 'si homo tantummodo Christus, quomodo adest ubique inuocatus, cum haec hominis natura non sit, sed dei, ut adesse omni loco possit? si homo tantummodo Christus, cur homo in orationibus mediator inuocatur, cum *inuocatio* hominis ad praestandam salutem inefficax iudicetur?'

[1] The text of the quotations from Cyril (as also of 58) has been taken from Migne's *Patrologia Graeca*. But, in view of the many errors and misprints (two or three of which we have silently corrected) to be found in Migne, it is a pity that no modern scholar has published a critical edition of Cyril. Few works are more needed for the study of liturgiology and patristics than such an edition; and, if the University of Oxford or of Cambridge would undertake the task, a lasting benefit would be conferred on students.

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38–50. *De Rebaptismate.* In this work the baptismal formula is thirteen times called '*inuocatio* nominis Iesu' or an equivalent phrase (5, 6 *bis*, 7 *ter*, 10 *ter*, 12 *ter*, 15). One specimen will suffice: '*inuocatio* nominis Iesu non debet a nobis futilis uideri' (ch. 7).

51. Firmilian *apud* Cyprianum (*Ep.* lxxv 9) 'non putant quaerendum esse quis sit ille qui baptizauerit, eo quod qui baptizatus sit gratiam consequi potuerit inuocata trinitate nominum patris et filii et spiritus sancti . . . credat quod *inuocatio* haec nominum nuda sufficiat ad remissionem peccatorum et baptismi sanctificationem'.

52. *Ibid.* 10 'hoc frequenter ausa est, ut et *inuocatione* non contemptibili sanctificare se panem et eucharistiam facere simularet'.

53. *Didascalia Apostolorum* (ancient Latin translation) vi 22. 2 'eucharistiam offerte tam in collectis vestris quam etiam et in coemeteriis et in dormientium exitibus, panem mundum praeponentes qui per ignem factus est et per *invocationem* sanctificatur'.

54. *Ibid.* (from ancient Syriac translation) iii 12. 3 'cum tu baptizas vel cum diaconis praecipis baptizare vel presbyteris, diaconissa, ut praediximus, ungat mulieres, vir autem pronuntiet super eas nomina *invocationis* deitatis in aqua'.

Further than this it will be needless to go. But though the following four passages do not contain the word ἐπίκλησις or *invocatio*, yet they are too important for our subject to be omitted.

55. Origen on 1 Cor. vii 5 εἶτα ἵνα μὲν ἄρτους προθέσεως λάβῃ τις, καθαρὸς εἶναι ὀφείλει ἀπὸ γυναικός [1 Kings xxi 4]· ἵνα δὲ τοὺς μείζονας τῆς προθέσεως λάβῃ ἄρτους, ἐφ' ὧν ἐπικέκληται τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος, οὐ πολλῷ πλέον ὀφείλει τις εἶναι καθαρώτερος, ἵνα ἀληθῶς εἰς σωτηρίαν λάβῃ τοὺς ἄρτους καὶ μὴ εἰς κρίμα;

56. Cyprian *Ep.* lxxiii (ad Iubaianum) 9 'tantummodo quod deerat id a Petro et Iohanne factum est, ut oratione pro eis habita et manu inposita inuocaretur et infunderetur super eos spiritus sanctus'.

57. Cyril of Jer. *Cat. Myst.* v 7 εἶτα, ἁγιάσαντες ἑαυτοὺς διὰ τῶν πνευματικῶν τούτων ὕμνων, παρακαλοῦμεν τὸν φιλάνθρωπον θεὸν τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα ἐξαποστεῖλαι ἐπὶ τὰ προκείμενα· ἵνα ποιήσῃ. τὸν μὲν ἄρτον σῶμα Χριστοῦ τὸν δὲ οἶνον αἷμα Χριστοῦ. πάντως γὰρ οὗ ἐὰν ἐφάψαιτο τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα τοῦτο ἡγίασται καὶ μεταβέβληται.

58. Ambrose *De Spir. Sanct.* iii 16. 112 'quomodo igitur non omnia habet quae dei sunt, qui cum patre et filio a sacerdotibus in baptismate nominatur et in oblationibus invocatur, cum patre et filio a Seraphim in coelestibus praedicatur?'

In drawing inferences from these passages there are two things we must bear in mind.

A. The same writer may in different places use the word ἐπίκλησις

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with different meanings. To see this, we need only compare 9 (Hippolytus, *Philos.* vi 39. 2) with *Philos.* ix 12. 26, or 14 (Eusebius, *Orat. in Tricenn. Constant.* xvi 9) with xvii 4 of the same work. It does not follow that, because ἐπίκλησις may be used of Baptism in a particular sense, it must of necessity have the same sense when applied to prayer or to the Eucharist.

B. Since, as we have seen, ἐπικαλεῖσθαι (*invocare*) definitely expresses the idea of 'petition', the derived substantive ἐπίκλησις (*invocatio*) is more likely to have the primary and normal meaning of a 'petition' than any secondary meaning, whenever the former is possible. And this is specially the case wherever ἐπικαλεῖσθαι and ἐπίκλησις are found in close proximity to each other and in connexion with the same subject.

In a considerable number of the above passages ἐπίκλησις is used without any qualifying or explanatory word. But more frequently it has a genitive dependent on it. This genitive usually gives the name of the being (real or imaginary) who is invoked; but once (3) it indicates the person who makes the invocation, and five times (18, 26, 28, 29, 31) it describes the gift desired as the result of the invocation—whether 'grace' (18, 28) or 'divine power' (29, 31), or 'the Holy Spirit' (26). In this last case we know that 'the Holy Spirit' is not the Being addressed but the gift desired, because Cyril elsewhere tells us so expressly (57).[1] These latter facts, and in particular the title χάριτος ἐπίκλησις applied to the baptismal formula, are very unfavourable to Dom Connolly's conclusion; they shew how little necessary connexion the word ἐπίκλησις has with the thought of 'the use of names'. The baptismal formula is a χάριτος ἐπίκλησις, and yet the word χάρις does not even occur in it.

We can now arrange the occurrences of ἐπίκλησις or *invocatio* in the above passages under the various occasions to which they refer, as follows:—

(*a*) the Eucharist (2, 3, 5, 9, 21, 22, 26, 33, 52, 53);
(*b*) Baptism (10, 17, 18, 28, 29, 31, 32, 34, 35, 38–50, 51, 54), though in a few of these the reference possibly goes farther than the baptismal formula;
(*c*) exorcism (14, 19, 24);
(*d*) exorcised oil (25);
(*e*) the holy chrism (27);
(*f*) prayer (1, 14, 15, 30, 36, 37);
(*g*) heretical, magical or pagan rites (4, 6, 7, 8, 11, 12, 13, 16, 20, 23).

[1] There is a striking parallel in 56. The Holy Spirit has always been 'invoked' at Confirmation, not by a prayer directly addressed to Him, but by one asking for His bestowal on the confirmees.

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Let us now examine in detail the occurrences given under head *f*. In (1) ἐπίκλησις and εὐχαί are joined together in the closest possible manner; hence it is natural to translate: Judas and his men 'engaged the enemies with petition' (or 'supplication') 'and prayers'. A few verses before (*v.* 22) mention has been made of Judas ἐπικαλούμενος with a petition, the words of which are given; this makes it still more unlikely that the writer would immediately afterwards use ἐπίκλησις in a different sense. We pass on to 14. Here it seems almost impossible to give any meaning to ἐπίκλησις except 'appeal' or 'petition'; διὰ τῆς εἰς αὐτὸν ἐπικλήσεως καθαρωτάταις εὐχαῖς can hardly be rendered otherwise than 'by appeal made to Him [the Saviour] in purest prayers'. The reference is to exorcism, and this shews by the way that Dom Connolly is not altogether correct when he says (p. 29) 'forms of exorcism . . . were not couched in terms of petition or prayer but of adjuration and command' (cf. also prayer xxix in Serapion's *Sacramentary*). In 15 we find the expression θείας ἐπικλήσεως, where the construction is obviously the same as in *invocationibus angelicis* (8)—'invocations of angels'; so here θείας ἐπικλήσεως σύμβολον means 'sign of the invocation of a Divine Being', or, as McGiffert renders it, 'proof of the Divinity of him whom he invoked'. The invocation then was a prayer (τό τε εὔχεσθαι), nor can I see anything, either in the context or in the passage of Virgil to which Constantine refers, justifying the belief that ἐπίκλησις is here used with any thought of names. In 30 Gregory's argument is, that, since Jesus is God, He can be present, as He has promised, whenever and wherever 'petition' is made to Him. The mere use of His name in a religious formula might avail without His presence; 'petition' made to Him cannot. The brevity of 36 forbids our drawing any inference from it. But Novatian's argument in 37 is the converse of Gregory's in 30—that, since Christ is everywhere present when petition is made to Him, He must be God. If there be any force in what has been said, the use of ἐπίκλησις or *invocatio* in the sense of 'petition' or 'prayer' is not so rare as Dom Connolly thinks.

Just a word, before proceeding further, about 2 and 3. *In Contr. Haeres.*, bk. i, chs. xiii seq., Irenaeus has much to say about the heretic Marcus and his disciples and their religious rites and formulae. He gives the text of some of these formulae and sufficient description of the others to enable his readers to form some idea of their character. But there is one exception—Marcus's Eucharistic ἐπίκλησις (2, 3)—and, strangely enough, it is the first of the whole series and therefore stood in greater need of explanation than the rest, if it bore any resemblance to them. Yet not a word of explanation is given. How can we account for this omission? In one way only—that no explanation was needed. Marcus's ἐπίκλησις possessed sufficient likeness to that used in the

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Church for Irenaeus's readers to understand its general character without any explanation.

We can now consider the passages given under *α* and referring to the Eucharist. Consecration of the Eucharist in the early Church (as always) took a form entirely different from the baptismal formula. While the latter consisted of a short and definite form of words, the former was effected by a thanksgiving-prayer of considerable length; we may take the one given in Hippolytus's *Apostolic Tradition* as a fair specimen of what such prayers were like in the third century. Hence it is *a priori* likely that, whereas, when ἐπίκλησις is applied to Baptism, it is used with meaning *γ*, when applied to the Eucharist it will have meaning *α*.

This conclusion is confirmed by an examination of the passages in question. In 33 Basil is very careful to tell us that by ἐπίκλησις he means the whole consecration-prayer; this is certainly the case in 2, 3 and 9 likewise and probably in 5; in these instances it would seem impossible that ἐπίκλησις could signify 'a religious formula as . . . involving the use of names'. In 21, 22, and 26 ἐπίκλησις stands for that particular part of the consecration-prayer which effects consecration —in the opinion of the writer (Cyril of Jerusalem) the invocation of the Holy Spirit; but this again is a prayer, as he clearly tells us (57), and so Dom Connolly's definition is again inapplicable. In 52 and 53 it is not certain whether the whole consecratory prayer or some special part is intended; but in either case there is no reason to believe that *invocatio* is used with a meaning different from that which ἐπίκλησις has in the other passages.

If there be any value in the above facts and inferences, the normal meaning of ἐπικαλεῖσθαι (*invocare*) is 'to petition' or 'appeal' and that of ἐπίκλησις (*invocatio*), when used of a religious formula, a 'petition' or 'appeal'.

This normal meaning of ἐπίκλησις is, of course, the one we have designated by the letter *α*. But there appears to be in fact very little difference between it and the *γ* meaning. In the *γ* cases, such as the baptismal formula, where the sense of 'petition' is obviously inappropriate, the meaning seems to be still that of 'appeal'. The mention of the names of the Three Persons of the Trinity in Baptism is looked on either as a single appeal to the whole Trinity (17, 34, 51) or as a separate appeal to each of the Persons (10, 32). Or it may be regarded from the point of view of the benefit sought—as an appeal either for 'grace' (18, 28) or for 'divine power' (29, 31). Surely a formula 'involving the use of names', and believed on that account to possess supernatural power, would be called in Greek ἐπῳδή and not ἐπίκλησις, and in Latin *incantamentum* (or, later, *incantatio*) and not *invocatio*.

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We must now pass on to a further point. Dom Connolly holds that in 21, 55 and 58, where consecration of the Eucharist is connected with 'invocation' of the Three Persons of the Trinity, the reference is to the mention of these Three Persons found 'in the Trinitarian doxology at the end' (p. 42) of the Prayer of Consecration. We will accordingly examine this theory and see what it involves.

A. Since every (or almost every) prayer in those days ended with a Trinitarian doxology, every prayer must have been an ἐπίκλησις, and an ἐπίκλησις of the Trinity.

B. It is expressly stated by Cyril (21), clearly implied by Origen (55) and probably so by Ambrose (58), that the 'invocation of the Trinity' is the form of consecration. If Dom Connolly's theory be correct, these Fathers must have believed the doxology in the Eucharistic prayer to be 'the moment of consecration'—'the last instant of the sacramental words'. Dom Connolly disclaims this result (p. 42), but it is the inevitable logical consequence of his theory. Surely such a widely-extended belief, had it ever existed, would have left much clearer traces of its existence than it has done.

C. Dom Connolly's theory stultifies Origen's and Ambrose's argument. Their position is, that some formula of special importance and sanctity has been recited over the elements—that the Three Persons of the Trinity have been invoked over them in a specially solemn and sacramental manner (55, 58). But there was no specially solemn or sacramental value attached to the doxology; it was the normal end of every prayer. If Origen and Ambrose were thinking of it, their words could only mean that a prayer of some kind or other had been said over the Eucharistic bread and wine and would be just as true of any food which had been blessed by a Christian grace. That is decidedly not Origen's and Ambrose's meaning, and hence we may conclude that they were making no reference to the doxology.

D. Now let us look at Cyril. In three places (21, 26, 57) of his *Mystagogic Lectures* he speaks of the form of Eucharistic consecration. According to Dom Connolly (p. 43), while Cyril undoubtedly refers in 26 and 57 to the invocation of the Holy Spirit on the elements, the ἐπίκλησις τῆς προσκυνητῆς τριάδος in 21 is a reference to the doxology at the end of the consecratory prayer. This explanation involves Cyril in hopeless self-contradiction. No one in his senses—and particularly a teacher engaged on such important instruction as Cyril was—would in one address definitely ascribe consecration to one element (21) of the prayer, and in another address two days afterwards ascribe it just as definitely to a totally different element (26). No; whatever be the true explanation of Cyril's words, Dom Connolly's will not stand.

Let us see if we cannot find a better one. Cyril, beyond all contra-

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diction, on two occasions (26, 57) declares the ἐπίκλησις τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος to be 'the moment of consecration'. Hence, since the ἐπίκλησις τῆς προσκυνητῆς τριάδος is (21) also 'the moment of consecration', the latter ἐπίκλησις must, in common consistency, be the same as the former. And why not? As we have seen, the genitive following ἐπίκλησις may be either of the person invoked or of the gift desired. Why then should not ἐπίκλησις τῆς προσκυνητῆς τριάδος mean 'a prayer for the help of the adorable Trinity'? That exactly describes Cyril's ἐπίκλησις τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος—a prayer to the First Person that He would send the Third Person to make the Eucharistic elements the body and blood of the Second Person (57). To effect this, the co-operation of all Three Persons is needed; and hence the prayer in question is an ἐπίκλησις τῆς προσκυνητῆς τριάδος as well as an ἐπίκλησις τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος.

E. As Ambrose was writing some thirty years later than Cyril, he was, of course, well acquainted with invocations of the type which Cyril describes, and such invocations give a reasonable and natural explanation of his words. For he speaks of the Three Persons of the Trinity being invoked, and being invoked *together* ('*cum* patre et filio . . . in oblationibus invocatur'—58), in a way which was distinctively *sui generis* and sacramental, and which therefore formed a fitting parallel to the mention of the same Three Persons in the baptismal formula.

F. Very possibly Cyril's type of ἐπίκλησις is as old as Origen's days. But in any case Hippolytus's Prayer of Consecration certainly is, and we will compare Origen's words with that Prayer. Origen ascribes the sanctity of the Eucharistic bread to the invocation over it of the names of God, of Christ, and of the Holy Spirit (55). Hippolytus's whole Prayer is addressed to God the Father—that is the invocation of the name of God. The greater part of the Prayer consists of a recital of the facts of Christ's redemptive work, and in particular the bread and cup are offered in remembrance of His death and resurrection—there we have the invocation of the name of Christ. And the very next sentence contains a petition for the coming of the Holy Spirit on the elements which have just been offered—that is the invocation of the name of the Holy Spirit. Surely this is a much more simple and natural explanation of the words in question than Dom Connolly's.

These reasons lead me to feel that there is something wrong with Dom Connolly's interpretation of the 'invocation of the Trinity' as well as with his definition of the words ἐπίκλησις and ἐπικαλεῖσθαι.

J. W. TYRER.

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NEW FRAGMENTS OF THE *DIDACHE*.

PART XV (1922) of the *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, edited by Dr Grenfell and Dr Hunt, contains four important fragments of early Christian literature—from the *Apology* of Aristides (no. 1778), the *Didache* (no. 1782), Hermas *Mand.* ix (no. 1783), and an early Christian Hymn with archaic musical notation (no. 1786).

The first, third, and fourth of these pieces of text will doubtless receive due notice from scholars to whom they are of special interest.[1] Attention is here directed to the new evidence for the history and the text of the *Didache*. This comes to us on two small vellum leaves written in a hand which is described by the Editors as 'late fourth century'. The passage on the first leaf is from ch. i 3–4, beginning with *οὐχὶ καὶ τὰ ἔθνη* and ending with *ἐπιθυμιῶν*, that on the second is from ch. ii 7 to ch. iii 2, beginning with *ἐλέγξεις* and ending with *πρὸς τὸν φόνον*. Fortunately, although the leaves are 'a good deal worn and discoloured', their original contents are complete, and nothing remains to be supplied by conjecture. The small proportion of text yielded by four full pages is explained by the fact that the book to which these two leaves belonged 'was one of those miniature volumes which seem to have been preferred for theological works' (Edd.). And even so it was exceptionally small, a mere pocket edition, measuring hardly $2\frac{1}{2}$ by 2 inches.[2] So it is that the total number of words contained in the fragments is sixty-four—an average of sixteen to the page.

The following is a collation of the new fragments with the text of the MS published by Bryennius.

I.

i 3. . . . *οὐχὶ καὶ τὰ ἔθνη τὸ αὐτὸ ποιοῦσιν; ὑμεῖς δὲ ἀγαπᾶτε τοὺς μισοῦντας ὑμᾶς, καὶ οὐχ ἕξετε ἐχθρόν.* 4. *ἀπέχου τῶν σαρκικῶν καὶ σωματικῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν.*

3. *το αυτο*] *τουτο* Fragm. — *αγαπατε*] *φιλειτε* Fragm. — *μισουν|τας* Fragm. — *εχθρον*] (fol. 1 a ends with *εχ*, b begins with *θρον*) + *ακουε τι σε δει ποιουντα σωσαι σου το* $\overline{\text{πνα}}$ *π*[*ρ*]*ωτον παντω̄* Fragm. — 4. *απεχου*] *αποσχου* Fragm. — *σαρκε*[*ι*]*κων* Fragm. — *και σωματικων*] om. Fragm. — *επιθυμειων* Fragm. (end of fol. 1 b).

[1] All four have been reprinted with excellent introductions and comments by Dr Aldo Neppi Modona in the learned Italian Journal *Bilychnis* (second series, no. 92, 1923). Dr Neppi Modona was kind enough to send me a separate print of these studies, and it is to him in fact that I owe my first acquaintance with the new fragments, for up to that time I had not had an opportunity of seeing the volume of *Oxyrhynchus Papyri* which contains them. Others similarly situated may be glad to have these texts brought to their notice in the JOURNAL.

[2] The measurements given for the two leaves are 5·8 × 5 cm. and 5·7 × 4·8 cm. respectively.

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II.

ii 7. . . . ἐλέγξεις, περὶ δὲ ὧν προσεύξῃ, οὓς δὲ ἀγαπήσεις ὑπὲρ τὴν ψυχήν σου.—iii 1. τέκνον μου, φεῦγε ἀπὸ παντὸς πονηροῦ καὶ ἀπὸ παντὸς ὁμοίου αὐτοῦ.—2. μὴ γίνου ὀργίλος· ὁδηγεῖ γὰρ ἡ ὀργὴ πρὸς τὸν φόνον.

7. περι δε ων προσευξη] περι ων δε προσευξει Fragm. — ψυχῃ Fragm. — The next word, σου, begins a new line: the remainder of the line is filled 'by a row of wedge-shaped signs' below which there are 'horizontal dashes', marking a division of the text at this point. — 1. απο] (here ends fol. 2 a) + απο (repeated by error—but perhaps cancelled—on fol. 2 b). — παντος (1)] + πραγματος Fragm. — απο παντος (2)] om. Fragm. — 2. γεινου Fragm. — οργειλος Fragm. — οδηγει γαρ] επειδη οδηγει Fragm.

The chief importance of the fragments lies in the additional evidence which they supply for regarding the section i 3–ii 1 as an original portion of the *Didache*. The part which this passage plays in the problem of the date of the *Didache* is well known. For the passage we have now four witnesses of the highest respectability: the *Didascalia*[1] (s. iii), the *Apostolic Constitutions* book vii (s. iv), the first of our new fragments (s. iv *fin.*), and the MS of Bryennius (A.D. 1056). Against the passage can be quoted the Latin version, the *Apostolic Church Order*, and the *Life* of Schnudi. I have already pointed out[2] that two further documents which have been cited against it (the *Syntagma Doctrinae* ascribed to St Athanasius and the related *Fides Nicaena*) have really no bearing on the question; and that even the witness of the other three is of doubtful value owing to the character of the documents themselves: for reasons can be adduced why the authors of these documents might purposely have omitted the passage.

It will be seen from the collation that the real variants from the text of Bryennius are eight or nine in number. The readings τοῦτο and φιλεῖτε in i 3 have the support of *Apost. Const.* vii, but not the omission of καὶ σωματικῶν: here *Apost. Const.* reads instead καὶ κοσμικῶν, which looks like a mere stylistic improvement, getting rid of the tautology involved in 'fleshly and bodily lusts'. In ii 7 no support is given to the addition of οὓς δὲ ἐλεήσεις after ἐλέγξεις, adopted from Harnack from *Apost. Ch. Ord.* The order περὶ ὧν δέ (*ibid.*) is found in the last-named document; but little significance can be attached to such a point. The addition of πράγματος after πονηροῦ and the omission of the second ἀπὸ παντός in iii 1, and ἐπειδὴ ὁδηγεῖ for ὁδηγεῖ γάρ in iii 2 are peculiar to the new text (though ἐπ. ὁδ. occurs in *Didache* iii 4, 5, 6).

By far the most striking of the new readings is the insertion between i 3 and 4 of the words ἄκουε τί σε δεῖ ποιοῦντα σῶσαί σου τὸ πνεῦμα· πρῶτον πάντων. This may be thought to indicate that we have to do with a brief commentary on the *Didache*, or at least on the first part of it (the 'Two Ways'). But nothing further of the same kind appears in

[1] See *J. T. S.* vol. xxiv pp. 147 ff. (Jan. 1923). [2] *J. T. S. ibid.* pp. 155–157.

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the fragments, and the most that can prudently be argued from these words is that the text was punctuated at intervals (and it may be only at considerable intervals) by similar short parentheses. In the present instance a motive for the insertion can be traced. The next words, 'Abstain from fleshly lusts' (cf. 1 Pet. ii 11), come in somewhat abruptly among the maxims drawn from the Great Sermon (Matthew and Luke), and the person responsible for our little book seems to have felt that they called for a word of introduction. Accordingly he points out what appears to him to be their particular application: 'Hear', he says, 'what you must do to save your *spirit*: first of all abstain from *fleshly* lusts'. To 'save one's spirit' sounds an odd expression; but there is precedent for it in a text which may well have been in our editor's mind: 'to deliver such an one unto Satan for the destruction of the flesh, that the spirit may be saved in the day of the Lord' (1 Cor. v 5). It is possible therefore that this interpolation is an isolated one, or nearly so.

If, however, we may regard the clause as typical of a series of such insertions, it may be suggested that the editor of the book aimed at dividing his matter roughly into sections, and that he effected this division partly by the use of conventional signs, such as those which appear between chaps. ii and iii, and partly by introducing short transitional clauses. In this case the words ἄκουε . . . πάντων may be viewed as a sort of informal *chapter heading*. Only in some such sense as this am I inclined to accept a remark of the Editors, that the passage 'does not look like an interpolation'.

The mark of division placed before ch. iii deserves to be noted. This is of special interest in view of the peculiar character of the verses iii 1–6 of the *Didache*. Dr Armitage Robinson has pointed out that these verses, each beginning with τέκνον μου, and all 'constructed on a uniform and highly artificial plan', are quite unlike anything else in the whole of the *Didache*; and as the whole passage is absent from the Two Ways in the Epistle of Barnabas, he made the suggestion that it is an insertion by the author of the *Didache* from a separate document, whether Jewish or early Christian.[1] I do not of course suggest that the editor of the Oxyrhynchus book was aware that the passage had any such history; but he certainly recognized that iii 1 ff breaks away from the form and manner of the Teaching observed up to this point. It would be still further instructive to know whether he placed another division mark after iii 6. But as it is we have reason enough to be thankful that the passages preserved in these two small fragments are what they are. It would have been a misfortune if we had been left in ignorance of the fact that this early MS contained the crucial passage i 3–ii 1.

[1] *Barnabas, Hermas and the Didache* (S.P.C.K., 1920) pp. 61 f.

R. H. Connolly.

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ZERUBBABEL'S REBUILDING OF THE TEMPLE.

Of late years a very considerable amount of work has been published on the historical problems which are raised by the books of Ezra, 1 Esdras, and Nehemiah, and much of it is characterized by a profound distrust of the Aramaic sources of those books. Scepticism has, I believe, overshot the mark both in Torrey's *Ezra Studies* and in Browne's *Early Judaism* despite the real services rendered by both scholars to our understanding of the period; the pendulum is steadily swinging towards the conservative position of Meyer and of Cowley, as is evidenced by the commentaries of Haller and Batten. I am no Aramaic scholar and am quite incapable of treating critically the complicated literary questions which are involved in the study of these perplexing books; I only desire as a student of ancient history to make a suggestion in order that it may be considered by scholars who possess the linguistic equipment which I sorely lack.

The Book of Ezra, as we possess it, opens with an account of the return of the Jews from captivity in the first year of Cyrus, king of the Persians; the returning exiles were led by Sheshbazzar, and an edict of Cyrus empowered them to rebuild the temple and granted them special facilities for the execution of the task. There follows an account of the rebuilding of the temple in the reign of Cyrus by Zerubbabel: but though the foundation is laid and the work progresses for some time, opposition to this rebuilding stays the reconstruction until in the second year of Darius it is resumed and ultimately brought to completion. The parallel account in the first book of Esdras is, as is well known, much fuller, for it contains the story of the Three Guardsmen, one of whom is identified with Zerubbabel. But the outstanding difference for our present purpose between the two accounts lies in the fact that in 1 Esdras Zerubbabel's activity in his first attempt to rebuild the temple is consistently placed in the reign of *Darius*, and not, as in Ezra, in the reign of *Cyrus*. Both Torrey and Browne would emend the text of 1 Esdras, and for *Darius* would read *Cyrus*: they consider that an interpolator changed the name of Cyrus to Darius in 1 Esdras iv 47, v 2, 6. For this change, in the view of Browne, 'there is one piece of almost conclusive evidence, viz. that the decree authorizing the bringing of cedar wood from Lebanon, 1 Esdras iv 48, is quoted in Ezra iii 7 (= 1 Esdras v 53, E.V. v 55) as a decree of Cyrus' (Browne, p. 32). Batten in his *Commentary on Ezra and Nehemiah* p. 9 thinks that it is arbitrary to make such a change, and in his hesitation to accept Torrey's theory I believe that he is right.

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My suggestion is that the material which in our book of Ezra is used to describe the rebuilding of the temple under Cyrus originally referred to the rebuilding of the temple under Darius, the transference of this material being due to a confusion created by the mention of the decree of Cyrus. It has been contended (cf. Browne, p. 30) that in the history of the text 1 Esdras was earlier than our Ezra and Nehemiah, and in so far as it consistently associates Zerubbabel with the reign of Darius and not with the return under Cyrus, it does, I would suggest, more truly preserve the historical tradition. Zerubbabel's activity would thus be confined to the rebuilding under Darius, and the only evidence which we possess for the return under Cyrus would be the statements of Ezra i (= 1 Esdras ii) and the edict of Cyrus quoted in the letter of Darius of Ezra vi. The supposed edict of Cyrus quoted in *Hebrew* in Ezra i 2–4—it is generally agreed—cannot be used for purposes of historical reconstruction. The shortest method of explaining my suggestion will probably be that of a brief narrative of events.

In the first year of the reign of Cyrus the Persian king, in accordance with his well-known religious policy, permits the return of the Jewish exiles, and issues his edict, of which we have an abbreviated summary[1] in Ezra vi 3–5; this with Edward Meyer I should regard as a document of undoubted authenticity. That authenticity is only confirmed by the edict of Darius II on the Passover preserved amongst the Elephantine Papyri: 'there can be no question', writes Cowley, 'that the order was sent by the Persian king'.[2] Here the doubts of W. R. Arnold[3] and of Browne[4] are based only on *a priori* grounds ('it is too much to expect any one to believe that . . .') and are surely untenable. The temple vessels were restored to Sheshbazzar[5] who led the returning exiles. We have no evidence as to the course of events on the arrival of the exiles in Palestine; we may well believe that the difficulties of the re-settlement in the home-country, and the opposition of the enemy tribes who had recently occupied Jewish territory, caused them to postpone the work of reconstructing the temple: no use was made of the firman of Cyrus.

We have no further information concerning affairs in Palestine until the first year of Darius: then in the seventh month of that year something happens, we are not told what, to call the people up from the cities where they were living to Jerusalem (Ezra iii 1): the suggestion

[1] Meyer *Die Entstehung des Judentums* p. 73.
[2] A. Cowley *Jewish Documents of the time of Ezra* p. xvii.
[3] In *Journal of Biblical Literature* xxxi (1912) pp. 14–19.
[4] Browne *Early Judaism* pp. 162, 163.
[5] For Sheshbazzar, 'nach der Meinung des Verfassers wohl ein Davidide', cf. Meyer *op. cit.* p. 75.

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is that they assembled to meet Zerubbabel, the new governor of Davidic lineage, just arrived from Babylon. Under the influence of Zerubbabel, of Jeshua the son of Jozadak, and of the priests, the projects of the time of the first return under Cyrus are taken up afresh: the altar is raised and burnt offerings are offered to Yahweh (Ezra iii 3; 1 Esdras v 48). It is determined to make use of the firman of Cyrus for the rebuilding of the temple: cedar wood from Lebanon is to be shipped to Joppa (Ezra iii 7; 1 Esdras v 35). On the first day of the second month of the following year the foundation of the temple was laid (1 Esdras v 56–57).[1]

At this point there arises the question of the interpretation of Haggai ii 15–19. That prophecy, as it stands, is cleary wrongly dated to the 24th day of the ninth month; since according to Haggai i 14–15 the building of the temple was already progressing in the sixth month, it is impossible to suppose that the foundation-stone was only laid towards the end of the ninth month. The passage is discussed at length by Browne, pp. 56 sqq., who suggests that it forms the close of the sermon delivered on the first day of the sixth month: he would thus remove the verses to follow Haggai i 11. But even so there are difficulties in the interpretation of *v.* 19 'with its rather obscure question about the grain' (p. 58). 'It runs', Browne writes, '"Is the seed yet in the barn? Moreover the vine and the fig tree and the pomegranate and the olive tree have not yet brought forth. From this day will I bless you." As we have seen that the section belongs to the sixth month and not to the ninth, it cannot mean that the seed was already sown, for that would not take place till October (seventh–eighth month)', and he therefore supposes that the passage means that the harvest had been very poor. But the rejected explanation is certainly much more natural: may it not indeed be the right one? We have learned from 1 Esdras v 56–57 that the foundation-stone of the temple was laid on the first day of the second month: the seed *was* no longer in the barn: it had been sown four months past: 'from this day forward'—from the first day of the second month—Yahweh was to bless Israel. Haggai, we conclude, was from the first supporting Zerubbabel and Jeshua, and the passage Haggai ii 15–19 is part of the prophet's address delivered at the laying of the foundation-stone.

The work was begun probably under the leadership of those who had recently arrived from Babylon with Zerubbabel—the 'children of the captivity' of Ezra iv 1—but at first 'the remnant of the people', 'the people of the land', i. e. the Palestinian Jews, did not share the enthusiasm of the newly returned exiles. Browne has noted this

[1] The date may well have been preserved by the recurrence of a feast to commemorate the day. Cf. Meyer *op. cit.* pp. 54, 74 on Ezra vi 15.

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distinction (p. 55), but has failed to observe its significance. The spirit which had long delayed the reconstruction of the temple was not dead: there was opposition from those who objected that 'the time was not come for the Lord's house to be built'. On the first day of the sixth month Haggai delivered his second message: 'Is it a time for you yourselves to dwell in your cieled houses, while this house lieth waste? . . . Consider your ways: go up to the hill country and bring wood and build this house.' The result of this exhortation was that 'the people of the land' joined 'the children of the captivity' in the rebuilding of the temple.

By the twenty-first day of the seventh month a further cause for discouragement has arisen: those who remembered the former temple were disappointed when they compared with it the new sanctuary which was to take its place. 'Who is left among you that saw this house in its former glory? And how do ye see it now? is it not in your eyes as nothing?' Haggai promises an apocalyptic shaking of the heavens and the earth and of all nations and 'I will fill this house with glory, saith the Lord of Hosts': 'the latter glory of this house shall be greater than the former' (Haggai ii 1–9).[1] With this passage compare Ezra iii 12 'But many of the priests and Levites and heads of the fathers' houses, the old men who had seen the first house . . . wept with a loud voice', &c. Browne writes (p. 45) 'The way the Chronicler treated his material is seen from his description in Ezra iii 12 of how the old folk wept at the sight of the temple at its foundation in Cyrus's reign, for this description is evidently based on the words of Haggai at the founding of the temple in Darius' reign'. Precisely: for the two passages are in fact describing one and the same event.[2]

Immediately on this passage in Ezra there follows the offer of 'the adversaries of Judah and Benjamin' to help in the building of the temple, and the refusal of that offer by Zerubbabel and Jeshua and the rest of the heads of fathers' houses with the words which are responsible for the confusion into which the compiler has fallen: 'Ye have nothing to do with us to build a house unto our God: but we ourselves together will build unto the Lord the God of Israel, *as King Cyrus the king of Persia hath commanded us*' (Ezra iv 3). The result was that 'the people of the land weakened the hands of the people of Judah and troubled them in building and hired counsellors

[1] Cf. Browne *op. cit.* p. 60, who does not take into account the excitement caused by the wide-spread revolt against Persian rule in the first year of the reign of Darius; cf. Ernst Sellin *Serubbabel*, Leipzig, 1898. With this political setting I have not dealt, as it appeared irrelevant for the purpose of this paper.

[2] The discouragement of the people at this time is reflected in the first prophecy of Zechariah delivered in the eighth month with its message 'Return unto me saith the Lord of Hosts, and I will return unto you.'

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against them to frustrate their purpose'—then comes the confusion of the editor due to the fatal reference to King Cyrus—'all the days of Cyrus king of Persia, even until the reign of Darius king of Persia'. In reality the sequel to Ezra iv 5 a is Ezra v 3, which recounts the visit of Tattenai, the Persian governor beyond the Euphrates, and Shethar-bozenai and their companions.[1] Browne would see in the 'adversaries of Judah and Benjamin' of Ezra iv 1 the Samaritans. Let us return to Haggai.

Immediately on the passage comparing the former with the later temple there follows the message delivered on the 20th day of the ninth month concerning the infection of pollution. Browne has referred this (p. 61) to the question of the pollution which would be incurred if the adversaries of Judah and Benjamin were allowed to participate in the temple building: the sequence of events in Ezra proves that he is right. The decision of Ezra iv 3 is the result of Haggai's message and it can thus be dated in the ninth month—the seventh after the laying of the foundation-stone.

The Book of Ezra continues the story of the Persian intervention. It is important to notice the answer of the Jews to the charges of Tattenai and Shethar-bozenai: their justification for their action lay in the decree of Cyrus granted in their favour; it was necessary therefore to establish the continuity of that present action with the mission of Sheshbazzar. Their version of the recent history of affairs in Jerusalem is doubtless a diplomatic fabrication to support that plea. They recite the decree of Cyrus, the delivery of the temple vessels to Sheshbazzar by Cyrus, and the order of the king to Sheshbazzar to build the temple and proceed '*Then came the same Sheshbazzar and laid the foundations of the house of God which is in Jerusalem, and since that time even until now hath it been in building and yet it is not completed*' (Ezra v 16). These statements are not to be found elsewhere in our authorities, and the reason for their appearance here is obvious. This diplomatic fabrication which was intended to deceive Darius, did in fact deceive the Chronicler. The compiler of Esdras i has introduced a different confusion. He knew that the temple was in fact built under Darius, he had before him in his source the clear statement that the builders of the temple relied for their justification on an edict of Cyrus which (*inter alia*) gave them authority to procure cedar wood from Lebanon. But inasmuch as Zerubbabel was the inspirer of that reconstruction, he felt it necessary that on Zerubbabel express powers for that work should be conferred, and he therefore inserts the letters of authorization given by *Darius* to Zerubbabel which repeat the provisions of Cyrus, e. g. as

[1] The editor made the junction by the verses v. 1–2, which are a very clumsy introduction to the narrative of Persian intervention. Cf. Meyer *op. cit.* p. 54.

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to the Lebanon timber, while *for the second time* those temple vessels are sent to Jerusalem which Sheshbazzar had already carried to Palestine in the reign of Cyrus (1 Esdras iv 47–57). The analysis of 1 Esdras v 1–6 is difficult, and the problem of these verses I must leave to those better qualified than myself to form a judgement. I am inclined to think that *vv.* 1–3 form part of the author's own reconstruction, but *vv.* 4–6 should perhaps be differently treated. The note of time in *v.* 6 is interesting: one is tempted to suggest that Zerubbabel when making his preparations for the building of the temple at the beginning of the second year of the reign of Darius may have sought to strengthen his position with the Persian king through his son Joacim 'who spake wise sentences before Darius the king of Persia in the second year of his reign in the month Nisan which is the first month'. But I do not desire to press the suggestion. I am however persuaded that the whole of 1 Esdras iv (and v 1–3?) formed no part of the Aramaic source common to 1 Esdras and Ezra, for that source represents a consistent tradition that there was no new edict of Darius empowering the Jews to rebuild the temple: their only authorization was the decree of Cyrus. The whole narrative of Ezra v and vi would be pointless if Darius had issued the letters ascribed to him in 1 Esdras iv 47–57. The Chronicler in compiling the book of Ezra was guilty of one confusion: the author of 1 Esdras was guilty of another and a different confusion. I do not believe that any part of 1 Esdras iv (v 1–6?) was included by the Chronicler in his work, and therefore I believe that both Torrey and Browne are wrong in their reconstruction of the original form of the Chronicler's book (cf. Browne, p. 30).

We can rapidly finish our sketch. In the ninth month the offer of 'the adversaries of Judah and Benjamin' was declined; their overtures rejected with scorn, the 'adversaries' instigate the Persian governor and his agents to make enquiry; the Jews ask that the matter may be referred to Darius, and frame, as we have seen, their justification. It is obvious, however, that Jerusalem must have been in great anxiety as to the result of the mission. This is reflected in Zechariah's second prophecy delivered on the 24th day of the eleventh month: which thus gives us the approximate date for the Persian intervention. Zechariah hears 'good words, even comfortable words' (Zech. i 13), and the Lord of Hosts assures the prophet 'I am jealous for Jerusalem and for Zion with a great jealousy, and I am very sore displeased with the nations that are at ease. . . . I am returned to Jerusalem with mercies: *my house shall be built in it*' (Zech. i 14–16). It may be, as Browne has suggested, that it was even proposed at this time to secure Jerusalem against a possible attack by the erection of a city-wall (cf. Browne, pp. 64–65, on Zech. ii 1–5); but Zechariah was taught otherwise: the

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completion of the temple was to come 'not by might, nor by power, but by my spirit, saith the Lord of Hosts'. 'The hands of Zerubbabel have laid the foundation of this house; his hands shall also finish it' (Zech. iv 9). The prophecy was fulfilled: Darius ordered a search to be made in the royal archives, the decree of Cyrus was found in Ecbatana,[1] Darius wrote the letter preserved in Ezra vi, the building of the temple continued unhindered until 'on the third day of the month Adar which was in the sixth year of the reign of Darius the king' the house of God was finished, and 'the children of Israel which were come again out of the captivity and all such as had separated themselves unto them from the filthiness of the heathen of the land, to seek the Lord, the God of Israel, did eat and kept the feast of unleavened bread seven days with joy; for the Lord had made them joyful and had turned the heart of the king of Assyria unto them to strengthen their hands in the work of the house of God, the God of Israel.' (Ezra vi 15, 21–22).

Is this indeed the story of Zerubbabel's Rebuilding of the Temple?

NORMAN H. BAYNES.

THE SIZE OF THE VOCABULARY OF ACTS.

PROFESSOR CADBURY has recently published some statistics comparing the size of the vocabulary of Acts with that of other N. T. and classical books.[2] It is, however, difficult to draw any inference from them as to whether Luke's vocabulary is greater or smaller than we should expect from a writer of historical narrative in the vernacular. Yet the question is of some importance, since, if he employs a very large vocabulary, it may reasonably be supposed that at least part of it was drawn from literary sources, whether classical or Alexandrine; while a small vocabulary would suggest that he confined himself to the ordinary spoken language. Counting words without weighing them cannot give an absolutely decisive result, because it is conceiveable that an author might substitute 'literary' for current terms without necessarily increasing the total number of words, but critics are so apt to speak of the 'richness'[3] of Luke's vocabulary, as if it were an ascertained fact, that the figures given below may provide a useful corrective.

The Vocabulary of a narrative of varied events cannot usefully be compared with that of an Epistle. Hebrews, for example, contains

[1] For the significance of this detail cf. Meyer *op. cit.* pp. 47–48.

[2] Style and literary method of Luke i pp. 1, 4.

[3] e. g. Dr Plummer's *Luke* p. l.

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984 words, an equal portion of Acts (i. e. ch. xx 1–end) produces practically the same number, 975, but we cannot infer from this that the writer of Hebrews would have used the same number of words as Luke, if he had written a historical narrative. In the case of the synoptists, the third gospel undoubtedly has a larger vocabulary than the first or second, but it is impossible to estimate the influence of the language of the sources from which they drew; in comparing Matthew and Luke it must be remembered that, though the latter contains 330 more words, it is 100 lines longer and has a larger proportion of narrative and ten more parables. It is also clear that Luke dealt more freely than did Matthew with their common sources.

It is therefore necessary to go outside the N. T. if comparisons are to be valuable, and to select works which are (*a*) 'frée' Greek, i. e. not a translation, (*b*) akin to Acts in subject-matter, and (*c*) written in the vernacular. It is further desirable that they should be at least as long as Acts xvi–end, since shorter books, such as the letter of the Gallican Churches or the early martyrologies, are confined to one or two incidents and their vocabularies are therefore not representative. The following Apocryphal Acts fulfil these conditions fairly well: A. Ioannis, A. Philippi, A. Thomae, and A. Xanthippae et Polyxenae. The remains of the other Apocryphal Acts are unfortunately too short. For the first three I have used M. Bonnet's text,[1] excluding the interview with Domitian in A. Ioan.[2] since it is clearly by another hand; for A. Xanth. I have taken Dr James's text.[3] Although it has been shewn in this JOURNAL that A. Thomae is a translation from Syriac, it approximates to 'free' Greek; as Dr Burkitt[4] remarks, 'the Greek is at least a respectable piece of writing . . . it is evident that no attempt was made at literalness'.

To these four authors I have added Thucydides bk. I, ch. 1–127, the first three books of Maccabees, using Dr Swete's text, and the Testament of Job as edited by Dr James.[5] I have also inserted in italics the figures for the Synoptic Gospels and Hebrews, though, as explained above, little importance can be attached to them.

The text of N. T. is W H, smaller edition, disregarding all readings given at the foot of the page, but including readings enclosed in brackets. Words spelt with a capital letter, whether nouns, adjectives, or adverbs, e. g. Καλοὶ Λιμένες, Λυκαονιστί are not counted.

The comparison in each case is made with an equal portion of Acts, counting backwards from the end. This is done because the vocabulary of the last half is much richer than that of the first half. Dr Torrey's

[1] *Acta Apost. Apocrypha.*
[2] *ib.* pp. 151–160.
[3] *Texts and Studies* ii 3 p. 58 f.
[4] *J. T. S.* i p. 282.
[5] *Texts and Studies* v 1 p. 104 f.

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Acts i contains 1,160 words in 1,230 lines, while Acts ii contains 1,234 words in 1,028 lines. This fact gives some support to the view that Acts i is a translation. In the case of Thucydides, A. Thomae and Luke, which are longer than Acts, a portion equal to it has been cut off, viz. Thuc. I 1–127, A. Thomae § 1–108 (the beginning of the Hymn of the Soul), and Luke ch. i–xxiii 56. The following table gives the titles of the books, the number of words used, the corresponding portions of Acts and the number of words they contain.

TABLE I

Thucydides i 1–127	1911	Acts (all)	1759
A. Thomae § 1–108	2008	,, ,,	1759
Luke c. i–xxiii 56	*1843*	,, ,,	*1759*
Matthew	*1545*	,, *c. ii 1–end*	*1735*
1 Maccabees	1482	,, c. ii 34–end	1700
A. Philippi	1753	,, c. v 1–end	1644
2 Maccabees	2182	,, c. x 1–end	1468
Mark	*1259*	,, *c. xi 21–end*	*1415*
A. Ioannis	1707	,, c. xii 1–end	1410
A. Xanthippae	1514	,, c. xv 30–end	1236
Testamentum Iobi	1148	,, c. xviii 1–end	1093
Hebrews	*984*	,, *c. xx 1–end*	*975*
3 Maccabees	1422	,, c. xx 17–end	945

If Acts is taken as 100 and the above figures reduced to a percentage, the following is the result:—

TABLE II

3 Maccabees	150·47	Testamentum Iobi	105·03
2 Maccabees	148·63	*Luke*	*104·77*
A. Xanthippae	122·49	*Hebrews*	*100·92*
A. Ioannis	121·06	Acts	100·00
A. Thomae	114·15	*Matthew*	*89·05*
Thucydides i 1–137	108·64	*Mark*	*88·97*
A. Philippi	106·63	1 Maccabees	87·17

In view of the above table it becomes impossible to describe the vocabulary of Acts as rich: not only is it smaller by thirty-three per cent. than the Alexandrine 'literary' writers, but such vernacular writers as the authors of A. Xanthip. and A. Ioann. exceed it by more than twenty per cent. A. Philippi is not a work of literary merit, yet even it has a six per cent. larger vocabulary. We have to descend to the author of 1 Macc. to find a smaller vocabulary. Although this work has been praised for its 'simplicity', it is in fact 'translation' Greek of the most literal type. An author who can write twenty-five main verbs in a line[1] joined by καί, δέ, or οὐδέ, without a single subordinate clause,

[1] 1 Macc. xi 66 f.

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or infinitive or predicating participle, without even γάρ or οὖν, can hardly be said to be writing Greek at all, and his vocabulary is on a level with his style. The conclusion then which this table forces upon us appears to be that of vernacular writers of narrative in 'free' Greek, St Luke in Acts employs the smallest vocabulary.

There is one other point to which the table draws attention. Those who have spoken of the 'richness' of Luke's vocabulary appear to take it for granted that the use of a large vocabulary is a proof of literary excellence. Yet it can hardly be supposed that any critic, if called upon to adjudicate on the literary merits of the above ten authors, would place them in the order in which they stand in the list. The position of Thucydides suggests that restraint in vocabulary is a greater virtue than Alexandrine verbosity. Luke imposed upon himself a strict economy in language, and few who have read 3 Maccabees will blame him for what is the most distinctive feature of his style.

C. D. CHAMBERS.

Note. For all the numbers in the above article I am responsible with the exception of the vocabulary of Mark and Hebrews which I have taken from Professor Cadbury (*op. cit.* p. 1). There must always be a difference of opinion as to what constitutes a 'word', but great pains have been taken to secure accuracy and consistency. This has caused one or two small divergencies from WH., e.g. μήποτε is treated as one word, because it thus appears in the other writers, αὐτοῦ is not distinguished from ἑαυτοῦ, because the MSS of Apocryphal Acts cannot be trusted on such a point.

WHO ARE 'THE PEOPLE OF CHLOE' IN 1 COR. 1 11?

IN 1 Cor. i 11 St Paul says, 'The news was given to me (ἐδηλώθη)[1] about you, my brethren, by the people of Chloe (ὑπὸ τῶν Χλόης) that there are parties among you, one saying "I am of Paul", another "I of Apollos", a third "I of Cephas", and a fourth "I of Christ"'. Chloe has been supposed to be the name of some Greek lady of Corinth or Ephesus. But it would be surely indiscreet on the apostle's part and unpleasant for her to have her name mentioned in connexion with a rumour that reflected discredit upon the Christians of Corinth. Here the parties might be described as οἱ Παύλου, οἱ Ἀπολλώ, οἱ Κηφᾶ, and οἱ Χριστοῦ. This suggests that οἱ Χλόης might also be the name of some religious body. In Rom. xvi 10 a different expression is used for the

[1] Lysias, 116. 42, has the same construction, δηλοῦν τινι περί τινος. The word is used of good or bad news. For the latter see *Persae* 519.

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servants of a household, οἱ ἐκ τῶν Ἀριστοβούλου, οἱ ἐκ τῶν Ναρκίσσου. But it is possible that the reference there is to slaves who had passed into the possession of Caesar after the deaths of Aristobulus and Narcissus. In *Bacchae* 545 we have τὰν τοῦ Βρομίου, the handmaid of Bromios (Dionysos), a closer parallel. Χλόη was a well-known epithet of Δημήτηρ. See Aristoph. *Lysistrata* 835 παρὰ τὸ τῆς Χλόης, by the temple of Chloe. Here the Scholiast refers to the ἱερόν of Χλόη Δημήτηρ in the Acropolis, where the Athenians sacrificed in Thargelion. Pausanias,[1] in his 'Tour in Greece' (i 22. 3), says there is at Athens a sanctuary (ἱερόν) of Nursing-mother Earth and Chloe Demeter (Δήμητρος Χλόης). Eupolis, the comic poet, in his *Maricas* (Meineke *Com. Frag.* i 192) has 'I shall go straight to the city (εὐθὺ πόλεως) for I must sacrifice to Χλόη Δημήτηρ'. The worship had reference to the green of spring. Frazer, in his edition of Pausanias, refers to an inscription to the south of the present entrance to the Acropolis which records that one Isodotus dedicated an image to 'Nursing-mother Earth, Χλόη Δημήτηρ and the Maid'. Various inscriptions are mentioned by Frazer as containing dedications to Green Demeter, near the Acropolis. One found in 1889, which has a metrical oracle, describes the sanctuary of Green Demeter as situated in the highest part of the city (Frazer ii 248). Frazer also says that the name 'Green Demeter' appears in a treasure list (*C. I. A.* ii 722). The priestess of Green Demeter had special privileges, a reserved seat in the theatre among them. In the isle of Myconos Green Demeter was also worshipped (Dittenberger *Sylloge Inscr. Graec.* 373). Frazer (ii 367) says that near the fissure in the Areopagus at the western foot of the Acropolis was a sanctuary of Green Demeter. There was also a temple of Demeter in Corinth. Pausanias ii 4 (Frazer ii 77) describes his ascent of Acrocorinth, and says he came to a temple of Demeter and the Maid after passing the temples of Isis, Serapis, Violence, &c. The votaries of that goddess might be called οἱ Χλόης (cf. τὰν τοῦ Βρομίου), as Χλόη was so well known an epithet that it might be used for the name. Similar classical instances are Βρόμιος, e. g. Βρομίοιο συνέστιος in Orpheus's hymn to Demeter (40. 10), Βρόμιος δ' ἔχει, *Eumen.* 24 (anarthrous in both places): Λοξίας (anarthrous) for Apollo in *Eumen.* 19. 35, 235, 443, &c.; ὁ Λύκειος for Apollo (*Supp.* 686); Clarius for Apollo in Virg. *A.* iii 360 'qui tripodas, Clarii lauros, qui sidera sentis'; χθόνιαι, Demeter and Maid (Arist. *Thesm.* 101 ἱερὰν χθονίαις . . . λαμπάδα: τὼ Θεσμοφόρω *Thesm.* 282 of the same two: ἐν Θεσμοφόροιν (*ibid.* 83) meaning in the temple of the two): Κόρη, a name under which Persephone was worshipped in Attica, e. g. ναὶ τὰν Κόραν Arist. *Vesp.* 1438; Δέσποινα, a name for the latter, 'Arcadians worship the Mistress (δ.) above all deities, and say she is the daughter of Poseidon

[1] Περιήγησις τῆς Ἑλλάδος.

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and Demeter. Mistress, *δέσποινα*, is her popular surname' (Pausanias viii 36. 6). Ovid (*Amor.* iii 10. 43), in a poem on Flava Ceres, calls her 'Dea Flava'. Accordingly we might assume that Χλόη may stand for Demeter in 1 Cor. i 11. Demeter was one of the most popular divinities in Greece. Gardner (*Types of Greek Coins*, p. 34) says: 'Corinth abandons Aphrodite, Argos Hera, and even Elis the great Olympian Zeus in order to accept the effigies of the Demeter of the League'. On copper coins the figure of Demeter Panachaea appears. As far back as Herod. v 61 we have mention of the sanctuary and orgies of *Ἀχαιὴ Δημήτηρ* in Attica. Pausanias (A.D. 160) mentions numerous temples and images of her throughout Greece, enumerating at least fifty-five temples in Attica and the Peloponnesus, in some cases in close connexion with *Kore*, in others with *Poseidon* (the tutelary god of Corinth), as at Didymi and Gythium, and in some cases the only temple as at Lepreus in Elis. Pausanias gives twenty-seven titles[1] of the goddess rightly called *πολυώνυμος* Call. *Hymn.* 40; among them being *Χθονία*, *Θεσμοφόρος*, *Ἐρινύς*, *Λουσία*, *Δηώ*, as well as Χλόη (i 22. 3). The last name underlies the adjectives *εὐχλόου Δήμητρος* (Soph. *O. C.* 1600), and *χλοόκαρπε* (*Hymn to D.* 40. 5), &c. It was also from this name that the festival *χλόεια*, held in her honour in the spring month of Thargelion, was so called. Among other festivals in her honour were the Aloa, an Attic harvest festival, the Thesmophoria, the Eleusinia, and the Megalartia (Delos). Hdt. vii 153 calls the Mother and the maid *χθόνιαι θεαί* and speaks of their worship in Sicily[2]; and the Romans, according to Valerius M. i 1. 1, received this worship from Sicily and called her Ceres. Her first temple in Rome was dedicated about 496 B.C. Herodotus (ii 156), however, identified Demeter and Artemis with Isis and Bubastis, and Apollo with Horus. According to him Aischylus made Artemis the daughter of Demeter. Demeter is mentioned in Homer (*Iliad* ii 696), where Pyrasus on the Pagasaean Bay is called *Δήμητρος τέμενος*. In Rome she became a popular deity. Virgil (*Aen.* ii 713) speaks of 'templumque vetustum Desertae Cereris' outside the walls of Troy; and again, 742 'tumulum antiquae Cereris sedemque sacratam'. Horace (*Od.* iii 2. 27) says: 'Vetabo qui Cereris sacrum Vulgarit arcanae' etc. Ennius reckoned Ceres among the Dii Selecti, 'Juno, Vesta, Minerva, Ceres', &c. A Roman colonia was planted on the ruins of Corinth by Julius Caesar. The colonists would be no strangers to her whom they knew in their own land as 'Flava Ceres' (Virg., Ovid) and 'Dea Flava' under her title Χλόη, which was a well-

[1] At Rhodes Demeter was called *Ἐρυσιβίη* (Apollo being *Ἐρυσίβιος*), averter of mildew (*Robigus* and *Robigo*, Lat.).

[2] At Henna (*Ἕννα*) was a temple of Ceres (Ovid *F.* iv 422, &c.). Silius (xiv 245) calls Proserpine *Hennaea virgo*.

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known name in Rome, e.g. Hor. *Od.* iii 9. 19 'Si flava excutitur Chloe'. In Ephesus, where Paul wrote the letter, there were old-time associations with Demeter. Strabo (xiv 1) quotes the historian Pherecydes (480 B.C.) as saying that 'the leader of the Ionian immigration was Androclus, son of Codrus king of Athens, and he became the founder of Ephesus. Even at present the descendants of that race are called kings, and superintend the sacrifices in honour of the Eleusinian Demeter'. Herodotus (vi 16) says the Chians landed at Ephesus while the women were celebrating at night the Thesmophoria, a festival of Demeter. There was also, according to Pausanias (Frazer ii 73), 'in the market-place of Corinth an image of Artemis called the Ephesian'. This shews that there was frequent and friendly intercourse between these two cities. Corinth lay on the route between Rome and Ephesus. The followers of Demeter were everywhere. Ceres wandered not only through 'Adriacumque patens late bimaremque Corinthum' (Ovid *F.* iv 501), but also 'perque urbes Asiae' (*ibid.* 567). Who then were οἱ Χλόης, assuming that Χλόη = Δημήτηρ. Strabo (30 B.C.) says 'the ministers of Ceres are the *mystai*, torchbearers and hierophants as those of Bacchus are the Seileni, Satyri, &c. (x 3. 10). It may be then that the reference in 1 Cor. i 11 is to some of the votaries (μύσται) of Demeter with whom Paul was acquainted, and to whose mysteries he appears to make some, but not very clear, allusions, e.g. μεμύημαι (my religion has taught me) Phil. iv 12; ἃ ἑόρακεν ἐμβατεύων Col. ii 18, where Sir W. Ramsay finds a technical word of the mysteries, τέλειος (1 Cor. ii 6, &c.), the highest stage of the initiated (μεμυημένοι).[1] At all events 'the people of Chloe' appear to be disinterested critics who themselves belonged to none of the church parties they mentioned. From their information that there were four distinct parties in the Corinthian Church we may infer that they belonged to none, and therefore stood outside the Church. As it would not be like St Paul to put a lady in such an invidious position, we may regard Chloe as either a goddess or a pagan. As the Ephesian rabble might call themselves οἱ Ἀρτέμιδος, another pagan party might style themselves οἱ Χλόης. St Paul would have had more in common with them than with any other cult. Like him, they worshipped a pure deity with whom they desired communion. They had baptismal rites of initiation, a sacramental cake and potion (κυκεών), and believed in a future life. The disappearance and return of Persephone was founded on the natural process that the seed sown must die ere it can produce life (cf. Jn. xii 24 'Except a corn of wheat fall into the ground and die it abideth alone', &c.). As the votaries of Demeter stood outside her temple with extinguished torches at Eleusis a blaze of light lit up the darkness as a type of the life to come for the initiated,

[1] ἐποπτεύω, another mystery word, is in 1 Pet. ii 12, iii 2.

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as Plato says (*Phaedo* 69), 'Whoso without initiation shall come to Hades shall lie in mud; but he who hath been fully initiated shall dwell with the gods. There are, as those engaged in the mysteries say, many bearers of the Bacchic wand, but few Bacchi' (cf. 'Many are called, but few chosen', Mt. xxii 14). See also Soph. Frag. 719 (Dind.), 'Thrice happy they who go to Hades, having seen these rites. For them there is life there; but for others there is nothing but misery'. To these rites only the pure were admitted. Nero, the matricide, feared to witness them. It was no easy thing to be loyal to such a creed in those days. It would not be unreasonable for those who held it to take some interest in the progress of a new religion which dealt with the same great realities, but in a more spiritual and illuminating manner. St Paul's relations with his pagan neighbours were cordial. See Acts xix 31, where certain of the Asiarchs, ὄντες αὐτῷ φίλοι, begged him not to enter the theatre. During the tumult the registrar (γραμματεύς) of the assembly intervened on behalf of St Paul's companions, Gaius and Aristarchus, saying 'these men are neither robbers of temples nor blasphemers of our goddess'. During his long stay in Ephesus he taught daily in the school of Tyrannus (Acts xix 9), the Bezan MS says 'from the fifth to the tenth hour (11 a.m.—4 p.m.)', the school having commenced at daybreak.[1] The school would not have been placed at Paul's disposal had Tyrannus been hostile. St Paul was popular with all classes, being able to adapt himself to all. Other pagan acquaintances he must have had who would have delighted in his conversation. If he had a hard time at Ephesus ('humanly speaking, I fought with beasts at Ephesus', 1 Cor. xv 32) it was not through the hostility of the refined or ruling classes. The people of Demeter would have no reason to be unfriendly with one who loathed, as much if not more than they could do, the coarse orgies practised by the rabble who prided themselves on being worshippers of Artemis of the Ephesians.

F. R. MONTGOMERY HITCHCOCK.

THE SALT OF THE EARTH.[2]

ST MATT. v 13 Ὑμεῖς ἐστε τὸ ἅλας τῆς γῆς· ἐὰν δὲ τὸ ἅλας μωρανθῇ, ἐν τίνι ἁλισθήσεται; εἰς οὐδὲν ἰσχύει ἔτι, εἰ μὴ βληθὲν ἔξω καταπατεῖσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων.

St Mark ix 49, 50 Πᾶς γὰρ πυρὶ ἁλισθήσεται [καὶ πᾶσα θυσία ἁλὶ

[1] See Juv. vii 222 f. 'mediae noctis ab hora'. Martial ix 68 (before cockcrow). The schools began before daybreak, and were over before noon.

[2] *Vide* 'Note on Mark ix 49, 50: A New Meaning for ἅλας', by the Rev. N. D. Coleman in the JOURNAL, July 1923.

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ἁλισθήσεται]. καλὸν τὸ ἅλας· ἐὰν δὲ τὸ ἅλας ἄναλον γένηται, ἐν τίνι αὐτὸ ἀρτύσετε; ἔχετε ἐν ἑαυτοῖς ἅλα, καὶ εἰρηνεύετε ἐν ἀλλήλοις.

St Luke xiv 34, 35 Καλὸν τὸ ἅλας· ἐὰν δὲ καὶ τὸ ἅλας μωρανθῇ, ἐν τίνι ἀρτυθήσεται; οὔτε εἰς γῆν, οὔτε εἰς κοπρίαν, εὔθετόν ἐστιν· ἔξω βάλλουσιν αὐτό.

'Ye are the salt of the earth; but if the salt have gone flat, by what means shall it be made salt? It is no longer good for aught, save to be cast out and trodden underfoot of men.'

'For every one shall be salted with fire, [as every sacrifice shall be salted with salt]. Salt is good; but if the salt has become saltless (insipid), by what means will ye season it? Have salt in yourselves, and live at peace with one another.'

'Salt is good; but if even the salt has gone flat, by what means shall it be seasoned? It is fit neither for the land (soil) nor for the dunghill; men cast it out.'

In these three statements from the Synoptic Gospels we have the same truth expressed in almost the same words. Only in St Mark certain additions are made, with which we shall deal presently.

The main statement is set forth in St Matthew, 'Ye are the salt (τὸ ἅλας) of the earth'. And for long I was inclined to take ἅλας here and in the other passages as distinct from ἅλς, *sal*, 'salt', in the sense of *salsa* (*salsamen*, *salsamenta*), 'salt food *or* meat (*or* fish)'.[1] Cf. κρέας, 'flesh-meat'. This seemed much better to agree with ἅλας becoming ἄναλον or 'saltless', and 'being seasoned (ἀρτύεσθαι)'—an expression apposite to meat, &c., but not, apparently, to salt. While as for its being cast out, trodden underfoot, and being unfit for the dunghill, see Plut. *Qu. Conviv.* iv 4. 3: 'The heroes did not endure meat to be served up without salt (κρέα χωρὶς ἁλῶν). For corpses are fitter to be thrown away than dung (κοπρίων ἐκβλητότεροι) according to Heraclitus; and all meat (κρέας) is dead and part of a dead thing'. In this case the disciples of Christ would differ from the world at large as the salted from the unsalted, having within them a purifying and preservative principle. And we might almost say, 'Ye are the Puritans of the earth'. 'Ye are the uncorrupt amid the corrupt, the sanctified in the midst of the unsanctified'.

But, unfortunately for this interpretation, no other instance of ἅλας used in this sense is discoverable. Generally, there seems to be no difference between ἅλς and ἅλας. Thus Col. iv 6: 'Let your speech be at all times with grace, seasoned with salt (ἅλατι ἠρτυμένος)'. Again, where we read in Lev. ii 13, 'Every oblation of your sacrifice shall be salted with salt (ἁλὶ ἁλισθήσεται); do not withhold the salt (ἅλας) of the

[1] Another rendering would be *salsa mola*, 'salt meal', used at sacrifices. This sense would fit well the passage from St Mark, but it desiderates examples.

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covenant of the Lord from your sacrifices; upon every oblation of yours you shall offer salt (ἅλας) to the Lord your God'; this is rendered in *Test. XII Patr.* (Levi ix), 'Every sacrifice thou shalt salt (sprinkle) with salt (ἅλατι ἁλιεῖς)'. And even in Leviticus it is doubtful whether ἅλας, which occurs twice in the passage, is singular or plural (from ἅλς).[1] Cf. Plut. *Qu. Conviv.* iv 4. 3[2]: 'Of savours from the sea, salt (τὸ ἅλας)[3] ranks first, without which nothing, so to say, is eatable, but the mixture of this helps to sweeten even bread'. Arist. *Mirab.* 138: 'The water coagulates, and becomes the finest salt (κάλλιστον ἅλας), which they preserve chiefly for the sake of the cattle; for salt (ἅλες) is not imported to them, dwelling as they do far from the sea. . . . They have most need of it for their cattle, for they give them salt (ἁλίζουσιν αὐτά) twice in the year'. Where the distinction of term seems to be without a difference of sense.[4]

In the passage from St Mark we have the term ἄναλος, and from a comparison of ἄναλον γίγνεσθαι with μωραίνεσθαι 'to become dull, flat, insipid', ἄναλος evidently here, like *insulsus*, comes to mean 'without saltness, insipid'. But its proper sense is 'without salt, saltless'. Cf. Arist. *Probl.* 21. 5: 'Why do loaves without salt in them (ἄναλοι) weigh heavier than salted ones, *or* ones mixed with salt (ἡλισμένων)? . . . In loaves which are not salted (μὴ ἡλισμένοις) the moisture being greater makes them heavier'. Plut. *Qu. Conviv.* v 10. 1: '(To the Egyptian priests) even the bread is served without salt (ἄναλον)'. So Job vi 6: 'Shall bread be eaten without salt (ἀνεὺ ἁλός)?' And in Plutarch (*supra*) we had 'meat without salt (κρέα χωρὶς ἁλῶν)'.

The verb ἁλίζειν, as above seen, may signify 'to salt', 'to make salt', 'to mix with salt', 'to sprinkle with salt', or 'to provide with salt'. See, too, Arist. *H.A.* vi 15. 10: '(The anchovy) salted (ἁλιζομένη) lasts a longer time'; viii 10. 2. 3: 'For this reason they salt *or* mix with salt (ἁλίζουσιν) most of the things which they serve to them (the sheep). . . . When supplied with salt (ἁλιζόμεναι) they (the ewes) have larger udders to let down to their young'. In the passage from St Matthew it evidently means 'to make salt', or, by comparison with ἀρτύειν in the other gospels, 'to season, flavour, give savour *or* taste to'; though this would more properly apply to the meat to which salt is added (cf. Col. iv 6).

[1] The reproduction in *Test. XII Patr.* would favour ἅλας (sing.). The Hebrew word is the same throughout.

[2] I have already quoted the latter part of the passage.

[3] I suspect a mistake in the reading here, viz. that τὸ ἅλας ought to be τὸν ἅλα, and the reading to be '(You will find) salt (τὸν ἅλα) first and foremost'. For it is followed by οὗτος ἐμμιγνύμενος (masc. not neut.). If so, the passage is not a case in point.

[4] Ἅλας Αἰγύπτιον, 'Egyptian salt', is twice mentioned in Hippocrates (i 622, 627).

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What then is the import of the statement, 'Ye are the salt of the earth'? Like the other and neighbouring statement, 'Ye are the light of the world',[1] where the signification evidently is, 'Ye are those who give light to, illuminate, the world, and dispel its darkness', so the present saying depends on the qualities of salt. 'Ye are those who season the earth, give it tone, purify it, sanctify it; ye are those who preserve it from corruption and decay, its preservative principle; ye are a sweetening and wholesome influence in the earth'. There is no need to exclude any of these thoughts.[2] For 'the preservative principle' see Plut. *Qu. Conviv.* v 10. 3: '(Salt is called divine), because, preserving as it does dead bodies uncorrupt and durable for a long time, it is ranged against death, and does not allow what is mortal to perish utterly and disappear'. Philo. *De Victim.* 3: 'Salt (ἅλες) is a symbol of the permanence of all things, for whatsoever it is sprinkled on it preserves'. *Quaest. in Gen.* iv 52: 'Things that have been made for security and continuance *or* durability like salt (*sicut sal*) have come to be (as e.g. in the case of Lot's wife) the cause of destruction and corruption *or* decay'. As an illustration of this sense, Rome owed her continued greatness to the Christian Church. And ten righteous men would have saved Sodom and Gomorrha.

All three passages have in view Christ's disciples, and only ring slight changes on this description of their personality: 'Salt is good; but if the salt have become saltless[3] *or* insipid, with what, *or* by what means, shall it be made salt, *or* be seasoned, *or* will ye season it? It is good for nothing any longer, save to be cast out and trodden underfoot of men; it is suitable, *or* available, neither for land (soil) nor dunghill, men cast it out'. How true of the unspiritual Christian who has lost his tonic influence for good!

In the passage from St Mark there are two additions, one before and one after the main sentence. Neither of them seems to have anything to do with the latter, and it is likely that the Evangelist has merely collected together here various *dicta* of our Lord on the subject of salt. The mention of fire which precedes, though used in a different sense, may have given rise to the first addition: 'For everyone shall be salted with fire (πυρὶ ἁλισθήσεται), and every sacrifice shall be salted with salt (ἁλὶ ἁλισθήσεται)'. If the second clause, which is omitted by several of the best MSS, and is very generally thought to be spurious, is allowed to stand, it probably signifies 'Just as every sacrifice has to be salted

[1] This simile argues for the translation 'The salt of the earth', and not 'of the soil', which latter is made possible by the passage from St Luke (εὔθετον εἰς γῆν).

[2] See Pliny *Nat. Hist.* xxxi 41, where many of the uses of 'salt' are given. It was also used medicinally.

[3] For 'saltless salt', cf. the line, 'If thou couldst empty all thyself of self', T. E. Brown.

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with salt'. This is a quotation from Lev. ii 13: 'Every oblation of your sacrifice (meal offering) shall be salted with salt'. So, too, Ezek. xliii 24: 'And ye shall bring them (the animals) near before the Lord; and the priests shall cast salt (ἅλα) upon them, and shall offer them as burnt-offerings to the Lord'. Salt was even applied as a purifying element to infants, as we hear in Ezek. xvi 4: 'Thou wast not washed with water, nor salted with salt (οὐδὲ ἁλὶ ἡλίσθης)'.

Being salted with fire reminds us of the baptism with the Holy Ghost and with fire (Matt. iii 11). And there, also, we have the fire unquenchable in the immediate neighbourhood: 'The chaff He shall burn with fire unquenchable'. Some think that the fire in the two cases is identical, and that while the baptism with the Holy Ghost applies to the 'wheat', the baptism with fire applies to the 'chaff'. But, if we remember the Pauline insertion, 'Quench not the Spirit', it seems more likely that 'fire' in the first instance is only another aspect of the Spirit's refining power (as on metal). And such is probably the inner meaning of being salted, i.e. refined, purified, sanctified, with fire. In which case, if the fire is not that of the Spirit, it may well be the fire of trial and affliction, that sanctifying influence which purges away the dross (cf. 1 Pet. i 7; iv 12). 'Unsanctified by affliction' is common parlance. Unless, indeed, it refer to purgatorial flame (see 1 Cor. iii 13–15), which refines the good but consumes the wicked, becoming in their case fire unquenchable. In the last instance it would have a nearer connexion with what immediately precedes. But there seem no certainty in the matter.

The second addition, 'Have salt (ἅλα) in yourselves,[1] and be at peace with one another', looks like a sequent to the controversy in *v.* 34 between the disciples as to who should be greatest. If it has any connexion with the verse that precedes, we see (for this follows from St Matt. v 13) that our Lord uses ἅλας of persons, ἅλς of character, and ἔχειν ἅλα is the precise opposite of ἄναλον εἶναι. 'Do not become', is our Lord's advice, 'saltless *or* insipid, but have saltness *or* savour in yourselves'; and so retain your bracing salutary influence. It may, however, be a detached sentence, uttered now or at some other time, and brought into its present position by the use of a common term. In this case ἅλς, like the Latin *sal*, may signify 'a pleasant humour' or 'sound sense', the quality that sweetens life's acerbities. Cf. Col. iv 6: 'Let your speech be at all times with grace (kindness or charm), seasoned with salt (ἅλατι ἠρτυμένος)', where salt may be, as above,

[1] We might also render the words 'Have salt among yourselves'. It is well-known that in the East the eating together of bread and salt is a sure sign of amity, even among those who at other times are foes. I have known the practice on the way to Petra. But this rendering is improbable.

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a pleasant humour or sound sense. See Job vi 6, 'Shall bread be eaten without salt (ἄνευ ἁλός)? Or is their taste in empty (senseless) words?' See, too, Eph. iv 29, St Matt. xii 16.

As was said before it is not unlikely, especially from a comparison with the other Gospels, that we have here distinct sayings of Jesus strung together by a common usage. If, however, the whole passage is to hang together, we must render it somewhat as follows: 'Everyone shall be salted with fire (of the Spirit). Salt (with a personal application) is good, but if the salt have lost its saltness, by what means will you season it? Have salt (the quality), i.e. saltness, in yourselves, and be at peace together'. Which, perhaps, we may further interpret thus: 'Everyone shall be sanctified with the Spirit. A fine thing is the saint, but if the saint have lost his sanctity (become unholy), how are you going to renew him? Have sanctity (holiness) in yourselves, and be at peace together'. Cf. Heb. vi 4–6.

I am far from satisfied with these observations, and can only hope they may lead some other student of our Lord's words to a happier exegesis of an extremely difficult subject.

W. S. Wood.

ADVERSARIA IN GREGORIUM NYSSENUM.

In a previous number of the Journal (vol. xxiii pp. 64 sqq.) I submitted a few conjectures on the text of Gregory of Nyssa. As these were so fortunate as to win the approval of Diekamp I venture to offer another instalment. The corruptness of the Migne text may be inferred from the fact that the corrections in this note are all suggested by the glaring errors in a few pages of one short treatise.

Hexaemeron prooem. 1. 64 A just as the corn is greater than the seed so Basil, explaining the first two chapters of Genesis, *οὐχὶ ἄσταχυν ἀλλὰ δένδρον ἐποίησε (κατὰ τὸν ὁμοιωθέντα τῇ βασιλείᾳ τοῦ σινάπεως κόκκον τὸν ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ τοῦ γεωργοῦντος ἀποδρενδρούμενον) ὥστε γενέσθαι πανταχόθεν αὐτὸν ἀμφιλαφῆ τοῖς νοήμασι καὶ διηπλωμένον ἀντὶ κλάδων τοῖς δόγμασι καὶ τῷ †σκοπῷ τῆς εὐσεβείας εἰς ὕψος ἀνατεινόμενον, ὡς καὶ τὰς ὑψηλάς τε καὶ μετεωροπόρους ψυχὰς* . . . (the parabolic birds of the air) . . . *δύνασθαι τῷ μεγέθει τῶν τοιούτων κλάδων ἐννοσεύειν. καλιὰ γάρ.* . . . Migne's translator, Zinus, renders *σκοπῷ* 'proposito pietatis fine', a concept quite alien from this elaborated tree-metaphor, in which the plant (1) is wide-spreading, (2) points skyward and shoots high enough up for those lofty souls who live 'at the back of heaven' on a high plane of piety to be able just because of its far-up twigs to nestle therein. It is, we are told,

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made shady and widespreading by means of its main branch-system. But what causes it to be sky-pointing? Why, of course, its 'goal', or its 'look-out man' ('speculans ex arbore' Prop. iii 3, 13), or its 'object' all sublime, or its 'kind of dance'—for all these meanings belong to the vulgate text's σκοπῷ, and L.-S. know none other or otherwise. [Iamblichus *Myst.* 4. 5 uses the word to signify 'idea, notion', but this, while it should be added to L.-S., affords us no assistance here.] Now, although Gregory does elsewhere mix his metaphors, there seems no good reason to make him do so in this passage, nor yet to mix his allusions: for evidently σκοπῷ (as Zinus's rendering suggests) refers to St Paul's foot-race metaphor in Ph. iii 14. But no tree ever grew into 'the mark, the goal of our high calling'. What we need here is either (1) some word meaning 'tree-top, topmost branches', keeping up the idea contained in εἰς ὕψος; in which case ἀνατεινόμενον has to be middle, 'stretching up aloft by its top which is piety'; or else (2) which is better, as keeping ἀνατεινόμενον passive like its fellow-participles, to substitute for σκοπῷ some word meaning that which makes them shoot up tall. Now this is done by the equable supply of sap. Probably, therefore, the true reading ὀπῷ has got corrupted into σκοπῷ, a much commoner word in late Greek. [It may perhaps be worth noting that in the Buchan district gravy is called 'sap'; now ὀπός means gravy in Ath. 402 C. Add this signification to L.-S.]

Ib. 64 B gardeners tear off (ἀποσύραντες) a small slip, bark and all, and ἄλλῳ φυτῷ μείζονι κατά τι μέρος ἐν †τομῆς τὸν φλοιὸν ἐναρμόζουσιν . . . With one of Forbes's codices we must read τομῇ 'by incision'. This is more natural than to keep τομῆς and insert the article in front of it, calling it epexegetic gen. and rendering it 'the bark of the incision, i. e. the incised bark'. Gregory was not writing silver-Latin poetry nor Sidonian prose. Zinus supports this to some extent: 'in alterius arboris maioris . . . sic incisa . . . includunt.'

Ib. 64 C some misunderstand the aim of Basil's brochure, and thus αἰτιῶνται τὸ †μήτε περὶ τοῦ ἡλίου σαφῆ παραδιδόσθαι τὴν γνῶσιν αὐτοῖς πῶς μετὰ τρεῖς ἡμέρας ὁ φωστὴρ †οὔτ' ἂν μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἀστέρων κατασκευάζεται. Forbes seems to regard μήτε as anantapodoton; but reading μήδε we get good sense: 'not even about that luminary does he find room for the so much needed ample explanation.' μήτε is used correctly in D just below. Probably οὔτ' ἄν should be οὐδέν 'by no means', *neutiquam*. Certainly ἄν is not required here, nor is it likely that so Attic a writer as Gregory would needlessly insert it. Or perhaps οὐδαμῇ may have been written and the last two letters lost by haplography with μετά. Forbes's MSS either omit or read οὗτος.

Ib. 65 A among the crowded congregation there were many indeed who understood Basil's high doctrines; †πολλαπλασίους δὲ οἱ τῆς λεπτο-

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τέρας ἐξετάσεως τῶν νοημάτων οὐκ ἐφικνούμενοι ἄνδρες ἰδιῶται καὶ βάναυσοι . . . καὶ ὁ ἐν γυναιξὶ λαὸς . . . ἀγύμναστος and the youngsters and the oldsters . . . πάντες οὗτοι τῶν τοιούτων ἐδέοντο λόγων τῶν . . . πρὸς τὴν . . . γνῶσιν χειραγωγούντων. Long as this sentence is, it has no verb to govern πολλαπλασίους. Nor can we posit an anacoluthon and refer πολλαπλασίους to λόγων, for the context clearly states that Basil's words were not in any way wanting or imperfect, rather they were perfect by being both pertinent to their subject and also exactly fitted to the average (lack of) intelligence in an average crowded audience. This is the whole point insisted on in two pages of this small treatise. It was not then many times more λόγοι that they needed. The δέ must therefore be meant to contrast the few (better class people) who completely grasped Basil's every point with the ordinary simple lay folk who carried away only part of what he said. The τοιούτων refers to the point last made by Gregory: that by their simplicity Basil's words were exactly adapted to his mixed audience, just what (τοι.) they needed. Read then πολλαπλάσιοι: 'far more numerous were the uneducated who needed such plain and unphilosophical lectures.' [Zinus, only a moderately accurate translator, renders 'plurumi tamen doctrinae subtilitatem non capiebant': had he my emendation in his text, or did he just blunder into the only possible sense of the passage? Sifanus gives 'multo uero plures qui . . . non assequerentur . . .'.]

Ib. 65 B ὥστε εἰ μὲν πρὸς τὸν σκοπὸν τῆς τοῦ μεγάλου †διδασκάλου κρίνει τις τὰ λεγόμενα λείπει †τοῖς εἰρημένοις οὐδέν. The meaning is in part clear and Zinus presents it thus: 'quare si quis ex praeceptoris (Basili) consilio dicta ipsius expenderit nihil dubitationis relinquetur.' But with what does τῆς agree? Not with any fem. noun out of the previous long sentence (partly quoted above), for none is there to suit the sense. Now the Hexaemeron starts by calling Basil τοῦ μεγάλου B., and the name is not repeated, but he is styled τοῦ πατρός (τὸν σκοπὸν τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν διδασκαλίας 65 A), ὁ διδάσκαλος ἡμῶν 64 A, cf. B (two passages). Instead of deleting τῆς, as Zinus seems to have done, it would be better to follow the Forbes MSS which read τῆς τοῦ μεγ. διδασκαλίας and to assume that the last word got corrupted into διδασκάλου by a scribe who did not understand to whom or to what τοῦ μεγ. referred, forgetting that this could be meant for none other than τοῦ μεγ. Βασιλείου, forgetting also (luckily for the integrity of what Gregory wrote) to delete the τῆς. Alternatively διδασκαλία could be added after διδασκάλου, but the jingle is ungregorian. As to the unexampled construction after λείπει I can only hazard the conjecture that it may possibly be used here in the sense of ἐλλείπει. If so, before τοῖς put ἐν, which might easily have got lost after -ει: 'his notions are not a-wanting in regard to anything that B. said.' Yet I fear that εἰρ. ought in such

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a construction to have as its agent the subject of the main verb. For who would tolerate such a rendering of *ἐλλείπει ἐν τοῖς πραχθεῖσιν* as 'he is lacking in the things done by some third person'?

The next sentence, in Migne, contains a misprint which is silently corrected by Forbes: read *τὰς* in *πρὸς ταῖς τῶν ζητημάτων ἐνστάσεις*.

Ib. 65 D, 68 A the consumption of moisture seems to our objectors unlikely *διὰ τὸ πάντοτε ἐν ἴσῳ τῷ μέτρῳ τὰ τῶν ὑδάτων ὁρᾶσθαι συστήματα ἐν πηγαῖς τε καὶ ποταμοῖς καὶ λίμναις πλὴν εἴ τινες τῶν πηγῶν ἐπιπολαίαν †ἔχουσαι τὴν τοῦ ὕδατος χορηγίαν καὶ †διαπήδησεως ὄμβρων ἢ χιόνων πηγάζουσιν*. The reader will not dispute that the first Greek word here should have no punctuation at all before it, much less the full stop and capital with which Migne furnishes it. But even with this adjustment the sentence is unsatisfactory as it stands: *πλὴν εἰ* with participle can scarcely be right; *ἔχουσι* is an easy correction, or else delete *καί*. Some of Forbes's MSS substitute *ἐκ* for *καί*, and this may possibly be the true remedy, but two of them support my conjectured *ἔχουσι*. Anyhow, the text of far better witnesses than Migne must have been long disturbed and variously healed. Nor are our difficulties all surmounted yet. We have still the unsuitable preposition in *διαπ.* to deal with. Through what do the showers and snows leap or ooze? The firmament? But that has not been mentioned for a long time; and, incidentally, *πηγάζω* does not take a source-gen. Read *διὰ πηδήσεως*. Possibly Zinus leans rather to my correction than to the text, or had he some less fantastic word on which to base his 'imbrium niuiumque ui'? Certainly his text had some variants unaccountable by the printed Greek vulgate. For instance, in 76 A Gregory is arguing that we know the origin of fire solely by its effects, *ποῦ δὲ τὸ πῦρ † διαιτώμενον ἀθρόως ἀπογεννᾶται* we cannot see. Here Zinus renders 'latitans ... generetur', which cannot be reconciled with the Greek. Nor does *διαι.* itself give very good sense, seeing that 'regulated, governed' appears to be the only meaning assignable to it here. With the substitution of *διαλλόμενον* an appropriate sense emerges: 'unseen the fire leaps out, the sparks collect (*ἀθ.*), and so a blaze is brought to birth.' Sifanus has *uersans* and Forbes takes no notice of the difficulty.

Ib. 68 B *εἰ οὖν ταῦτα σὺ καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα πολυπραγμονῶν ... καὶ τὰ ἐν τῷ ζόφῳ ... κείμενα αὐτός †τε ἰδεῖν τῇ φρονήσει σου, μὴ πρὸς ἄλλον βλέπειν ἀλλὰ ... τὰ θεῖα βάθη διερευνᾶσθαι*. The *τε* is meaningless; it seems to be the much detrited stump of a verb, for one is needed, if only because *εἰ* does not admit of a participle. I suggest ⟨*ζη*⟩*τε*⟨*ῖς*⟩.[1] Zinus renders 'et ipse perspicere cupis et multitudini patefacere'. But for

[1] If Gregory uses *ματεύω*, I would suggest *ματεύεις* for *ζητεῖς*, since *ματεύω* is a word quite likely to have been unfamiliar to copyists.

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the last clause the Greek has no equivalent, and the 'et . . . et' requires τε to be transposed behind ἰδεῖν; we must also substitute (say) καὶ τοῖς πολλοῖς σαφηνίσαι for τῇ φρονήσει σου. To make so extensive an alteration of the text, at the bidding of such a free translator as Zinus, would carry us too far from the *ductus litterarum*. Yet, as we have seen more than once, the witness of Zinus is sometimes helpful and points to the possibility of his having worked from a purer text than that of Migne. His *cupis* is just what is needed here in place of τε.[1] If the two imperatival infinitives offend, it were easy to carve δεῖ ἐρευνᾶσθαι out of διερ.—easy, but *procliui lectioni praestat ardua.*

Ib. 68 C ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνα (Basil's dicta) μὲν κεκρατήσθω καὶ μόνης τῆς θεοπνεύστου Διαθήκης τὰ δευτερεῖα φερέσθω· τὰ δὲ ἡμέτερα ὡς ἐν γυμνασίῳ τινὶ . . . προκείσθω. Whether φερέσθω be taken as middle or passive, there is still needed a dative shewing to whom the palm is to be yielded. Some may be disposed to get rid of the lacuna by foisting in after -σθω σθένει, after -κης ἀλκῇ; or by assuming διαίτᾳ dropped before τά, μένει before μόν- (or before the μέν caught sight of above it). These, however, seem but counsels of despair. Zinus takes refuge in paraphrase. Did his text boldly read μόνῃ . . . διαθήκῃ? [Of course γυμνασίῳ is a mere blunder for γυμνασίᾳ.]

Ib. 76 B εἶδεν ὁ Θεὸς τὸ φῶς ὅτι καλόν· μόνου γὰρ ὡς ἀληθῶς Θεοῦ τὸ ἰδεῖν ὅπως ἂν γένοιτο †τὸ οὕτω καλόν. Zinus: 'uere enim Dei solius est intueri quomodo ⟨lux⟩ sit ita bona.' The Greek seems to have suffered a slight telescoping, for only in Homer can τό stand as demonstrative. Read, as did Zinus, τοῦτο οὕτω—though one would prefer to be rid of οὕτω as it serves no purpose in this context. [Hence we cannot leave the text as it stands (and assume Zinus's rendering wrong) translating it: 'how that which is in this way (in what way?) good became good.']

Ib. 76 D τὸ πῦρ . . . †ἴσῳ νοήματι τὴν αἰσθητὴν οὐσίαν διαπερᾶσαν οὐκ ἔσχε προσαγαγεῖν ἐπ' εὐθείας τὴν κίνησιν. . . . Zinus's text differed rather considerably from ours, but on the one clause where a conjecture is needed he supplies just the rendering we require to support it. For ἴσῳ read ἴσως: 'quam cogitari possit celerrume.' Gregory's whole point is to show that τῆς νοητῆς φυσέως . . . οὐ παραδεχομένης ἐν ἑαυτῇ τοῦ πυρὸς τὸν δρόμον (77 A). [In this last passage, for πρὸς μὲν τὸ πᾶν φερέσθαι read τὸ τὸ πᾶν as τὸ πᾶν is adverb.] The sentence quoted above from 76 D is rendered needlessly difficult by the vulgate punctuation, which at first sight makes it anantapodoton. Delete all commas (this applies elsewhere almost universally); change first colon to a

[1] But his (apparent) turning of our τῇ φρονήσει σου into 'prudentiae tuae consuluerim ne alium spectares' is decidedly not. Nor surely in 72 C where he represents τὸ πῦρ by 'unum aliquod' does he imply an improved text, but Forbes and Sifanus omit τὸ πῦρ.

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comma, thus connecting the two clauses under regimen with *ἐπεί*; put dash after *κίνησιν* and before *τούτου χάριν*, and enclose *αἰσθ. . . . πῦρ* in parenthesis; the dash already following it shews that this parenthesis is a wheel within wheels. *ποιεῖται* now emerges clearly as principal verb. Long straggling sentences are quite in harmony with the Gregorian tone.

Ib. 84 C *οὐκ ἄν τινα οἶμαι τῶν † κρίνειν ἐπεσκεμμένων . . . μὴ ἄλλο τι παρὰ τὸ κοινὸν ἐννοεῖν ὕδωρ . . .* The context demands that the verb be middle, and the verb itself is not one that naturally takes a complementary inf.; so add *τῷ* after *τῶν*. The infinitive with the article in all cases and uses is a notable feature of Gregory's style. Sifanus gives 'qui ad iudicandum meditati accesserint'.

With two references to points discussed in my previous article I will bring this paper to a close.

On 3. 961 B, instead of my conjecture *ὡς τῷ ὄντι*, Prof. J. S. Phillimore would read *νεωστί*, the participle being taken as imperfect. The suggestion seems as certain as it is neat.

On the Mac. Magn. passage 3. 35 it has been objected to me that of course cows do not recline *in* a manger. The criticism is irresistible. But the *ἐν* could still be preserved if we took it in its weaker sense of 'near, by, beside, at', cf. *ἡ ἐν Ποτιδαίᾳ μάχη* Thuc. ii 2, *ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ Θεοῦ* Rom. viii 34; other examples occur in Attic, and see L.-S. s.v. I 4. In Latin Propertius is allowed by all his editors to speak of reclining 'in herboso Apidano' (i 3. 6), where of course he means on the bank of the river. This use is well justified by A. T. Robinson (*Gr. of Gk. N. T.* p. 586): 'The preposition in itself merely states that the location is within the bounds marked by the word with which it occurs. It does not mean "near", but "in", that is, "inside". The translation of the resultant idea may indeed be *in*, *on*, *at*, according to the context, but the preposition itself retains its own idea.'

RONALD BURN.

THE ROOT פרץ IN HEBREW.

IN a recent note contributed to the *J. T. S.* (xxiv, p. 318) Prof. Guillaume supports my suggestion (made in *J. T. S.* xxiii, p. 72) that two roots meaning 'broke through' and 'commanded' respectively underlie the Heb. פרץ (the latter being the sense required in 1 Chron. xiii 2 and 2 Chron. xxxi 5) by comparing Arab. فَرَضَ IV 'imposed laws' (of God) and فَرْضٌ 'divine law'. He does not, however, notice that Arabic *proves* that the two roots are distinct; for Ass. *parâṣu* 'to break through' and Heb. פרץ 'broke through' correspond to Arab. فَرَصَ

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'cut', 'slit' or 'pierced', while Ass. *parâṣu* 'to decide', whence *parṣu* 'edict', and Heb. פרץ 'commanded' correspond to Arab. قَرَضَ (1) 'cut', 'notched'; (2) 'sanctioned', 'ordained'. In all probability the two roots were originally identical, the underlying sense being that conveyed by the Lat. *decidere*.

But it is impossible, I think, to follow him in equating Syr. ܦܪܨ 'requited' with Hebr. פרץ 'commanded' and Arab قَرَضَ 'ordained'; that is rather to be compared with Arab. قَرَغَ 'completed', 'accomplished anything'; 'was free, unoccupied' from anything (cp. Brockelmann, *Lex. Syr.* 291 *a*).

G. R. DRIVER.

LE R. P. DOM PAUL CAGIN.

LE Révérend Père Dom Paul Cagin a consacré la plus grande partie de sa vie à l'étude de la liturgie.[1] Son œuvre demanderait à être exposée et discutée en grand détail. Nous ne pouvons, dans un court article comme celui-ci, que donner un catalogue de ses ouvrages en établissant leur objet et leur valeur.

1. *Un mot sur l'antiphonale Missarum*, in-8° de 36 p. Solesmes, 1890.

Cette plaquette, petite par le nombre des pages mais importante par les conséquences, fut composée à l'occasion de la thèse de Gevaert qui niait que saint Grégoire Ier fût l'auteur ou même le réformateur du chant dit *grégorien*: ce rôle reviendrait à Grégoire II (715–731) ou plus probablement encore à Grégoire III, mort en 741. A tous les arguments donnés par les adversaires que rencontra Gevaert, Dom Cagin a ajouté celui-ci qui frappera d'autant plus les liturgistes que son application est en quelque sorte mathématique. La disposition des communions de carême indique que depuis le mercredi des Cendres jusqu'au vendredi de la Passion on a suivi l'ordre numérique des psaumes, de 1 à 26. Un certain nombre de jours font exception; ce sont les jeudis. Or nous savons par ailleurs que ces jours-là du temps de saint Grégoire n'avaient pas de messe. Ces messes ont été ajoutées

[1] Né à Béthune le 7 juin 1847, profès de Solesmes le 25 mai 1879, prêtre le 28 mai 1885, il est mort le 8 avril 1923. Ses confrères et amis lui ont consacré des notices nécrologiques où sont exposés et décrits, parfois avec beaucoup de charme, ses qualités morales et les traits de son caractère original et primesautier; son style et le genre de son exposition, même dans ses ouvrages les plus austères, trahissent parfois cette spontanéité d'humeur. Parmi ces articles nous citerons: Dom G. Démaret, dans *La Revue pratique de liturgie et de musique sacrée*, 1923, mars-avril, p. 376–384; A. M. [Dom André Mocquereau], *Revue Grégorienne*, 1923, mars-avril, p. 79–80; Dom G. Tissot, *Rivista Liturgica*, Finalpia, 1923, Maggio, p. 150–153; et *La Vie et les Arts liturgiques*, août 1923, p. 451–456.

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par Grégoire II. Le système des communions est donc antérieur à ce pape. En outre cinq psaumes de la série 1–26 manquent et sont remplacés par cinq antiennes tirées de l'évangile du jour. Il semble que cette combinaison puisse être attribuée à saint Grégoire Ier.

2. *Avant-propos à l'antiphonaire ambrosien*, dans la *Paléographie musicale*, t. V, Solesmes, 1896, p. 1–200.

C'est l'introduction historique à la publication de l'antiphonaire ambrosien du British Museum. Il est difficile de résumer cette étude où tant de questions sont abordées, l'origine des morceaux *Vadis propitiator*, *Caenae tuae mirabili*, *Sub tuum*, *Te laudamus*, etc. Cependant à travers les arabesques d'un texte qui nous promène du sacramentaire ambrosien à celui de Bobbio, de celui de Stowe au Léonien, au Grégorien, au Mozarabe, on arrive à reconnaître un dessin suivi qui est d'établir les différences radicales entre les liturgies d'orient et celles d'occident, de démontrer l'unité d'origine des liturgies latines et l'analogie du canon romain primitif avec celui des liturgies gallicanes. La liturgie ambrosienne est donc ramenée dans le groupe des liturgies latines. Mgr Duchesne, dont cet exposé renversait la théorie sur l'origine orientale de la liturgie ambrosienne, y répondit par un article dans la *Revue d'hist. et de littér. chrét.*, t. V, 1900, p. 31–47. Mais Dom Cagin est revenu dans ses autres ouvrages sur cette thèse et en a maintenu toutes les données.

3. *Recherches historiques sur l'Ave Maria*, dans le *Mois bibliographique*, t. IV, 1895, p. 243–251, et tirage à part, brochure de 9 p. in-8°. Paris, 1895.

Cette étude sous forme de lettre recherche les origines de la salutation angélique, spécialement dans la liturgie; les différentes variantes de cette prière depuis la fin du moyen âge.

4. Préface du t. VI de la *Paléographie musicale*, p. 1–26. Solesmes, 1900.

Description de l'office ambrosien, comme introduction à la publication du Codex ambrosien 34. 209 (codex additionnel) du Musée britannique.

5. *Le Sacramentarium triplex de Gerbert* dans la *Revue des Bibliothèques*, novembre–décembre 1899, et à part brochure in-8° de 29 p. Paris, 1900.

Dom Martin Gerbert, abbé de Saint-Blaise, a publié dans sa collection liturgique, *Monumenta veteris liturgicae Alemanicae*, typis san-Blasianis, 1777, un manuscrit des plus curieux qui contient trois sacramentaires juxtaposés selon le rit gélasien, grégorien et ambrosien. Dom Cagin retrouve dans la bibliothèque de la ville de Zurich ce *Sacramentarium triplex* que l'on croyait perdu depuis le temps de Gerbert. Il critique

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l'édition de Gerbert fort insuffisante et insiste sur l'importance de ce manuscrit et la nécessité d'une réédition. Cf. nº **17**.

6. *Un manuscrit liturgique des Frères prêcheurs antérieur aux règlements d'Humbert de Romans*, dans la *Revue des Bibliothèques*, juin–juillet 1899, p. 163–200 ; à part, brochure in-8º de 38 p. Paris, 1899.

Dom C. retrouve la date et l'origine de ce manuscrit mis en vente par Rosenthal. C'est un livre de chœur des dominicains composé dans la première moitié du XIIIe siècle (1228–1243) contenant des suppléments du graduel, du bréviaire, du processionnal, de l'hymnaire, et dont le grand intérêt est d'être antérieur aux réformes d'Humbert de Romans. Cf. nº **16**.

7. *Description du codex 339 de la Bibliothèque de Saint-Gall*, dans *Paléographie musicale*, t. I, p. 71–95. Solesmes, 1889.

Étude sur ce codex, date de ses différentes parties, lieu d'origine.

8. *Le chant grégorien au Congrès d'Arezzo*, brochure de 43 p. imprimée à Poitiers, Oudin, 1883.

Les quatre lettres dont se compose la brochure ont été rédigées par Dom Cagin sur des notes et renseignements fournis par Dom Schmidt.

9. *Note sur le sacramentaire de Gellone*, dans *Mélanges de littérature et d'histoire publiés à l'occasion du jubilé épiscopal de Mgr de Cabrières, évêque de Montpellier*, t. I, p. 231–291.

Le sacramentaire de Gellone, manuscrit latin 12048 de la Bibliothèque Nationale, de la deuxième moitié du VIIIe siècle, a été étudié souvent pour son écriture semi-onciale et pour ses remarquables enluminures.[1] Dom Cagin l'étudie au point de vue liturgique. Le système est gélasien. La *Missa in natale sacerdotis* n'est pas empruntée au Mozarabe. Dom Cagin publie les messes et bénédictions pour le *natalis* de l'évêque.

10. *Codex sacramentorum Bergomensis*, dans *Auctarium Solesmense*, t. I, fascicule i, in-8º. Solesmis, 1900.

C'est le premier fascicule d'un ouvrage qui n'a pas été continué et qui contient l'édition d'un *Liber sacramentorum* ambrosien, le *Codex Bergomensis, s. Alexandri in Columna*, et un *Capitulare lectionum*, d'après un codex du XIIe siècle de la bibliothèque du cérémoniaire de la cathédrale de Milan.

11. *Le manuscrit latin M. VI 2 du musée Borgia*, dans la *Revue des Bibliothèques*, t. XII, 1902, p. 41–73 ; à part, brochure in-8º de 37 p. Paris, 1902.

Dans ce manuscrit communiqué à Dom Cagin par l'antiquaire L. Rosenthal, Dom Cagin reconnut par une suite d'inductions un

[1] Notamment par Léopold Delisle, *Cabinet des manuscrits*, Paris, 1881, t. III, p. 222, et *Mémoire sur d'anciens sacramentaires*, Paris, 1886, p. 80, 81.

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évangéliaire qui n'était autre qu'un manuscrit volé au musée Borgia. Après cette découverte, Rosenthal restitua le manuscrit au P. Ehrle, bibliothécaire du Vatican, au prix où il l'avait acheté.

12. *L'œuvre de Solesmes dans la restauration du chant grégorien*, dans *Rassegna Gregoriana*, t. III, 1904, col. 205–226 ; à part, brochure in-8° de 15 p. Rome, 1904.

Part de Dom Guéranger, de Dom Jausions, de Dom Pothier et de Dom Mocquereau dans cette restauration ; l'école critique de Solesmes, les éditions des livres de chant grégorien.

13. *Archaïsme et progrès dans la restauration des mélodies grégoriennes*, dans *Rassegna Gregoriana*, t. VI, 1905, col. 289–318 ; à part, brochure in-8° de 19 p. Rome, 1905.

Sur l'évolution du chant grégorien ; les chants latins avant saint Grégoire ; on ne peut établir que le chant ambrosien est antérieur au grégorien ; la part de saint Grégoire dans l'œuvre de restauration est hypothétique ; âge d'or des mélodies grégoriennes du VIe au IXe siècle. La décadence au XVe siècle ; essais de restauration, ses caractères.

14. *Les noms latins de la Préface eucharistique*, dans *Rassegna Gregoriana*, t. V, 1906, col. 321–358 ; à part, brochure in-8° de 32 p. Rome, 1906.

Contestatio, *illatio*, *praefatio*, *immolatio*, *oratio* : origine de ces termes ; leur sens exact.

15. *Te Deum ou illatio, l'Euchologie latine étudiée dans la tradition de ses formules et de ses formulaires. Scriptorium Solesmense*, t. I, 1, gr. in-8°. Solesmes, 1906.

Le titre assez énigmatique, éclairé par le sous-titre, signifie que le *Te Deum* doit être rapproché des plus anciennes *contestationes* ou *illationes* (Préfaces de la messe) et qu'il est peut-être lui-même une préface. Toutefois la question n'est pas résolue. Mais à cette occasion l'auteur étudie le *Te Deum* dans ses sources, dans ses origines les plus anciennes, dans tous les textes qui présentent des analogies avec lui, dans les traductions. Il le rapproche aussi de l'anaphore latine primitive, étude qui va l'amener à ses recherches sur l'*Eucharistia*. Cf. n° 18.

16. *Dominicains et teutoniques, conflit d'attribution du Liber Choralis*, dans la *Revue des Bibliothèques*, juillet–sept. 1908 ; à part, in-8° de 19 p. Paris, 1908.

Ce manuscrit (cf. *Revue des Bibliothèques*, juin–juillet–août 1899, t. XIX, p. 163–200, et ci-dessus n° 6) serait antérieur au B. Humbert. Dans ce nouveau mémoire Dom Cagin combat les objections et la thèse des *Analecta Bollandiana*, t. XIX, 1900, p. 70, et soutient que ce manuscrit est bien dominicain, non teutonique, et antérieur à 1232.

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17. *L'observation paléographique dans l'étude du sacramentarium triplex de saint Gall.* (cf. n° 5), dans les *Mélanges Chatelain*, Paris, 1910, p. 92–112, avec planche.

Dom C. revient sur l'étude de ce manuscrit (cf. n° 5), il en étudie les particularités paléographiques, conclut qu'il a été écrit simultanément par plusieurs scribes qui copiaient un archétype lequel serait des premières années du IXe siècle; questions que pose ce curieux cas liturgique.

18. *L'Eucharistia, canon primitif de la messe ou formulaire essentiel et premier de toutes les liturgies, l'euchologie latine étudiée dans la tradition de ses formules et de ses formulaires; Scriptorium Solesmense*, t. II, in-8°. Paris, 1912.

On remarquera que le sous-titre est le même que celui de son étude sur le *Te Deum*. Ce texte l'avait amené en effet à s'occuper des contestations et des plus anciennes anaphores latines. Il avait rencontré sur sa route l'anaphore latine du manuscrit de Vérone publiée par Hauler. Cette prière l'avait frappé par une certaine saveur antique. Il l'étudia, d'après la méthode qu'il avait appliquée au *Te Deum*, la compara avec les plus anciennes formules liturgiques, et, d'élimination en élimination, il arriva à cette conclusion que l'anaphore de la constitution apostolique est la plus ancienne, qu'elle est le type et comme le noyau le plus ancien de toutes les anaphores et enfin qu'elle est l'anaphore apostolique, la plus proche de celle qu'employèrent les apôtres eux-mêmes. Cf. les n° 19, 20, 22.

19. *L'Eucharistia: fragments de la IIIe partie, offerts au Congrès eucharistique international de Lourdes*, Lille, 1914, in-4°.

A la fin de l'*Eucharistia* Dom Cagin annonçait une 3e partie qui n'a jamais paru, mais dont il a donné des fragments sous le titre que nous venons de transcrire. Il y expose ses principales conclusions: le formulaire de la messe primitive est exclusivement, essentiellement *eucharistique*; le thème de cette formule est essentiellement *christologique*; le formulaire de cette anaphore se rapproche de celui de saint Paul; la formule eucharistique primitive forme un tout indivisible et toutes les interruptions ou reprises que l'on remarque dans les autres formulaires liturgiques sont le résultat d'additions ou d'interpolations. Ici encore la formule des fragments de Vérone est donnée comme la formule primitive que l'on retrouve sous toutes les autres. Cf. les n° 18, 20, 22.

20. *L'Anaphore apostolique et ses témoins*, in-12. Paris, 1919.

La découverte de Dom Connolly qui retrouvait dans saint Hippolyte l'auteur de la constitution égyptienne et par suite de l'anaphore improprement appelée anaphore de Vérone, ramenait l'attention sur ce

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précieux document; cette thèse infirmait, dans une certaine mesure, les conclusions de Dom Cagin; la fameuse anaphore est une composition du commencement du IIIe siècle dont l'auteur est désormais connu. Tout en reconnaissant l'intérêt de cette découverte, Dom Cagin ne se rendait pas. Après tout rien ne prouve que la fameuse anaphore ne soit pas un document plus ancien et d'origine même apostolique que saint Hippolyte aurait inséré dans son ouvrage. C'est à défendre cette thèse qu'est consacré ce livre et la brochure sur *Les Origines de la messe*, no **22.**

21. *Le sacramentaire gélasien d'Angoulême*, in-8o, Angoulême, 1919.

Ce précieux manuscrit, Lat. 816, à la Bibliothèque Nationale, qui a été signalé et décrit bien souvent.[1] Dom Cagin l'a édité le premier avec un soin extrême, rendant ainsi le plus grand service aux études liturgiques. C'est, après le sacramentaire gélasien du Vatican publié par Tommasi, le seul sacramentaire gélasien jusqu'ici publié et qui présente pour les études liturgiques le plus grand intérêt.

Il avait écrit, pour présenter aux lecteurs ce document, une magistrale introduction qu'il fut malheureusement obligé de sacrifier, mais qui, espérons-le, sera publiée quelque jour.

22. *Les Origines de la messe*, in-12 de 39 p. Paris [1921.]

Il revient sur l'anaphore de saint Hippolyte pour démontrer qu'elle est le document philologiquement et théologiquement le plus ancien de ce genre, et qu'on doit l'appeler l'anaphore apostolique. Là se retrouve le thème qui fait le fond de toutes les anaphores, mais qui est ici plus pur et plus complet et débarrassé de toutes les interpolations qui se sont un peu partout glissées dans le canon de la messe. Cf. no **18, 19, 20.**

F. CABROL.

Farnborough.

[1] Delisle, *Mémoire sur d'anciens sacramentaires*, p. 91–96. C'est cette note que D. C. s'est contenté de transcrire comme introduction.

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REVIEWS

Neutestamentliche Apokryphen: In Verbindung mit Fachgelehrten in deutscher Uebersetzung und mit Einleitungen herausgegeben von EDGAR HENNECKE. Zweite, völlig umgearbeitete und vermehrte Auflage. Erste Lieferung, pp. 1–128. (Tübingen, 1923.)

THIS is a recasting of the work issued by the same editor in 1904. How considerable in mere bulk are the additions may be guessed from the fact that the new edition has half a dozen more lines to the page than the old, and that section A (Gospels) now fills 110 pages as against forty-eight: the first twenty-eight pages of the *Haupteinleitung* of ed. 1 have no equivalent as yet in ed. 2.

It will hardly be expected that the reviewer even of a short instalment of this very important book should notice, much less evaluate, the many points that arise in the critical discussions which form a large part of this fascicule. He can, however, tell the prospective purchaser something of what is to be found in it.

It contains section A (*Evangelien*) and the beginning of section B (*Apostolisches*). We are not told exactly what the compass of the whole book is to be, but it is all to be in our hands by the end of March 1924.

Section A begins with an introduction of seventeen pages by Hennecke and Waitz. The latter begins, at p. 10, a disquisition on the Jewish-Christian Gospels in the literature of the early Church. His survey of Church writers down to Jerome leads him to the conclusion that there were *three* Gospels current in Jewish-Christian circles, each of which is called by some one or more writers 'the Gospel according to the Hebrews'. These three books were:—

1. A Nazarene Gospel (N E), in contents, compass, arrangement, and outlook closely resembling our *Matthew*, but with many differences. Papias and Ignatius knew it in a Greek form, Hegesippus, Eusebius, Apollinaris, Jerome in Hebrew or Aramaic.

Twenty-eight fragments are subsequently given: the only unexpected one is the conversation between our Lord and the Pharisee on purity, which is preserved in the *Oxyrhynchus Papyrus* no. 840. I could not include this myself. Is it really likely that a 'Hebrew' Gospel would consistently speak of Jesus as 'the Saviour'? Surely that is characteristic of the Gnostic stratum.

2. An Ebionite Gospel (E E), otherwise called the Gospel of the Twelve. This was in Greek. The sixty-one fragments assigned to it are

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almost all from Epiphanius and the Clementine Homilies and Recognitions. It is in fact (Waitz has spent much time in advocating the theory elsewhere) *the* Gospel used in the Clementines.

3. A Gospel according to the Hebrews (H E), known to Clement of Alexandria and Origen. This is the new factor in Waitz's system. He finds an allusion to it in the Coptic Discourse of Cyril (on which Mr Burch wrote in this JOURNAL in 1920: vol. xxi, p. 310). To it he assigns the following passages:—

1. That in the discourse of Cyril (of which more anon).

2. The Origen and Jerome quotation about 'my mother the Holy Spirit'.

3. The Clement quotation 'He that wonders[1] shall reign', &c., which is also in *Oxyrh. Pap.* 654.

4–7 (queried). The other sayings in the same papyrus.

8. The story of the appearance of our Lord to James preserved by Jerome.

I have some criticisms on this. The passage in the Discourse of Cyril says that the Father chose a mighty Power in heaven, called Michael, and committed Christ to the care thereof. And the power came into the world and was called Mary, &c.

Waitz is impressed by this and connects it with the phrase 'my mother the Holy Spirit'. I cannot think why. He makes hardly any reference to the fact that the Power was called Michael and not the Holy Spirit. And elsewhere (to pursue this a little further) he assumes that the transporting of Jesus to the great mountain Tabor by the Holy Spirit refers to the incident which our Gospels relate, of Satan transporting Him to the high mountain. Surely the real Gospel equivalent is 'He was led by the spirit into the wilderness, to be tempted of the devil'. It was the preliminary to the Temptation, not the Temptation itself. And does not the old explanation hold perfectly, that the Spirit is called 'mother' because the Hebrew word is feminine? To my mind it is infinitely more probable that the book mentioned in the Discourse of Cyril (a late document) was a Gnostic Gospel that had been wrongly baptized than that it was an early Judaeo-Christian book. I am reminded of the habit that the mediaeval scribes had of calling the Gospel of Nicodemus the Gospel of the Nazarenes, and I believe this third gospel of Waitz's theory to be a ghost-book.

To resume the survey of contents. Between the fragments of the N E and the E E we have a collection of *versprengte Herrenworte* or Agrapha, including the 'Oxyrhynchus Logia' (pap. no. 1), the Fayoum fragment and the Freer-logion.

[1] Is it, by the way, allowable to transliterate the word for wonder as 'thaumäzein' with a short *a*?

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As to the fragments of E E supposedly contained in the Clementines, I have this to remark. I do not contest the identification of the E E with the Gospel of the Twelve: but when it is argued that the Gospel of the Twelve must be the Clementine Gospel because quotations in the Clementines are thus introduced, 'He said to *us*', 'He taught *us*', I would have it remembered that Peter is the speaker, and that the formula is the only natural one for him to use. I will not say that this is Waitz's chief argument: my point is that it is not an argument at all. Then follow H E, of which enough has been said, and the Gospel according to the Egyptians. To this is assigned the fragment (*Oxyrh. Pap.* 655) which roughly corresponds to Mt. vi 25 sqq.

Next, Stülcken treats of the Gospel of Peter, not noticing the view (which I believe will in the end prevail) that the Apocalypse-fragment is also a part of it. He also writes the next section, on Gnostic Gospels, in which is included Jacoby's Strassburg fragment. There is a brief account of the Berlin MS which contains the Gospel of Mary, an apocryphon of John, and the Wisdom of Jesus Christ. This exceedingly interesting fifth-century manuscript has been at Berlin since 1896. When will the text of it be made accessible?

Under the head of Revised Gospels, W. Bauer writes of Marcion, and Tatian's Diatessaron, and adds a short section on 'Jesu irdische Erscheinung und Charakter'.

A few lines on the Acts of Pilate, and a rendering of the Letter of Pilate to Claudius, are by Stülcken. Apparently the plan of this edition does not admit (as neither did the first) of the inclusion of the Gospel of Nicodemus. This is to be regretted, I think, for though the book is late, it had an extraordinary vogue, especially the Descent into Hell, which forms the second part of it.

'Names of the Nameless' is the title of the next section, by A. Meyer: but only the most primitive of these are given. Malchus and John (the beloved disciple) are included, from which we gather something as to the view of the historical character of the Fourth Gospel held by the writer.

Here, again, I rather regret that the later traditions have not been given—the names of the shepherds, the magi, the maid who spoke to Peter, the guards at the tomb, &c.

Meyer continues, with the introduction to the Infancy Gospels, the Protevangelium and Gospel of Thomas, Gnostic legends (Justin the Gnostic and an extract from *Pistis Sophia*), and the Kindred of Jesus. For the Gospel of Thomas he has more praise than most editors, and he strongly favours the theory of the Indian provenance of the stories in it. In the section on the Kindred of Jesus the traditions about the Lord's brethren, the Maries, and Joseph are collected and discussed.

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With this ends section A, and section B begins with a survey of the non-Biblical traditions about the Apostles by W. Bauer. He treats of them first collectively, then singly, and the fascicule ends in his discussion of Paul.

Of necessity—since it deals chiefly with scattered fragments which have been bones of contention for generations—there is in this first part more talk than text. Later on the proportions will be reversed.

If I have seemed to be querulous in my review, I have given a wrong impression. No student of the origins can do without this new edition. The first was an excellent book, and so was the *Handbuch* that followed it. The present one will be more comprehensive, and ought to contain much fresh matter.

It is obvious, however, that I do not accept some theories to which great prominence is given [1], and that I am not altogether satisfied with the composition of the work: I think the limits of it promise to be rather too rigid. Perhaps I may be thought to have a right to say so because I have myself been over the whole ground in the last year when engaged in preparing a forthcoming *Apocryphal New Testament*, in which I have included many admittedly late texts either in summaries or complete versions. They seem to me indispensable if a right perspective is to be gained,

But I look forward eagerly to the issue of the rest of Hennecke's volume, and in taking leave of this Part I will only express the hope that the Apostolic Fathers will not be included in it (for to my mind they are out of place in such company), and the regret that the new edition clings to the dreadful black-letter German type, and interrupts the text with far too many references and lengthy titles of publications, which should have been relegated to foot-notes.

Part II (pp. 121–256) of the *Neutestamentliche Apokryphen* has just reached me. A descriptive notice of it may be welcome.

'Passages about the Apostles' include fragments of Papias, Clement's story of John and the robber, the Muratorian Canon, and the Monarchian prologues to the Gospels, besides other shorter texts. Under the head of Papias the conjecture of W. Larfeld that for '(Aristion and the presbyter John) the disciples of the Lord' we should read 'the disciples of John', is emphasized.

Die Apostel als Träger der Ueberlieferung is the title of the next short section: and we proceed to the *Traditions of Matthias* and a short excursus on *Apostolische Pseudepigraphen*.

Next, the fragments of the *Preaching*, and *Teaching, of Peter*, and the

[1] In particular, I am not convinced that the Gospel quotations in the Clementines are derived from an uncanonical source at all.

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Epistle of the Apostles: the latter, strangely, I think, is not translated in full, but only summarized, with extracts, in three pages. It is followed by the *Epistle to the Laodiceans*.

A first set of extracts from the *Pseudo-Clementines*, prepared by Waitz, gives the preliminary letter of Peter to James, and the *Adjuration*. The rest of the section is devoted to the contents of the ten books of *Preachings of Peter*, of which a list is given in *Rec.* iii 75.

The preface to the Apocryphal Acts proper occupies pp. 163–171. Then the five principal Acts—of John, Paul, Peter, Andrew, and Thomas—are given, not quite completely.

Under *John* doubt is thrown on the fragments preserved in the *Epistle of Titus*: I think, unnecessarily. Several passages are summarized, and the episodes preserved by *Pseudo-Abodias* do not appear: of course that text is an expurgated one, but the narratives are undoubtedly old.

Under *Paul* the help, slight but appreciable, which we gain from the *Acts of Titus by Zenas* is not noticed, and the fragmentary episodes are again given only in summaries. Under *Peter* we begin with a second series of extracts from the *Pseudo-Clementines*, in which some part of the narrative setting is included: not that which relates to Clement and his family, but that which tells of Simon Magus's antecedents, and of Peter's encounters with him at various places. Then come the Vercelli Acts; Ficker is the editor. He rejects the Coptic fragment about Peter's daughter and, by consequence, the story of the gardener's daughter, quite perversely, I feel sure. The situation is this: Augustine cites both stories together as occurring in apocryphal Acts used by Manichaeans: along with them he cites an incident which is certainly taken from the extant *Acts of Thomas*. And I should have thought it had been proved up to the hilt by C. Schmidt that the Manichaeans adopted the five old romances of John, Paul, Peter, Andrew, Thomas—not because they were actually Manichaean, but because they, or some of them, contained matter favourable to the Manichaean view of things. Yet Ficker says 'we have no longer any Acts of Peter which are certainly Manichaean', and appears to think it a relevant remark. I see no allusion to the editions of *Paul* and *Peter* by Vouaux.

Andrew, I think, is shabbily treated. Not even the long Vatican fragment of the discourses in prison is given in full: and surely the book of Miracles by Gregory of Tours deserved more notice than the few lines allotted to it on p. 250. For my part I follow Flamion in the view that, with one obvious exception, it renders the substance of the old Acts more faithfully than any other authority that we have.

A table of contents printed on the cover of this Part shews what more

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we are to look for. Under 'Apocalypses and kindred matter' some O. T. Pseudepigrapha are included: the *Ascension of Isaiah*, 5 and 6 *Esdras*, the *Odes of Solomon* and the *Sibyllines* (part). The *Apocalypse of Peter*, *Shepherd of Hermas*, *Book of Elchasai*, and utterances of Montanus and his prophetesses are the most important of the other texts.

'Voices of the Church' is the title of the last section but one, in which are the Epistles of the Apostolic Fathers, the *Didache* and Syrian *Didascalia* (with kindred documents), early creeds, hymns, and prayers, the *Second Epistle of Clement*, and the *Letter to Diognetus*. The very last text is the *Sayings of Sextus* (or Xystus).

Much of this I should not have included: but the public shall be allowed to judge from my own forthcoming book whether my choice of documents is or is not to be preferred to Hennecke's.

The Preachings of Peter: The Beginning of Christian Apologetic, by JOSEPH N. REAGAN, S.T.D. (Rome). (The University of Chicago Press, pp. 81.)

THIS dissertation has for its main thesis that indicated in the title. It is a readable restatement of a view in itself probable, which does not strike one as really breaking new ground. In the use of authorities it appears to be quite up to date. The scholarship, however, is decidedly defective, and the misprints are many.

Ovid's *Ars Amatoriae*, 'the Epistle to Diagnetus', 'Antonius' for Antinous', 'commutators' for 'commentators', 'not' for 'non', 'Theophilus ad Antolicum', are some of the *monstra*. Aristides is always quoted in *Latin*, for no conceivable reason: Greek is always transliterated (there may be a reason for that), but not always correctly. The translation of a passage quoted by Clement from the *Preaching of Paul* (?) on p. 76 (note) is full of mistakes, and in the text of the same page there is either serious confusion, or, as I rather imagine, a lacuna.

The argument from silence is heavily pressed: Polycarp *must* have quoted *1 Peter* as by Peter, if his copy of the Epistle had borne Peter's name (p. 65): in the twenty lines or so of the *Preaching* that we have 'Baptism is not mentioned as an essential for becoming a Christian, and there is no thought of the Holy Ghost: from which it is reasonable to infer' &c. (p. 80). For 'reasonable' I should read 'hardly justifiable'.

M. R. JAMES.

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Der Einfluss Paulinischer Theologie im Markusevangelium, von MARTIN WERNER. (Alfred Töpelmann, Giessen, 1923.)

THE first of the series of 'Beihefte zur *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft*' gives us an interesting discussion of an important problem, the influence of Paulinism on the Gospel according to St Mark. Tübingen orthodoxy found in the Second Gospel a neutral document. It was the merit of Volkmar, wrote Holsten in 1885, to establish the Pauline spirit of the Marcan Gospel. Volkmar's theory was that 'the whole work is an apology for the Apostle of the Gentiles'. He was supported by Holsten, who finds in Mark many attempts to make Jesus the 'type' of Paul. We need not dwell on the ingenuities of M. H. Schulze, who finds in Θάρσει, ἔγειρε, φωνεῖ σε a cryptic allusion to the call of the man of Tarsus! They are faithfully recorded by Herr Werner. And we may pass over the subtleties of Volkmar in the way of allegorization, who thus finds the true explanation of incidents and sayings in St Mark in the deliberate attempt to present the Pauline Gospel in the form of words and deeds attributed to Jesus of Nazareth. Herr Werner has little difficulty in shewing that in the alleged instances the allegory cannot be carried through. Later study of course made more serious suggestions, and raised the question in forms that called for more serious answers. The answers varied from complete acceptance to complete denial, with many intermediate stages. Herr Werner's treatment of the subject in his monograph is systematic and thorough. He examines the Gospel and the Pauline Epistles, which he regards as generally accepted, on all points where they touch the same subjects. First, their Christology, the titles actually used, and the views of Christ as Son of David, Son of Man, Son of God: the Messianic office and the earthly life of Jesus, the Death of Christ and its significance, the Resurrection and its witnesses: the Law, its context and origin, the attitude of Jesus to it, its soteriological significance, the possibility of fulfilling it: then certain Christian ideas, the Gospel, faith, sin, flesh, and blood: their sacramental views, Baptism and the Lord's Supper: their views on eschatology, the 'Ages', the Parousia, the Resurrection, the Judgement, the Kingdom of Messiah and the Kingdom of God: their views on the first apostles, the Jewish nation, and the heathen: in part even their vocabulary. Careful comparisons are made under all these headings, and the results which the writer claims to have obtained are as follows. Whether the Mark of our Second Gospel is to be identified with the companion of Paul or not, the comparison of his book with those Pauline epistles which are now generally recognized as genuine, shews that (1) where Mark agrees with Paul the agreement is confined to views common to primitive Christianity, and (2) wherever in the Pauline Epistle special

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characteristic Pauline views appear which go beyond their common basis, Mark either has no parallels or maintains definitely opposed standpoints. (3) We have therefore no right whatever to speak of any influence of Pauline theology in the Marcan Gospel.

It is impossible to criticize the comparisons in detail. The results are clearly overstated. But the whole argument seems to the present writer to establish the view that Pauline influence can be traced in St Mark only to a very limited extent. The work is careful and generally convincing: but it suffers from two defects. The author is apt to treat the somewhat cursory references to a subject, which are to be found in St Mark and St Paul, as if they formed in each case a complete statement. As parts of a whole they do not stand in such complete opposition as they appear to suggest when so treated, and in some of them there may be real influence of the master on the disciple, though the differences shew that such influence is far from dominant. And secondly, the contrasts obtained involve sometimes a particular interpretation of Pauline or Marcan passages, which may be probable but ought not to be pressed into the service of establishing actual contrast. The 'rulers of this world' (1 Cor. ii 8) are very probably angelic powers. But this interpretation is not sufficiently certain to establish a difference for St Mark's view of the responsibility of Pilate and the Jews for the death of Jesus. Such defects do not destroy the value of the work as a whole in shewing the real independence of St Mark and his general freedom from Pauline influence. Paulinism that can really be traced in the Gospel does not affect its historical character. That must be determined on other grounds.

A. E. BROOKE.

The Lord's Command to Baptise, by BERNARD HENRY CUNEO, O.F.M., being No. V of the N. T. Studies of the Catholic University of America. (Washington D.C., 1923.)

DR CUNEO in this treatise upholds the T. R. of Mt. xxviii 19 against the shorter form of text which twenty-two years ago I found in the writings of Eusebius of Caesarea; this omits the word *baptizing* and substitutes *in my name* for *in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit.*

In 1903 Dr E. Riggenbach and later Dr F. H. Chase (*J. T. S.*, 1905), argued that Eusebius devised and used the shorter form out of respect for the *Disciplina Arcani* of the Church. Dr Cuneo discards this explanation, and writes (p. 71): 'If in these works (viz. those intended for the initiated) Eusebius uses the shorter forms for fear of violating the *disciplina arcani*, why does he use the longer form at all?'

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He thus leaves room for an explanation of his own, which is as follows:—

'Eusebius in citing Mt. 28, 19 was true to that spirit of unfettered license, which he generously permitted himself in every one of his writings. When the baptismal command marred the development of his thought, he omitted it; when it was needed in the context, he adduced it. When his subject demanded some confirmation over and above the words of Matthew, he sought it in the synoptics, and artfully wove it into the text of Matthew, giving us the impression that he had found it there. This conclusion is not subjective' (p. 110).

And on the previous page:—

'Eusebius who cites text after text and omits words and phrases which do not fit in with the trend of his thought; who inserts into the Sacred Text clauses of his own coinage; who fuses together various passages of the same author, or of different authors. . . . Such an author cannot be taken as the basis for reconstructing any text of scripture, let alone a passage like Mt. 28, 19.'

Dr Cuneo in his ch. vi, on '*Eusebius's method of citing Scripture*', furnishes fifty-one passages which exemplify '*this spirit of unfettered license*'. In most of these Eusebius merely leaves out irrelevant phrases in order to cite what is relevant to his theme. Such examples prove nothing except (if I may cite Dr Chase) 'that theological and religious writers, whether ancient or modern, when they adduce a passage, are in the habit of omitting a clause which is not relevant to the subject of which they are treating'. I do not see why Eusebius should be singled out for reprobation because he does the same; still less why he should be censured, as in examples 6 and 9 (p. 101), 2 (p. 100), 15, 18, and 19 (p. 103), 22 (p. 104), 10 (p. 106), for not continuing his citation down to the end of the modern verse, or for not commencing it at the beginning.

More important for Dr Cuneo are the passages where Eusebius '*artfully wove*' into the text '*hybrid phrases*' of his own. Let us examine the more salient examples:—

Eusebius, on p. 68, 3, Migne *P. G.* xxiii 729 B cites Jn. xix 30 thus: 'When therefore, Jesus had taken the vinegar with gall, he said: This scripture also is fulfilled.'

'The expression: καὶ αὕτη ἡ γραφή was added by Eusebius', says Dr Cuneo. He does not notice that Eusebius repeats the citation col. 749, and that the ancient Georgian version involves the same addition, as I pointed out years ago in a collation of parts of the old Georgian Gospels.

In his citations of Mt. xi 27 Dr Cuneo accuses Eusebius of *inserting* four times ὁ γεννήσας αὐτόν before πατήρ; the words κατ' ἀξίαν or

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ἐπαξίως twice; of changing seven times ἐπιγιγνώσκει into ἔγνω, and of altering ἐὰν βούληται ἀποκαλύψαι into ἂν ἀποκαλύψῃ (or -ψει).

He concludes:—

'Would we be justified in saying that the phrase "except the Father alone who has begotten him" originally belonged to the text, because Eusebius quotes it four times, each time with the same phraseology? Should we conclude that Eusebius read ἔγνω instead of ἐπιγιγνώσκει, because he used the former 7 times and the latter only 3 times? Yet this is just what Conybeare does with Mt. 28, 19 on account of similar peculiarities.'

In point of fact Origen read, though perhaps in a glossed text, ὁ γεννήσας αὐτόν and κατ' ἀξίαν in *c. Celsum* bk. vi 17; he normally read ἔγνω as did also Justin Martyr and old Latin texts; and ἐὰν βουλ. ἀποκ. is amply attested in Tischendorf's apparatus.

And most of his other examples of wilful changes made by Eusebius in his citations are attested in other sources, shewing that Eusebius had them in a MS—e. g.

1. Jo. i 15. Eusebius omits ὃν εἶπον and adds ὅς after ἐρχόμενος. So ℵ*, and Tisch. notes it as a *lectio minime inepta*. This is Cuneo's no. 8, p. 101.

2. Jo. iv 14. Eusebius reads: 'He who will drink of the water which I shall give him, out of his belly shall flow rivers of living water, springing up into life eternal.' Cuneo 1, p. 104. Hilary 169 has the same text. Perhaps, however, he renders Eusebius who merely fuses two kindred texts. Perhaps from Tatian.

3. 8, p. 106. Jo. iii 6. Eusebius adds: 'But God is the Spirit.' So many old sources.

4. 9, p. 106. '*Here we have a marvellous combination of two texts*', says Dr Cuneo, for Eusebius combines Jo. xii 28 and xvii 5. '*They refer to two different occasions and to two different contexts. Still that does not prevent Eusebius from blending them together as if they were spoken on the same occasion and in the same context.*' Nor did it prevent Cod D, Aug$^{adimant\ 8,\ 121}$ and Hier$^{esa\ 42}$.

5. 12, p. 107. Eusebius *changes* in 2 Cor. x 3 περιπατοῦντες into ζῶντες. So Origen.

6. 15, p. 107. In Phil. iv 13 Eusebius adds Θεῷ after τῷ ἐνδυναμοῦντί με. But old sources add Χριστῷ here, so Eusebius is not so very licentious.

In a few cases Eusebius cited from memory and tripped. If we consider the enormous difficulty of looking out a particular passage in an ancient MS, e. g. in the *Sinaiticus*, it is not to be wondered at that the Fathers often cited from memory. So Eusebius cites in Mt. xxiv 42 φυλακῇ for ἡμέρᾳ or ὥρᾳ, both of which are found in MSS. The presence

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of φυλακῇ in vs. 43 explains the lapse of memory. Cuneo carefully records here that Eusebius does not carry his citation down to the end of the modern verse! In *Com. in Ps.* 569 C Eusebius read Mt. xv 24 ἦλθον for ἀπεστάλην. Cuneo only notes it this once and assumes a bit of *unfettered license* as usual. But in fact the same variant comes at least thrice elsewhere, from which I infer it was in a codex he used. A scribe with the analogous use of ἦλθον elsewhere in his memory may have blundered. Origen has ἦλθεν ἀποσταλείς, but only as a comment on the verse which he quotes correctly. The reading *in Ps.* 577 B of 2 Cor. xii 21 ἁμαρτίᾳ ἀνομίᾳ ἀσεβείᾳ is perplexing. Tischendorf notes it, adding *libere*.

In his no. 14, p. 107, Dr Cuneo accuses Eusebius of *distorting even the text of John to suit his purpose* because he cites Jn. i 9 thus: 'But he was in the world enlightening every man coming into the world.'

No doubt with the usual liberty of an exegete Eusebius transposes one clause with another. Is that the *distortion* or is it his conjunction of ἄνθρωπον with ἐρχόμενον? If the latter, then vg Syr^{omn} cop aeth arm Georgian equally *distort* John in this passage.

This exhausts the list of actual changes made in the text according to Dr Cuneo by Eusebius *de suo*. Had he consulted Tischendorf's *apparatus*, he would have found them in other sources as well.

In ch. iii Dr Cuneo examines *seriatim* about a score of passages in which Eusebius cites Mt. xxviii 19 in his peculiar manner, and he tries to shew that in each case he suppressed the genuine reading, though he knew it to be genuine, and *coined* another. Why? Because in the context '*it could only hamper the flow of his thought*'; because '*the baptismal command was not needed, and hence not quoted*'; because '*it was entirely superfluous to adduce the baptismal command*'; because '*there was no room*' for it; because it '*would be lost here*', and so forth. '*In all of these 24 instances*', he says, '*there is not one case in which the baptismal command is necessitated by the context; in most cases the insertion would impede the flow of thought.*' He gives no explanation of the passages where in his comment Eusebius singles out 'the necessary addition', as he calls it, of 'in my name', and sees in it 'the name which is above every name, that in the name of Jesus every knee should bow' &c., as if St Paul intended the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit.

One asks: If Eusebius was compelled by its unsuitability to his context again and again to alter the T. R. of Mt. xxviii 19 (the only form of text he knew of) almost out of recognition, why did he take the trouble to quote it at all, instead of choosing some other text that was suitable and did not hamper the flow of his thought?

And how did Eusebius's readers regard his treatment of the text?

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Here was, according to Dr Cuneo '*a time-honored clause from the First Gospel*', with which they must *ex hypothesi* have been familiar; for they heard it read in Church and read it at home. Dr Cuneo waxes indignant with me for '*dislodging*' it and '*introducing in its stead a hybrid phrase*'. It is not I, but Eusebius who, during forty years of work as exegete, historian, and minister of the Word, was steadily *dislodging* it, and inserting '*into the Sacred Text clauses of his own coinage*'. He, we are told, '*did not consider the phrase "in my name" as an original part*' of Mt. xxviii 19. Yet it was he, '*the bishop of Caesarea, the disciple of Pamphilus, the greatest scripture scholar of his age*' (as he calls him when he cites the T. R. at Nicaea), who 'coined' the '*hybrid phrase*' 'in my name'; and '*artfully wove it into the text of Matthew, giving us the impression that he found it there*'. Did his parishioners and readers, who must have been numerous, and who were *ex hypothesi* as innocent as he was of any but the T. R., never take exception to his playing such tricks? And yet we never hear of their doing so. The ages have preserved to us the controversial works of his enemies rather than of his friends; and in their 'blind hatred' (as Lightfoot terms it) they flung at him the accusation of sacrificing. Yet no one ever accused him of tampering with the sacred text, whence I should conjecture that the 'hybrid phrase' was too widely diffused in the codices for the angriest controversialist to think of making capital out of Eusebius's use of it. No echo of the kind has reached our ears.

And at last the controversy with Marcellus suddenly provided Eusebius, according to Dr Cuneo's hypothesis, with a theme in treating which '*the baptismal command*' no longer '*marred the development of his thought*'. Nay, it became '*absolutely necessary*'.

It is certain that Eusebius adhered to his peculiar variant of Mt. xxviii 19 both long before and long after the Nicene Council in 325, at which he exhibited his baptismal creed containing in a sort of appendix the T. R. of that text. Here is a problem.

Twenty years ago I conjectured that this appendix was interpolated by Sabinus. I have learned from Gerhard Loeschcke (*Z N T W*, 1906) that my conclusions on this point and also with regard to the non-Eusebian authorship of the *Contra Marcellum* were ill-considered.

He remarks that:—

'I did not sufficiently realise that in the Creed exhibited by Eusebius at Nicaea we have not to do with a free expression of his most intimate theological convictions. We have a confession of faith before us, and this in accordance with old ecclesiastical custom was found to be in three and not in two parts. In this case it runs (in Athanasius as an appendix of the *de Synodis*): We believe in one God . . . and in one

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Lord Jesus Christ . . . but we also believe in one Holy Spirit; the final clause with its Trinitarian orientation suits such a formula in any case, whether in its second clause the Son or the Logos be stressed.'

If Eusebius exhibited a Creed for which he was not personally responsible—and I could never believe with Hefele that it was only 'the sketch of a Creed compiled by himself'—the difficulty largely vanishes.

Dr Armitage Robinson in his article on Baptism in the *Encyclopaedia Biblica* leans to the view that in Mt. xxviii 19 'Matthew does not report the *ipsissima verba* of Jesus, but transfers to him the familiar language of the Church of the evangelist's own time and locality'. This suggestion is a fruitful one: Cannot the received reading of Mt. xxviii 19 have appeared in the Order of Baptism, and have stood in the rite of Caesarea long before it made its way into the codices of the Library of Pamphilus? St Basil in his *De Spiritu Sancto* has much to say of the rituals of the Church which arose independently of scripture, and were so called *agrapha*. Some of them must have been enormously old, and I think that Justin Martyr and Irenaeus took their baptismal phrases from one.

G. Loeschcke, to whom Dr Cuneo is much indebted for his arguments, could set me right without continually impugning the good faith of Eusebius; and the hypothesis that Eusebius was deterred by the *disciplina arcani*, put forward by Dr Chase and Prof. Riggenbach, does Eusebius credit and them no discredit. Not so Dr Cuneo. All his theses live by accusing Eusebius of bad faith. Even the letter to the Caesareans, on which he largely depends for proof that Eusebius never read any but the T. R. at Mt. xxviii 19, '*bears the evident earmarks of a wary diplomacy*' and '*is snugly silent*' about this and that. If, like his scriptural citations, it is so little trustworthy, why does Dr Cuneo appeal to it at all?

Our own Lightfoot defending Eusebius from the charge of interpolating Josephus wrote thus: 'The manner in which Eusebius deals with his very numerous citations elsewhere, where we can test his honesty, is a sufficient vindication against this unjust charge.' Cave in his *Historia Literaria* bears similar testimony. So does to-day L. C. Walkenaer, Prof. Diels in his *Doxographi Graeci*, Dindorf, Stallbaum, Dr E. H. Gifford. I once myself collated with Tischendorf's text the N. T. passages cited in the commentary on the Psalms, and never came on a single one dishonestly handled. Dr Cuneo, as I have shewn, is lamentably ill equipped, and evinces no knowledge of old texts, not even as exhibited in Tischendorf's *Apparatus*. Nor has he any idea of the fluidity of the oldest texts, or of the danger of condemning any one reading as a fake without a wide range of knowledge. As

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Dr Chase wisely remarks in *J. T. S.*, 1905, you never know that a new text may not turn up to corroborate one which you imagined to be *libere*. So the old Georgian at Jo. xix 30 exactly corroborates the Eusebian *insertion* as Dr Cuneo would call it.

Note.—In the above review of Dr Cuneo's book I have not said much about the authorship of the *Contra Marcellum* because Dr Loeshscke's arguments in favour of its Eusebian authorship seemed to me to be fairly convincing. It is therefore, so far as I am concerned, a *question morte*. No one, least of all myself, ever doubted that the T. R. was current long before Eusebius, and it would appear that at the close of his long life he acquired codices which contained it. There is nothing unique in such a phenomenon. Texts considerably different from the T. R. confront us on every page almost of codex D and its congeners.

F. C. CONYBEARE.

Geschichte des Volkes Israel, von RUDOLF KITTEL, Professor an der Universität in Leipzig. 1. Band: Palästina in der Urzeit, usw. 5te und 6te, vielfach umgearbeitete Auflage. (Verlag von F. Andreas Perthes A–G., Stuttgart/Gotha, 1923.)

WE have before us yet another edition of Professor Kittel's well-known 'History of the People of Israel', carefully revised and brought up to date down to the smallest details. The principal difference between this and the earlier editions lies in the excision of the second book, entitled *Die alttestamentlichen Quellen*; it is to be feared that this interesting section has had to be sacrificed to the claims of economy, but it may be hoped that, should circumstances permit, the author may yet be able to insert it in an appendix to the second volume. Another and less important alteration, due to the same causes, is the use of a smaller type throughout the work. Professor Kittel has managed, however, to bring his work largely up to date and to give us several appendices, e.g. a sober statement of the occurrences of the divine name Yahweh in various forms in the cuneiform inscriptions. On names compounded of Ya'u or Ya'um Professor Kittel justly says that we must be on our guard against too readily accepting the theory that Ya'u(m) is a divine name, especially in view of the absence of the determinative which should precede the name of a god; but he can suggest no alternative, for he rightly rejects the view that *ya'u(m)* is an otherwise unknown adjective, signifying 'exalted' or the like. An attractive theory, however, has recently been propounded by Dr B. Landsberger (in the *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* xxxv 24, n. 2) that *ya'um* is a possessive pronominal adjective, meaning 'my', 'mine', formed from the pronominal suffix *-î*,

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-ya, 'of me'; thus a name, for example, like Ya'ûm-ilum will mean 'The god (is) mine'. He cites a number of cases where *ya'ú* can satisfactorily be given this sense, especially when used as the predicate, and draws particular attention to its frequent occurrence in Cappadocian texts, in the forms *i-a-um* (nom. masc.), *i-a-am* (acc. masc.), and *i-a-tum* (nom. fem.); at the same time he adduces the apparent use in Cappadocian texts of *ku-a-ú-tum* to mean 'thine' (fem.), and *ku-nu-a-tum* 'your', 'yours' (fem.), and compares the proper name *Sin-ku-ú-a-na-ku* 'O Sin, thine (am) I' (beside *ku-u-um*), which can hardly be otherwise explained.[1]

Yet Dr. Kittel's familiarity with the relevant Babylonian and Assyrian literature is remarkable. Particularly interesting is his suggestion that the name 'Amraphel (אמרפל) in Gen. xiv 1 and 9 is a scribal error for 'Amraphî (עמרפי); but this is a question on which it is very difficult to come to any definite conclusion.[2] In this connexion it may be well to draw attention to a few errors: e.g. to the misreading of the name of the Babylonian god Ninurta as Ninib; the sign *IB* is an ideogram, which, it is now known, is to be read *URTA* or the like (see the *Yale Vocabulary*, nos. 286 and 288; cp. Ungnad in *O.L.Z.* 1917, pp. 1–7, and Delaporte *Épigraphes araméennes*, pp. 19–21). Again, on p. 275, in an interesting note on the name Abraham, Professor Kittel cites the discovery of *A-ba-ra-ḫa-am* by Dr H. L. Lutz (in *Early Babylonian Letters from Larsa*, no. 15, l. 13) as the full form of the name. Unfortunately, there can be little doubt but that Lutz has there fallen into a serious mistake. The letter contains several difficulties, amongst them the word *abaraḫam*; it clearly, however, denotes some object, at present unknown, *and not a proper name*, for (*a*) the vertical stroke usually (but by no means invariably) employed to introduce a proper name is absent, and (*b*) the verb *liqû* means 'to take', i.e. to carry (Fr. *prendre*) things, not 'to take', i.e. escort (Fr. *amener*) persons (cp. Ungnad in *O.L.Z.* 1922, 5–6, and see my forthcoming edition of these and other early Babylonian letters).

But these are small blemishes in a field outside the author's special line of study. The book is on as full and complete a scale as such a work can well be, and the notes are hardly less interesting to the

[1] His translation of *abbuti wardim la še-e-im* (*Code of Ḫammurabi*, xix b, 39 and 46) as 'the mark of a slave not his' is less likely, for the *gallâbu*, probably himself also a slave, is hardly likely to have been there regarded in the light of a slave-owner; moreover, the rendering: 'if the *gallâbu* has cut off a slave's mark so that he cannot be tracked' (from *še'ú* 'to search out') yields an admirable sense.

[2] In the cuneiform inscriptions the name Ḫammurabi is always written with *bi* (Brünnow, no. 5119); if it were usually or even ever to occur with *bi* (Brünnow, no. 4567) which closely resembles the sign *bil* (Brünnow, no. 4643), the confusion of these two signs might account for the final *l* in Hebrew.

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specialist than the text itself. Egyptian, Babylonian, archaeological, and other problems are carefully and almost minutely discussed. For instance, concise but clear accounts are given of all recent excavations undertaken in Palestine, as at Gezer, Ta'annak, and Samaria, to mention only a few of the places described; while it would not be fair to expect any account of the excavations carried out by the English at Ashkelon since the war. The careful reader will also notice a few places in which Professor Kittel seems materially to have changed his views, as on the Aryan question and about the Amurrû. The section on the entry of the Israelites into Canaan has been almost rewritten, and space has been found even for a brief discussion of Sellin's latest views on the death of Moses.

In conclusion, all students owe Professor Kittel a deep debt of gratitude for a work that has no rival and that fills a real gap on their shelves, a book so full that it can almost be regarded as a dictionary of Biblical history and yet can be read with enjoyment from beginning to end.

G. R. DRIVER.

The Coptic Manuscripts of the Freer Collection, edited by WILLIAM H. WORRELL. University of Michigan Studies: Humanistic Series, vol. x. (The Macmillan Company, New York, 1923.)

THIS admirably printed volume—for which a new and beautiful Sa'idic fount was cut—is an edition of the three principal manuscripts acquired by the late C. L. Freer and now, we gather, domiciled in Washington: (1) the Sa'idic Psalter, already edited in 1916 and merely reprinted here; (2) two anecdotal Homilies, one upon the angel Gabriel, ascribed to Pope Celestine, the other upon the Assumption, ascribed to Theophilus of Alexandria; (3) a magical prayer. Besides these there is an insignificant fragment of another Psalter, and one of Job. All the MSS are of parchment. The text of the Psalter, which preserves Psalms vi–liii, more or less completely, has been discussed, and Professor Worrell's careful and competent edition appreciated at the time of its original appearance. The immediate *provenance* of this manuscript is still somewhat mysterious. Possibly, as the native dealers pretended, it may have been unearthed near the Pyramids; but is there any evidence that it originated so far north? Is there evidence of any such MS, either Greek or Coptic, having been written in northern Egypt? On the other hand, that uncial codices subsequently migrated northward can be shewn (as I have elsewhere pointed out) in the case of some brought to Europe from Nitria: conspicuously in the case of the Joshua–Judges palimpsest (*ed.* H. Thompson), which bears in its

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concluding subscription proof of its southern origin (*v.* Crum and Bell, *Wadi Sarga*, 1922, p. 8). Palaeographically this Psalter is of interest, for although evidently written throughout by a single scribe, two commonly distinct types of uncial—the square and the rounded or 'Coptic'—here mingle and alternate in a quite unusual fashion; thus adding further proof that the difference between them is not necessarily one of age.

Mr Freer's second manuscript is but one quire from a volume whereof the remaining five, in the British Museum, have been published by Sir Ernest Budge on pp. 300–320, 1193–1199 of his *Miscellaneous Coptic Texts*, 1915. Professor Worrell has republished the whole of this, the Freer fragment being given on pp. 251–321 of his volume. The manuscript is one of those written in the far south and dedicated to the archangel's church at Esne. It is dated, like the others, towards the close of the tenth century, and shews the peculiarities of dialect which mark its group and which await special investigation. Its two Homilies are of the familiar type: each sings the praises of the personage with whom it is concerned and whose power and benevolence it proceeds to illustrate by a number of incredible anecdotes. Here the most noteworthy is the story of the God-fearing merchant and his dishonest clerk, whose misdeeds are punished by the intervention of Gabriel. This story, the details of which are instructive, is apparently drawn from some earlier collection or composition, since it appears again in another and seemingly independent encomium upon the archangel, whereof fragments are extant (British Museum, no. 290; Berlin Bibliothek, Or. fol. 1611 f. 2; Paris 129^{16} f. 99, 132^{1} f. 60). Yet another feature of the present Homily: the admonitions as to the duty of presence in church throughout the entire service reappears in the remains of another panegyric upon Gabriel (British Museum, no. 995).

The second Homily, that ascribed to Theophilus, is the section of the MS which is new. It is not a very edifying composition, and shews all the usual features of Coptic paraenetic literature at their worst. The interest which such pieces can offer is either for the folklorist or the linguist; for the theologian there is little to glean beyond further demonstration of the intellectual level with which the peasant Christianity of Egypt, in its days of bondage—for we may take it that such compositions as these had been concocted in a post-Byzantine age—was content.

The third manuscript consists of but one double leaf, on which is written a magical invocation, addressed to the Deity and to be recited (perhaps) over water or oil. This is probably the oldest of the Freer manuscripts. The script is undoubtedly archaic, nor have such prayers been hitherto found except in relatively early manuscripts. I should think the fifth or sixth century a date not too early here. The idiom,

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moreover, is the oldest form of Fayyûmic, with archaisms such as ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲣ and shewing, perhaps, a new preposition: ⲛⲛⲟⲩ-, corresponding to ⲟⲩⲙ̂ⲛ-, ⲟⲩⲛ- (cf. ⲛⲟⲩⲛ-, *Pistis* 149, 283 &c.).

Professor Worrell has expended much care and learning upon the editing of these materials and has prefixed valuable descriptions and discussions of their phonetic, orthographic, and other peculiarities. This feature of his work, which was already remarked when the present Psalter was first published, is more thoroughgoing than anything of the sort previously undertaken, and may be recommended to the attention of intending editors of Coptic texts. There still remains so much to do in the investigation of the minor, intermediate dialects, that any contribution of this nature must be welcomed gratefully. And now that the University of Michigan has itself been acquiring a notable collection of manuscripts, we must hope that Professor Worrell's services have been enlisted to produce editions of them.

Many notes accompany the translations of the texts, and several of these have an independent interest; for instance, those on pp. 354, 368, 381.

A few notes may be added upon remarkable locations or readings calling for reconsideration:—

P. 136 n., ⲯⲱⲟⲡⲉ needs no emendation: 'thou hast forfeited thine honour'.—P. 148 n., *leg.* ? ἀντίδικος.—P. 263 n., ⲉⲕⲱ perhaps for ⲉⲕⲟ.—P. 308 n., represents ⲁϥⲱⲡ ⲉⲧⲏⲡⲉ; cf. Budge *Apoc.* 147, Rossi *Nuovo Cod.* 90, *BIF.* xiv 149.—P. 273. 9, ϭⲟⲗϩ (so Worrell rightly) suggests the true meaning of the disease-name ⲕⲱⲗϩ (e. g. Rylands no. 106), 'a trembling, palsy'. This passage, by the way, in a work attributed to Theophilus, recalls Gelzer's remarks upon a popular apocalypse (*Leont. Neap.* 147).—P. 322. 11, *leg.* ⲉⲩⲁⲣⲟⲡⲓⲟⲥ. This pious couple, Eutropius and Caesarea, are the heroes of a 'Wonder' in the Encomium on Gabriel by Archelaus of Neapolis (*v. PSBA.* xxix 293, *JEA.* iv 68), whence we see that our compiler was acquainted either with that popular work, or with its sources. An Arabic version of it is printed in *Al-Ta'âzy al-Rûḥîyah fy Miyâmir al-Saiyidîyah*, Cairo 1902, p. 141.—P. 323. 10, ⲛⲧⲣⲁⲣ a mistake for ⲛⲧⲁⲣ.—*Ib.* 12, *leg.* ⲗⲁⲡϯ, the form to be expected in such a text. The letters ϯ and ϣ are here distinguished; *v. verso* 11.—P. 337 n., ⲧⲓ ⲉⲑⲏ is found Judg. iv 24, 2 Sam. iii 1 (= πορεύεσθαι in both), Brit. Mus. Cat. p. 99a *supra*.—P. 360 n., the usual meaning for ϩⲗⲟⲟⲗⲉ 'to cradle, nurse', is suitable here.—P. 382 n., Erman (*Aeg. Z.* xxxii 134 and, I think, before him, Revillout in *Rev. Hist. Rel.*) has pointed out that Shenoute is here quoting *The Birds* and *The Frogs* of Aristophanes.

W. E. Crum.

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Psychologie der Religion, by GEORG RUNZE. (Ernst Reinhardt, Munich.)

THIS treatise is Vol. II, Part 2 of a Handbook of Comparative Psychology, edited by Gustav Kapka. The outline of the whole scheme is of interest and defines the place of this part. Vol. I. The Stages of the Development of the Life of the Soul: (Pt. 1) Animal, (2) Primitive, (3) the Child. Vol. II. The Functions of the Normal Life of the Soul: (Pt. 1) Speech, (2) Religion, (3) Art, (4) Society, (5) Occupations. Vol. III. The Functions of the Abnormal: (Pt. 1) The Abnormal generally, (2) Crime, (3) Dream, (4) Sex.

From a speech at the celebration of Runze's seventieth birthday last year by the Dean of the Faculty of Theology in Berlin we learn of his early work in New Testament and Systematic Theology and of the widening of his interest to the whole history of religion, at a time when such studies were frowned on, and of his being one of the earliest to use the term 'Psychology of Religion'. Those who know his handbook on 'The Philosophy of Religion' will confirm the judgement that his great merit has been to maintain, along with searching analysis, interest in the ultimate real, because it is a model in small compass of clearness, fairness, and thoroughness, combining critical acumen and sound judgement with religious insight.

The gift of precise compendious summary is also exercised here, which among other things proves that, in treating so much recent work as outside the real province of his subject, his reason is neither ignorance nor indifference.

If we are not to make Psychology a synonym for universal experience, he argues, we must not discuss everything in the mind, but seek to discover the normal functioning of the mind itself. Even with this limitation, however, the essential is apt to be lost in the detail which has been collected with more labour than discrimination. The insight of one genius goes beyond multitudes of dull collectors; and some methods of collecting, like the *questionnaire*, assure from the first nothing beyond the average operation of certain religious figures and phrases, with a special danger of perversion from self-ignorance and false modesty.

No definition of religion, he thinks, can cover everything ever regarded as religious. Though we can do better with the common quality, in spite of its varied forms—worship, holy, sacrosanct, sacred, *tabu*, *mana*, divine, superhuman, awe-inspiring, demonic, devilish, even fanaticism and superstition; we are exposed on the one hand to the danger of reducing these words to colourless generalities, and on the other to regarding them, after they have acquired symbolical meaning, as literal material expressions. Yet they afford us a picture of objective religion which at least, even if it be only negatively, distinguishes it as a distinct

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interest and a special endowment different from the economic, political, moral, intellectual, aesthetic, and shews it to have a place in human life which only stupidity or perversity could regard as an abnormality or as a freak. But only when we pass beyond the multiplicity of its material to the attitude of the soul in handling it, do we come to the simple. In all questions of truth, the essential is the self-concentration of the soul on its own feeling of certainty, and, in religion, the essence is piety, faith, presentiment, longing.

The vital equipment for religion is self-collection—having souls able in all conditions to receive the sublime, the divine. This is the supreme advance on the merely animal soul. By being open to the whole of experience and not losing oneself in it man has *Gemüt*. The word has no exact English equivalent, and it takes our author a sentence occupying a large closely printed page to describe the *gemütsvoller* man. It is almost an equivalent to the last century's 'man of feeling'. He is one who responds to all sublime, noble, gentle, humble, joyous, sorrowful, weak things, yet dreams his own dreams, thinks his own thoughts, and offers his own kind of help in the midst of them.

This is the man who has religion: and the rest of the book is an account of how, starting from the general low ground of desire and fear, man turns them into trust and awe, and rises to the heights of spiritual assurance and victory. Its first wings are the dream and waking imagination, but they only carry him forward to the riddles of the understanding, and these again are enlarged by all the tasks of society and by conscience and the sense of sin, while speech sustains the whole endeavour.

We can call the process making God in our own image, because it is the projection of our ideal upon reality. But it is a valuation of the world which sheds light into the depths of the soul, and we can also say 'Save thine image in my soul', and 'Be ye perfect as your heavenly Father is perfect'. Knowledge of God and self-knowledge, in any case, are not apart, and the real spiritualising of religion is their complete identification.

Like all higher human endowment, religion needs humility and courage to prosper, so that there may be men and times without it. Even other higher interests may distract from it. Yet none of them abide in security without it; and out of the normal higher life of the spirit the thought of God is naturally born. The spring of it is the soul, its existence and nature: and the business of a Psychology of Religion is to shew how the ripening powers of man's inner life function in this sphere. It is not the business of psychology to determine the validity of any object of mind, but it is an important beginning to shew that a belief arises by a natural functioning of the soul.

This summary will at least shew how differently the task is conceived

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and how different is the spirit in which it is carried out from what is usually found in psychologies of religion, where we have a mass of detail more or less concerned with religion and hasty conclusions from the theory of evolution, which, if applied all round, would reduce all external reality to auto-suggestion or mass projection. But, even here, there is still a question to be addressed to all psychologists in general and not to Runze in particular. Is the fountain-head the nature of the human mind, or is the human mind itself dependent on the nature of reality? Can the mind be studied apart from its primary function as the instrument of knowledge? In particular the insistent question here is, whether, by shewing how religion arises from the developement of the mind, we are not putting the cart before the horse, because, without a footing in the world of religion, would there have been any developement of mind? Or in other words, how does the projection proceed—from or into the mind?

Outlines of a Philosophy of Life, by ALBAN G. WIDGERY, M.A. (Williams & Norgate, London, 1923.)

THIS book, just produced and published in India, was the outcome of talks with the Marajah Gaekwar of Baroda. Its scope was determined by the interest of this ruling prince, which was rather in a philosophical consideration of general culture and practical life than in philosophy proper. Unlike most indications of the scope of books in prefaces, this account of its origin exactly explains the nature of the book. It is not in any profound sense philosophy, but it shews a common-sense Englishman contemplating life in a philosophical mood. A philosophy of life is taken to be a broad view of the place of all human values, which are classified as Physical, Intellectual, Aesthetic, Moral, and Religious. These afford the titles of the first five chapters. A sixth, 'The Good Life: its Unity and Attainment', concludes the whole. This division of values avoids the perplexing problem, which philosophy usually raises, of the ground of the difference between comparative natural values and absolute ideal values, and the troublesome questions about real good and bad which go with it. Thus we easily get on to the plain highway of 'a sound mind', in its proper setting, not only of body but also of estate. On this road the philosophic attitude is an open mind for new values, from victuals to virtues, with religion on the one hand and humour on the other to eke out their deficiencies. Even a catalogue of the many subjects brought within the scope of this scheme would require too much of the editor's precious space. But conceive an active, interested, sensible mind saying 'I want to know the good things of life, I don't despise any, but also I am not going to limit the possibilities of any', talking as

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a professor of things in general, and you can know the scope. Preparing foods is not below our author's attention nor the 'fundamental principle of the whole' above it. Throughout, the discussion keeps to the business of considering the goods and bads, and how 'the former may be obtained and the latter eradicated'. In intellectual values the trouble is not taken to be with reason, which is perfect, but with the data, which may be subject to bias. This is applied to such a number of subjects that they might be conveniently summed up as 'every mortal thing', or, as it includes Agnosticism, Scepticism, Materialism, Absolutism, Pluralism, Theism, immortal as well. The discussion on aesthetic values covers much ground without getting very far, but the essential practical reasonableness comes out as usual in such sayings as 'Indefinable as aesthetic values may be . . . a living art is possible only in definite relation with a more or less active life dominated by comprehensive ideals'. In moral values this gift of what one might call eupeptic sanity naturally finds its largest field. It may seem a little commonplace, but it is shrewd and practical commonplace. To such a temper worrying about fundamental principles is rather a nuisance, but our author has a heap of sensible things to say about the various virtues, which may not be for the production of moral heroes, but would make nice people, charming at home, and useful, even in politics, abroad.

In respect of religious values, a historical survey has been sacrificed to limits of space, but the origin and destiny of the individual, conceptions of gods, ceremonials, founders of religions, pessimism, optimism, and meliorism, and churches provide ample compensation, so ample indeed that the usual sagacity is rather bewildered in the spaciousness of the exposition. Still more does the attempt to bring all the values into unity put a heavy strain on this philosophy of common-sense. Perhaps the reason is that it is difficult to put together again what should never have been divided, because the problem of all values is that they belong to one life with one meaning. It is still all very practical, but even the practical problem of a life unified by the supremacy of the highest has been a costlier business than this philosophy has quite cash on hand to pay for. The book ends with humour, and human values badly need a little humour with which to eke them out. But one is a little dubious of the quality of humour which so well-rounded an existence would afford. Yet, if the book is not exactly 'a divine awakening voice', it has qualities of broad-mindedness, sanity, health of body and mind, which, if they do not reach up to our ideals, go a long way beyond the practice of most of us, and it is fitted to be eminently useful in days when even Englishmen are in danger of losing their measured calm.

JOHN OMAN.

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Macrobius, or philosophy, science and letters in the year 400, by THOMAS WHITTAKER. (Cambridge, at the University Press, 1923.)

MR WHITTAKER'S object in this book is to write a literary study of Macrobius himself. He begins by allegorizing the story of Cupid and Psyche, and attributes not only the allegorizing but his own interpretations to Apuleius, who was inspired by the prophetic soul of the world. The birth of Psyche is the new kind of love that is coming into the world, the love of the soul. This is not mere allegory, but actual prophecy, as Psyche's task of sorting various seeds 'points evidently' to the logic-chopping of the schoolmen. Her gathering of the golden wool from the savage sheep is symbolical of 'the plundering raids and wars of the barbarians', and the clear meaning of Psyche opening the box brought from Orcus is that there had to be a break in culture before the renovated world could emerge. Mr Whittaker also discovers another prophet. The Hermetic dialogue *Asclepius* contains 'a most audacious prediction' of the downfall in some long distant future of the religion that has turned from light to darkness and from life to death, and has condemned the visible world as a place to flee from. This throws some light on Mr Whittaker's own views, but not much on those of Macrobius, who was absolutely silent about Christianity.

The book is mainly taken up with an analysis of Macrobius's two chief works, but the antiquarianism of the *Saturnalia* and the cosmology of the commentary on the *Somnium Scipionis* do not give much occasion to develope Neo-Platonic metaphysics. The author considers that Macrobius's solar theory of the origin of the gods is correct, and that all we need further is a 'psychological construction from beneath'. For this he gives us the obsolescent and divergent views of Tylor and Spencer. Does he really think he has settled anything by ignoring all that has been done in the last fifty years?

Scipio's Dream gives more opportunity for the author to emphasize his view of the importance to the moderns of Neo-Platonic philosophy. In Plotinus there are passages that prove in advance the futility of all modern, as of all ancient, attempts to reach the explanation of mind from the outside. What are these modern attempts? He never once tells us, though he quotes what Cabanis apparently said, as being a modern statement. 'At present', we are told, 'an increase in the subtlety of mathematics has led to a renewal of the ambition to explain man himself from the elements into which he has analysed the physical universe.' If there is such a renewal, it is not likely that it will be refuted by merely telling us what the age of Macrobius had proved. At present Mr Whittaker is beating the air.

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However, though he advises us to turn back to Plato, he is willing to emulate the ancients in audacity, and not even sobriety is recommended in itself, for, 'when rival possibilities present themselves, there is not even a presumption that the more sober view will turn out right'. What these audacious questions about the universe are we are not told, and perhaps this is too much to expect within the compass of ninety-eight pages. As will be seen, the philosophical aspect is prominent in the book. Perhaps in a literary study the fact that Macrobius the grammarian wrote on grammar should not have been ignored. 'The commentator Servius' is one of the speakers in the dialogue, and that is all we are told about him.

E. J. THOMAS.

Histoire littéraire du sentiment religieux en France depuis la fin des guerres de religion jusqu'à nos jours, vols. iii and vi, by HENRI BREMOND. (Bloud et Guy, Paris, 1921 and 1922.)

M. HENRI BREMOND'S great work, which is equally valuable as a help towards understanding the French mind of the past and the Roman Catholic mind of the present, goes serenely on its way, and we are glad to welcome two new volumes. For a notice of vols. i, ii, iv and v reference may be made to the JOURNAL for October 1921.

Before coming to consider the work we must offer congratulations to the author upon his admission to the French Academy in succession to the late Mgr Duchesne, and not only to him but also to the body whose wisdom has dictated that admission. This open acknowledgement of religion as a proper theme for literary treatment must not pass without remark. Indeed it belies one of M. Bremond's telling phrases: 'Ce bel accord entre la religion et les belles-lettres'—he is speaking of the tone set in devotional literature by Coton, St François de Sales, and Pellisson—'durera jusqu'à la fin de l'ancien régime. Depuis, nous attendrons en vain qu'il se renouvelle'.

The volume containing these words (the *imprimatur* is dated July 1921) has for its sub-title 'L'École française', and it forms the second part of that account of the mystical conquest of France which is the theme of seven out of nine volumes—six in print and three to come. The chief heroes of vol. iii are Pierre de Bérulle, Charles de Condren, Jean-Jacques Olier, and Jean Eudes, for each of whom (except Condren) M. Bremond claims as inspirers and encouragers one or more saintly women mystics. Why, it may be asked, is not the title 'Gallican' applied to these great French churchmen? The answer is, because they have no political taint, nor indeed a distinctive theology.

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The French School was a school of inward life. It owed its undoubted prestige to its lofty otherworldliness, or as M. Bremond calls it, its 'theocentricity'. Man, with his sins and sorrows and redemption is no longer the centre round which everything revolves. All man's activities and functions, even the proudest, are viewed *sub specie aeternitatis*, and so viewed they shew very small. Here is Bérulle, on the eve of his awful and momentous mission to England about the betrothal of his monarch's daughter to Prince Charles, contrasting it with the Mission of the Son into the world: 'C'est de cette grande mission qu'il nous faut occuper', he says in bidding good-bye to his brethren, 'et non point de l'autre.' Men who seriously and without a trace of cant could so speak at a time when the things of the king counted for so much, when the expected birth of a Dauphin could change the current of the Child Christ cult, these men deserve to be called unworldly. It is the Son, not only as tabernacling among men, but in His abiding relation to the Father, that fills their eye and inspires their utterance. It is the Incarnation that forms the basis of their worship and discipline, and the Incarnation honoured for the 'states' of the Incarnate Word rather than for His acts, since these last, beneficent as they are, owe their merit to His state by Whom they were wrought. This distinction between states and acts leads to a moral application; for we men, we too have our states, less fugitive, more solid than our acts. It is the age-long contrast between Mary and Martha. Martha's acts owe all their value to her 'state', her abiding relation to her God. Mary's name does not occur in the passage quoted from Bérulle of which the last sentence is a summary; nor does M. Bremond himself mention her till the end of his volume in a final contrast of the Bérullian with the Ignatian ascesis. His clear preference is for the former, and he is accordingly twitted for his *Bérullisme* by a Jesuit friend, whose remarks he candidly prints and subtly annotates in an appendix: getting in the process, as I judge, the best of the argument.

After Bérulle, the man and his doctrine, we pass to his famous foundation, the Oratory (of which the outward appearance is given in a very successful reproduction of a seventeenth-century print), and its spirit and mission carefully investigated. Bérulle's main object was not merely, as is commonly supposed, the moral education of French priests, but their spiritual uplifting. Mindful of St Thomas's words, *Requiritur maior sanctitas interior quam requirit etiam religionis status*, he wished to raise the secular clergy at least to the level of the religious. He largely succeeded, in spite of Jesuit opposition, and his cassocked brethren—the *soutane* was apparently first used regularly by the Oratorians—became *stupor mundi* for holiness of life.

Before presenting on the scene their great example and Bérulle's first

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successor, Charles de Condren, M. Bremond devotes a chapter to St Vincent de Paul which comes in, it must be confessed, a little awkwardly, disturbing the flow of the narrative. We can, however, forgive the intrusion for the sake of the wonderful sketch of 'M. Vincent' and of a brilliant page on 'humbug', he being 'exactement le contraire d'un *humbug*'. The reader must find out for himself who, in M. Bremond's eyes, is the authentic humbug.

Condren, who is the central figure of Part II, as Bérulle is of Part I, deserves his pride of place. He is simply one of the most saintly characters of modern Christendom, of whom one contemporary said 'non est inventus similis illi', and another:

'Il n'était qu'une apparence d'écorce de ce qu'il paraissait être, étant vraiment l'intérieur de Jésus-Christ en sa vie cachée; en sorte que c'était plutôt Jésus-Christ vivant dans le P. de Condren, que le P. de Condren vivant en lui-même.'

No one can help being attracted (and, we may add, amused) by the man whose self-dedication and physical prowess, recalling now the infant Samuel and now the infant Hercules, dated from the age of twelve, and who steadily refused to be diverted by a soldier father from what he knew to be his calling, not only to the priesthood, but to the religious life. He hesitated long between different orders, till finally M. de Bérulle claimed him for the Oratory where he succeeded as second general in 1629. It was in this rare spiritual atmosphere that Condren ripened his remarkable doctrine of sacrifice. Sacrifice is the law of man's nature in relation to God; it is a source of increased life in the victim immolated, through the divine life into which it is taken up. Pre-Christian sacrifices—Condren seems to see some value even in the heathen—are but shadows and types, for the Incarnation alone renders possible a sacrifice worthy of God. In the Eucharistic sacrifice the worthless human ego becomes a worthy offering because of the Incomparable Victim with which it is incorporated and absorbed. One is tempted to speculate what Condren would have said, what his biographer would say, to our English reformers' Prayer of Oblation in which the worshippers, truly σύσσωμοι with Christ, offer themselves, their souls and bodies, and Him with them, to their Lord and Heavenly Father.

The whole section on Condren is worthy of deep attention, and it stirs more questions than there is room to formulate here. Perhaps two slight criticisms may be permitted. M. Bremond praises the bright confidence of faith such as Condren displayed, and blames Luther, Calvin (and Pascal) for ruining it, 'déchaînant dans le monde la passion de sentir, d'expérimenter la vie nouvelle de l'homme converti et régénéré.' To which I would answer (1) that Condren is not always so

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confident after all; cf. 'Nous ne sommes pas assurés de notre salut' (p. 402); and (2) that fear and trembling are part of the Gospel message no less than confidence. It is the Christian paradox. The new life which is our joy must be tried upon our pulses, and that cannot take place without a tremor; the gift is too great.

M. Bremond forgoes the self-indulgence of a detailed contrast of Condren with Pascal, but certain hints dropped here and there make it plain that he considers Condren with his 'theocentricity' superior to Pascal with his 'anthropocentricity'. Condren may perhaps be more sublime, but Pascal has surely a message of matchless value for struggling, sinful man. And, if one may be allowed to borrow an analogy from art, it is difficult to say which is the greater music, the pure serene of Bach's Mass in B minor or the tears and strong crying of Beethoven's Mass in D. Anyway, when M. Bremond sums up a long and most interesting comparison between the ascetic discipline of Ignatius Loyola and Condren with the words 'Ils n'ont de commun que la sainteté', one may ask him to add Pascal to their company. Would not Pascal, who pierced as deep as Condren, his controversies laid aside, have reached as high?

After Condren comes his disciple, Jean-Jacques Olier, founder of Saint-Sulpice, to whom two admirable chapters are devoted. Him M. Bremond regards as a metaphysical poet rather than a dogmatic theologian, and assigns him a place beside George Herbert, Vaughan, and Traherne. He might have added Thomas Fuller, whose 'Contemplation travelling on the Plain' (where the seeing and losing sight again of Salisbury spire recalled the ups and downs of the heavenward journey) offers a close parallel to the alternations of major and minor in Olier's prayers. Of this sort of rhythm M. Bremond well says:

'Du simple point de vue littéraire ces multiples complexités sont d'un grand effet; du point de vue de la vie intérieure je ne vois rien de plus bienfaisant, de plus riche, de plus conforme au véritable esprit du christianisme.'

Once more—the Christian paradox.

Three pages only are given to Olier's devotion to the saints. We could wish for more. There is in a tantalizing foot-note on p. 496 a sentence from Olier which supplies the Protestant with nearly all the argument he wants against the cult of the saints: 'Qui communie au plus, communie au moins; qui communie à la cause, communie aux effets.' It would be very curious to assist at Olier's developement of the theme.

Considering how cordially and openly M. Bremond dislikes Jansenism, it is rather matter for surprise to find him lay such little stress on Olier's no less fervent antipathy. He might have quoted many a contemptuous fling from Olier's letters, culminating in 'ce monstre' in one addressed to Anne of Austria.

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Part III of this volume is entitled 'L'École française et les dévotions catholiques'. Out of their multitude M. Bremond selects two, the devotion to the Child Christ and that to the Sacred Heart. In dealing with the former he emphasizes the severity of Bérulle and Condren and their disciple, Gaston de Renty, whose minds, filled with the thought of the Humiliation, have little room for Christmas joy. The devotion itself, i.e. the offices and ceremonial in honour of the Childhood, is apparently due to the Carmelite nun Marguerite de Beaune, who performed the feat, to which reference has already been made, of diverting the current of the cult. The birth of the Dauphin in 1638, which she had foretold, led her to substitute the thought of regal majesty for the original one of infantile weakness. This new devotion found title as 'Le petit Roy de Gloire', and form, in M. de Renty's hands, as a Babe, in swaddling clothes, but crowned, orbed, and sceptred (cf. the charming picture facing p. 548). But the thought of suffering and humiliation prevailed after all, and the figure which is still the most popular is that of the Child bearing His little Cross and the emblems of His Passion—'l'Enfant Jésus à la Croix'. This revival may be traced to the Provençal mystic Jeanne Perraud, who was also a prominent agent in promoting the cult of the Sacred Heart. In 1665, i.e. eight years before the revelations of Marguerite-Marie Alacoque at Paray-le-Monial, Jeanne had a vision of the Wounded Christ:

'Son côté droit était ouvert d'une grande plaie, qui tenait presque toute sa poitrine; et cette plaie était si profonde qu'elle pénétrait tout son intérieur . . . Il me témoignait l'extrême amour qu'il avait pour tout le monde par cette tendresse avec laquelle il ouvrait sa poitrine.'

'Ceci est fort beau', says M. Bremond; and certainly the details of the vision are moving. Not even a Puritan can object to them when he learns, as he does from a foot-note of rare erudition to p. 641, that the first book on the Devotion to the Sacred Heart of Jesus was written in 1651 by Cromwell's chaplain, Thomas Goodwin! But indeed they seem unworthy of the austerity of the 'École française', and it is refreshing to find in M. Bremond's two last chapters that the thought which that school associates with the Sacred Heart is more spiritual than emotional—the Heart, the 'intérieur', representing not exclusively the Love of Christ, but His whole Person. Such at least is the doctrine to which, after many oscillations, the Blessed Jean Eudes inclines. This 'Bienheureux' has had recent justice done to him by Rome (1907) for his organization of the worship—to him we owe the Mass and Offices of the Sacred Heart. M. Bremond's chief contributions to his story are (1) an account of the influences exercised upon him in one direction by Bérulle and in the other by Marie des Vallées, and (2) an insistence on the more contemplative character of the Eudist devotion

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as compared with that of Paray-le-Monial and the Jesuits. And upon this and an explicit contrast between Mary and Martha the volume ends.

Before leaving it one may observe that the English Calvinist Goodwin stands closer to the Jesuits than to Bérulle. Extremes meet.

I have left myself little room to speak of vol. vi, and must be content with a hasty *constat* and a few remarks by the way.

The topic is still 'La conquête mystique' (it must be remembered that between vols. iii and vi have come, under the same general heading, the school of Port-Royal, and the school of Lallemant and his Jesuits); the principal figure is Madame Martin of Tours, in religion Marie de l'Incarnation, the apostle of Canada, the perfect mystic, the Santa Teresa of France. Her appearance gives M. Bremond the opportunity of saying some extremely wise and acute things about mysticism, towards the comprehension of which his book helps more than many histories and expert treatises. Dr Robert Bridges has said that we are all of us poets though all have not the power of self-expression. M. Bremond says we are all mystics as well; and although he does not pose as professor or teacher he understands the art (if it may be so called), and he states the problem with a French clarity and directness which deserves to be quoted:

'Premièrement, au-dessus ou en dehors de la connaissance proprement intellectuelle, qui se termine à des concepts abstraits, existe-t-il, oui ou non, une connaissance réelle, une intention directe, qui, sans l'intermédiaire des images et des concepts, établirait entre le réel, quel qu'il soit, et nous une sorte de contact immédiat, d'adhésion pleine ou de possession? Secondement, peut-il arriver, arrive-t-il en effet que la réalité même, si j'ose dire, et non pas l'idée de Dieu se présente à cette connaissance, accepte de descendre à ce contact, s'imprimant ainsi dans le fond de l'âme, la possédant, la purifiant, la sanctifiant? Tout le reste est verbiage' (p. 175).

Behind or beside Marie de l'Incarnation[1] stand her son, Dom Claude Martin, and his biographer, who is none less than the erudite Dom Edmond Martène. The latter does not spare his hero, nor his readers, and protestant opinion at least will hardly applaud the ascetic extravagances which he describes in detail. But, as Sainte-Beuve said of Pascal and his girdle of spikes, if these things are foolishness, they are the folly of the Cross, and they deserve respect if not imitation.

[1] There is a foot-note on p. 124 where Homer seems to have nodded. Marie, writing to her son in 1659, says: 'L'on m'a encore mandé qu'il se débite un livre de morale fort pernicieuse, où l'on justifie la doctrine des auteurs relâchés,' etc. Upon which M. Bremond remarks: 'Avouez que, si elle entend parler des *Provinciales*, comme on l'a dit, elle a une singulière façon de les résumer.' But he does not draw the conclusion, which seems quite obvious, that the book in question is Pirot's *Apologie pour les Casuistes* which appeared in Dec. 1657, and was immediately condemned by the Pope and by the Sorbonne.

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To the second part of the volume is given, not without apology, the title 'Turba magna'. After the hundred and forty and four thousand, represented by the figures of the mighty mystics with whom we have been conversing, comes the great multitude whom no man can number, of saints obscure or little known. They are dealt with summarily in four chapters, the first of which goes to the school of Jean de Bernières. This interesting layman is second to few in importance, but since he is the subject of a monograph by another writer (M. Souriau), M. Bremond concentrates upon his director, Père Jean-Chrysostome, and his chief disciple, Henri Martin Boudon.

The next chapter is a sort of diptych in which two types of mystic are set face to face, the one 'le mysticisme flamboyant' represented by Mère Jeanne de Matel, the other, 'les mystiques du silence' by Marguerite Romanet, Catherine Ranquet, and Antoinette Journel. The works of Jeanne de Matel have been edited, with an introduction, by Ernest Hello (1870), and it may be said in passing that the admirers of the author of *L'Homme* and *Portraits de Saints* who has been compared now to Pascal (!) and now to Coventry Patmore, must in the light of M. Bremond's possibly too severe criticism revise their judgement. Jeanne herself, who by her visions, prophecies, and dogmatic speculations, joins hands with the mediaeval contemplatives, shocks our author as theologian by her want of modesty, and bores him as a man of letters by her abundance (pp. 270 and 273).

We have no difficulty in accepting his sentence: 'Une sainte du second rang, victime encore de ses directeurs éblouis.' But she takes us all captive when she wings her flight to the upper air of Christian metaphysic: 'C'est alors qu'on peut la dire inspirée, à la manière d'un Condren, ou d'un Bossuet.' There 'son exubérance se modère, son génie s'épanouit'. Her contemplations of the Incarnate Word, to which she was especially dedicated, brings out all that is good and beautiful in her.

It may be added that she gives us the chance of learning from M. Bremond the French equivalent of 'that blesséd word, Mesopotamia' (cf. p. 280).

Of the three silent mystics named above, the last is the most attractive. But if none of them speak ('elle me parle en silence, et mon silence lui répond'—Deep unto Deep), they can write, and M. Bremond quotes freely and gladly from them.

The volume ends with two chapters, one of which is a sort of biographical guide to mystical France arranged by regions and provinces, invaluable to the inquirer; the other contains a vindication or rehabilitation of Jean Desmarets, Sieur de Saint-Sorlin, who is generally regarded by students of the seventeenth century as a none too amiable

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lunatic. I myself once followed a false lead and I am glad to confess myself convicted of error. M. Bremond indeed makes out a very strong case for ranking this extraordinary man, the first chancellor of the French Academy, the author of *Les Visionnaires* (which was the immediate cause of Racine's quarrel with Port-Royal), among the true mystics in virtue of his *Délices de l'Esprit*.

But he cannot make him a pleasing character, and it is difficult to say whether is more repellent, his early immorality (over which our author discreetly glides) or his later intolerance. In charity be it said that he repented truly of the first, and that the second was due to zeal for God's cause. He was also a very profound analyst of feeling and devotion, and I should rate him as such even higher than M. Bremond does. 'Il faut que tu croies Dieu pour le connaître, au lieu que tu voudrais que je te le fisse connaître pour te le faire croire' seems as good divinity as it is sound psychology, and I do not understand the foot-note 'Desmarets n'étant pas un théologien de métier, il y a un peu de confusion' in the passage from which the words are taken. Be that as it may, we part from Desmarets less reluctantly perhaps than from the other wonderful men and women with whom, thanks to M. Bremond, we have been in close communion.

H. F. STEWART.

Somerset Historical Essays, by J. ARMITAGE ROBINSON, D.D., F.B.A., Dean of Wells. (Milford, London, 1921. Published for the British Academy.)

The Monastic Chronicles and the Early School of St Albans, by CLAUDE JENKINS. (S.P.C.K., 1922.)

IN *Somerset Historical Essays* the Dean of Wells deals with William of Malmesbury 'on the antiquity of Glastonbury': the Saxon Abbots of Glastonbury: the First Dean of Wells: Early Somerset Archdeacons (with an appendix on the early career of John Cumin, Archbishop of Dublin): Peter of Blois: Bishop Jocelin and the Interdict. All these essays are marked by the extensive knowledge and use of charters and biographical *data* which mark the author's accurate work. In this way he gives us many corrections of more than antiquarian importance, but he also gives us many illustrations of wider historical interest. The sixth Essay, on the Interdict under John and its effect (a paper read at the Historical Congress at London in 1913), for instance, enables us to see exactly how it worked and how it was observed. The third and fourth Essays deal with the growth of a Cathedral of the Old Foundation, with the intricate relations of Bath, Wells, and Glastonbury, as

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well as with the work of diocesan officials. Much light to guide students is now being thrown on these matters, here by the Dean of Wells and elsewhere, for instance, by the Bishop of Worcester in his various works, and before that by Dr Frere and Mr W. M. Kennedy in their *Visitation Articles and Injunctions of the Period of the Reformation* (Alcuin Society). With such books for the English Church, and the late excellent works on the Curia, especially for the Avignon period, no student need be at a loss, and can easily pass beyond the tiresome generalizations he has got weary of.

The fifth Essay on Peter of Blois is important for general history: the late Mr W. G. Searle, of Queens' College, Cambridge, left much unpublished material, distinguishing the 'Epistolary Peter' from the 'Historical Peter', a distinction which can no longer be upheld: we have also the invaluable hints in Stubbs's *Lectures on Medieval and Modern History*. We can welcome criticism which does really 'restore the credit of Peter of Blois as a genuine person and an honest writer'. It is well to note as a valid defence of Peter's personal neglect of his archdeaconship of Bath that (p. 139) an archdeaconry 'was not strictly a spiritual charge, it was not a cure of souls'. But when Peter at last was 'ordained priest and had become the dean of Wolverhampton, his conscientiousness shewed itself in a remarkable way'. This change is a parallel to that in Becket's greater career. At Wolverhampton, where the canons led scandalous lives, and cemented their abuses by family inter-marriages, Peter found evils which he could not overcome, and therefore he resigned his office. The essay is full of interest.

The first and second Essays have special importance as clearing the reputation of William of Malmesbury. He is so often thought to have lent himself to Glastonbury forgeries that it is well to have the whole matter investigated ably and accurately as is done here. Stubbs long ago in his Preface to the *Memorials of St Dunstan* said significantly that 'William of Malmesbury, *it would almost seem*, undertook to erect the story (i. e. of the antiquity of Glastonbury) out of materials *which he distrusted*, but this did not content his employers, and *they interpolated his work* to a degree which makes it impossible to rely with confidence upon any part of it'. *Obiter dicta* of judges may often be negligible, but those of great scholars like Stubbs and Ranke suggest points for research and are then nearly always justified. It is so here, and the reader may refer to the essay at length to see the process.

The second Essay on the *Saxon Abbots of Glastonbury* is work of the same kind. Here again Stubbs had said: 'the certainty of much of the early history (i. e. of Glastonbury) gives probability to many of the charters, the place of which in the Glastonbury Cartulary would afford by itself very little presumption of their credibility.' The dissection

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and discussion of the material are done with great skill and have great value. These investigations and studies of mediaeval forgeries like those of Glastonbury bring out William of Malmesbury as, in the words of Prof. Claude Jenkins, 'the first really great successor of Bede'.

The little book from which this phrase is taken, is what we have learned to look for from the Lambeth Librarian. It is learned, instructive and interesting, if at times a little too allusive for the ordinary reader. It starts with the material and the method of the monastic chronicler. Then it sketches the history of the St Alban's Chroniclers, the treatment of Wendover being specially useful. The author is at home as much among manuscripts as among modern critics, a combination rarely found, and the controversy between Madden and Hardy is peculiarly well sketched. Some readers will turn first to the pages about Matthew Paris, and they will not be disappointed. What is said about the wholesale use of previous writers by monastic chroniclers will bear repetition, and here it is freshly illustrated.

Kirchengeschichte, by Dr HANS ACHELIS. (Leipzig, 1921.)

Kirchengeschichte, by Dr Hans Achelis (Professor at Leipzig), is an outline of Church History of 216 pages meant primarily for the use of students taking up work after the war. The subdivisions are clear: about 50 pages deal with the Early Church, and the views taken are those common in Germany; a Catholic Church emerging, with the developement of the episcopate, upon a background of mission preaching. Short sections are devoted to *Gnosis*, Montanism, the great Latin Fathers, and so on; these are necessarily brief, but proportion is kept. For the mediaeval period, a short but interesting sketch of the Investiture struggle gives proper prominence to the affairs of Milan: Cardinal Humbert's significance is indicated. Very short biographies, such as those of Wyclif and Hus, are a special feature, and the rise and growth of the Papacy gets several sections. For the Reformation, Luther, Zwingli, and Calvin, receive the same kind of notice, and speaking generally, the work has more detail than, for instance, the somewhat similar work of Sohm, but rather less generalization. In later history, Joseph II and Febronius are clearly if shortly dealt with. For later German history the work is instructive to the student. English history comes off considerably worse, and the English Reformation is made to turn almost entirely upon the Divorce of Henry VIII. Unfortunately the plan of the book excludes references to other books, and this lessens its value.

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The Albigensian Heresy (Studies in Church History), by the Rev. H. J. WARNER, M.A. (S.P.C.K., 1922.)

IT has been rather difficult to get in English a good account of the Albigenses. Mr Warner's little book, within its limits, gives a fairly clear and accurate account. Here and there we come across statements on general history which need qualification. But on what may be called the internal economy of the heresy sound information is given. A bibliography would have been useful.

J. P. WHITNEY.

Early Christian Iconography and a School of Ivory Carvers in Provence, by E. BALDWIN SMITH. (Princeton Monographs in 'Art and Archaeology', VI: Princeton, 1918.)

ALTHOUGH much has been written on the typology of Christian art, and the controversy between Strzygowski and his critics has led to a thorough ventilation of the 'Eastern question', we are still far from having attained certainty in regard to the several schools of artists, and the assignment of individual works to local centres of production is largely a matter of doubt. We must therefore welcome any attempt (such as is here made by Mr Baldwin Smith) to bring order into this department of knowledge: and he has done well to base his study on a very careful and complete enumeration and classification of the monuments. A conspectus of the material dealt with is given in nine tables, corresponding with nine scenes in the life of Christ, from the Nativity to the entry into Jerusalem. In each of these the 'Hellenistic' type is placed first. It usually (though not always) furnishes the largest number of examples, and it is assumed, probably with reason, that it represents the earliest and most widespread version of the scene in question. This is followed by an enumeration of the variants which on different grounds are assigned to the 'Alexandrian-Coptic', 'Palestinian-Coptic' and other provinces of art. Now the object of the essay is to shew that a definite local tradition existed in Provence, and that it is traceable in the works of the ivory-carvers—notably in the ivory book-covers preserved in Milan Cathedral and in various museums and libraries. When we examine the tables, we observe that only under one heading do we find a 'Provençal' type definitely specified. The scene in question is the Massacre of the Innocents, which does not belong to the cycle of earlier Christian art, but is indicated rather than represented in one of the mosaics of Santa Maria Maggiore, and is afterwards found in two distinct types—the 'sword' type which Mr Baldwin Smith calls 'Palestinian-Coptic', and the 'smashing' type, which, besides occurring on the ivories

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of which this book treats, is apparently derived from a simpler scheme seen on a sarcophagus from the crypt of St Maximinus at Marseilles. Now this church was a dependency of the Abbey of St Victor, in the crypt of which the relics of the Holy Innocents, brought from the East by St Cassianus, were deposited, and it is not disputed that the veneration of these relics and the cult of the infant martyrs were practised with special fervour in Provence. The crypt of St Maximinus, moreover, was famous by reason of its possession of the relics of St Mary Magdalene, and it is therefore very natural to suppose, with Mr Baldwin Smith, that it was from this centre that the type characteristic of the ivories proceeded. More than this, however, would be needed to shew that these ivories were the work of a school of Provençal carvers, for it is not to be denied that these artists borrowed their stock of types from a variety of sources: we may subscribe to the statement of Mr Baldwin Smith (p. 216) that 'the eclectic character of these ivory covers, whose iconography is so largely that of Roman monuments and whose scenes yet present so many marks of Eastern influence, reflects quite naturally the eclectic nature not only of the art of Provence but also of the racial, social and religious characteristics of the region'—with the reservation that other regions may likewise have given birth to 'eclectic' schools of art. It might, for example, be claimed that the carved doors of St Sabina at Rome and the Chair of Maximianus at Ravenna (which Mr Baldwin Smith would not, apparently, claim for his Provençal artists) were works of the same kind. On the first-named monument, for example, we find (in the Adoration of the Magi) the 'notched chiton', which Mr Baldwin Smith believes to be characteristic of Provence. It seems difficult, therefore, to admit that the Provençal origin of the Milan book-covers has been established beyond doubt: and to speak (for example) of the representation of Christ among the Doctors on one of these ivories as 'the Provençal type' seems to involve a *petitio principii*. Further research may, however, supply missing links in the chain of evidence; and the special position held by Provence as the meeting-place of Eastern and Western influences (which has long been recognized) makes the theory attractive.

H. STUART JONES.

St Andrews University Publications, xvi: 'Palaeographia Latina', Part II, edited by Professor W. M. LINDSAY. (Milford, 1923.)

PART I of this work was reviewed in the JOURNAL, January 1923 (vol. xxiv, p. 357). In Part II the editor gives us fifty pages of 'Collectanea Varia', notes supplementing such books as Wattenbach's *Schriftwesen*, and including twenty pages detailing the occurrence of

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I *longa* in some 350 MSS: the little section of three pages on the transmission of texts is specially interesting for its insistence on the good pedigree of Carolingian MSS and the trouble taken to choose the best exemplar for copying. Dr P. Lehmann describes with a facsimile a new example of the 'az' type of pre-Carolingian minuscule: only five MSS have been known hitherto, two at Laon, one at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. Professor Lindsay illustrates by two facsimiles the queer insular hand of MS Berne 207, a collection, mainly grammatical, from Fleury. The first part of 'the Lyons Scriptorium' by the late S. Tafel promises well: there is no need to remind readers of the theological MSS ascribed to Lyons. Pages 74 to 94 contain a very useful bibliography of Latin book-hands up to 1050 compiled by W. Weinberger. It starts at 1910 about where the bibliography in Maunde-Thompson's 'Introduction' leaves off, and gives indications of what we may find in the works enumerated, with a short criticism of the more important. The use of too many abbreviations makes it rather obscure. It is curious that it misses Dr V. Novak's *Scriptura Beneventana* (Zagreb, 1920, Croat with French résumé) with the account of Latin writing N.E. of the Adriatic.

This Part II contains nothing as complete as Dr Lindsay's article on the forms of letters in early minuscule in Part I, but it continues the excellent work of collecting for a future history of Latin Palaeography scraps of good material that might easily be lost.

E. H. MINNS.

Handbuch der neutestamentlichen Textkritik von HEINRICH JOSEPH VOGELS. (Aschendorff, Münster i. W., 1923.)

IN a kindred work published in 1913 the statement was made that 'the progress made in this subject is such that every ten years or so a brief treatment of it, an attempt to gather together the results of multitudinous books and articles, is a necessity, if any beyond the narrow circle of experts are to be put in possession of the new facts'. Professor Vogels comes along at the right time with the sort of book one wants. It contains no facsimiles, and for those the reader will have to turn to Kenyon, especially as the third edition of Nestle's *Einführung*, published in 1909, is out of print, and the author is no longer alive. But in every other respect, except the inevitable ignorance of certain publications that have appeared in our own country, this is an admirable work, perfectly suited to the times and deserving of translation into English. Its particular merits are its readableness[1] (it contains

[1] The reader accustomed to German will be struck by a mannerism of the author's, the use of 'wie' after the comparative for the more common 'als'.

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the necessary amount of detail, but is not overloaded), the aptness and freshness of the examples adduced to prove the author's points, and, as was to be expected from his previous works, the treatment of the important question of Tatian's *Diatessaron* and the part it played in the history of the Gospel text. Dr Vogels's critical edition of the Greek text and his various works on the Gospels and the Apocalypse in Latin are already indispensable to scholars: the present work places him definitely among the leading New Testament textual critics of our day.

It is argued that because the Latin text of Codex Bezae has an extraordinarily close relation with the quotations of the Latin Irenaeus, the Codex Bezae was written in South France: but, somewhat inconsistently, the equally close relation between Codex Claromontanus of the Epistles of St Paul and Lucifer of Cagliari's quotations, is regarded as no argument that the home of the Claromontanus text was Sardinia. On p. 69 Lake's article on Codex Ψ in this JOURNAL (vol. i p. 290) is mentioned, but not his fuller treatment in *Studia Biblica* vol. v (1903) pp. 97–131. The Gospel MS 543 (ϵ 297) should have been mentioned as '*formerly* in the possession of the Baroness Burdett Coutts at Highgate (not 'Highate') (p. 77)'. On p. 91 'immarcescibilis' should be given instead of the late form 'immarcessibilis'. The Codex Palatinus (e) is no longer in Vienna (p. 99), but has been restored to Trent; Vogels is also ignorant of the discovery of the leaf containing Matt. xiv 11–22, the text of which was published in the JOURNAL in April 1922 (vol. xxiii p. 284 ff). The MS Laud 108 E 67 was edited by E. S. Buchanan in 1914 (*Sacred Latin Texts: No. II*) (p. 114). The Book of Armagh was written in 807 and can therefore hardly be called 'an Irish Vulgate Text of the ninth-tenth century' (p. 124): Dr Gwynn's edition (published in 1913) should have been mentioned. On p. 126 it would have been well to mention other early Vulgate MSS which Wordsworth and White did not have occasion to use, such as the fifth-century semi-uncial St Gall fragments, the Autun palimpsest of the fifth or sixth century (edited by A. Royet in the *Revue Biblique* for 1922 and 1923), and others. On p. 142 reference might have been made to the articles of Albert J. Edmunds of Philadelphia (published 1920), particularly on the Armenian evidence concerning the conclusion of St Mark's Gospel. Dr Vogels knows only (p. 146) the Gospels in the edition of the Sahidic Version by G. Horner, not the Epistles of St Paul (vols. iv and v, 1920), nor the Acts (vol. vi, 1922). On p. 151 W should be added in line 7 from the foot. The Sanday *Novum Testamentum S. Irenaei* (p. 158) appeared at last in July 1923 after Vogels's work had gone to press. I cannot regard the change from χρείαις to μνείαις (Rom. xii 13) as graphic (p. 183). The indeclinable πλήρης seems unknown to Vogels (p. 184). On

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p. 219 l. 19 for 'Dativ' read 'Genetiv'. There are misprints on pages 25, 41, 112, 142, 167.

The book concludes with excellent indexes of New Testament passages quoted, and of names and matters.

Church Latin for Beginners: an Elementary Course of Exercises in Ecclesiastical Latin, by J. E. Lowe. (Burns, Oates and Washbourne, 1923.)

This little book comes forth with a 'note' and a 'foreword' by Canon William Barry and the Rev. R. A. Knox respectively, recommending it to students. Though unpretentious, it is evidently the work of an experienced teacher, and will fulfil its purpose very well. Here and there the writer imputes a rigidity to classical Latin which it hardly possesses, but this defect he shares with other grammarians. On the other hand, he does not, I think, mention *animabus*, and he does not seem to know (p. 69) that *ipsud* is found as well as *ipsum*. 'St Hilary' and 'St Gregory the Great' are strangely omitted from the list of the 'chief writers of Ecclesiastical Latin' (p. 4). It is to be hoped that this work will start many on the way to read and understand the glorious literary heritage of the Latin Church.

A. Souter.

Synopse der drei ersten Evangelien, von Lic. A. Huck, Pfarrer in Wingen bei Lembach (Els.). Sechste, durchgesehene und verbesserte Auflage; hierzu als Anhang: Die Johannesparallelen. (J. C. B. Mohr, Tübingen, 1922.)

It is a welcome sign of the activity of theological study in Germany that a sixth edition of Herr Huck's Synopsis of the three first Gospels is published. The veteran Pfarrer is to be congratulated on the success of his work, the first edition of which appeared thirty years ago, and on the care he has bestowed on successive editions, each of which has been brought up to date and been in some way an improvement of what was already very good. The sixth edition, now before us, is obviously no exception. I did not see the fifth edition. It incorporated in the *apparatus criticus* more of the results of von Soden's work than have a place in the sixth. Conscious that we still have no *textus receptus* for scholars, Herr Huck retains the text of Tischendorf-Gebhardt, but gives at the foot of the page a selection of variants gathered from published editions, carefully verified and in some cases corrected by his own collation of facsimile editions of MSS (he names

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especially W and von Soden's collations). Here he seems to give all that most students can need.

The selection of *Agrapha* and parallel passages from the apocryphal gospels, a most valuable feature of earlier editions, is somewhat fuller than before. The Old Testament citations are noted below the text, and also the Johannine parallels, the latter being given in full in this edition in a loose supplement, so that the student can have them before his eyes from page to page of the synoptic narrative as they occur. For the text of these Johannine parallels the variants of Westcott-Hort, von Soden, Vogels, and B. Weiss are given. The sections of the *Prolegomena* on the earliest witnesses to the synoptic gospels, textual apparatus (MSS, Versions, ecclesiastical writers), the apocryphal gospels and *agrapha* (the two latter as revised for the fifth edition), supply just what is wanted for the purpose and a good bibliography.

The pages of this edition are wider and the type of the text larger. Altogether it is, I think, the most workmanlike of all Synopses. The price of the book, bound, is six Swiss francs.

Here and There among the Papyri, by GEORGE MILLIGAN, D.D., D.C.L., Professor of Divinity and Biblical Criticism in the University of Glasgow. (Hodder & Stoughton, 1923.)

THE Publisher's note describes this book as a 'popular exposition by an expert of the rich significance of the Papyri for all who would understand the New Testament'. It is this, but it is also much more. It is an admirable account of the papyri, and by a skilful art which hides itself, while the narrative flows easily on, the pieces themselves are made to yield their utmost information of varied kinds, with all the glimpses they give of the life of the times to which they belong; while occasion is often found to touch on the difference between the pagan and the Christian values of life. The full bibliography and the Notes which form an appendix make the book as useful to closer students of the papyri as the clear and simple style make it attractive to the general reader. Dr Milligan is to be congratulated on giving us a charming example of the way in which high scholarship can be made to minister at once to popular and to religious interests.

J. F. B-B.

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RECENT PERIODICALS RELATING TO THEOLOGICAL STUDIES

(1) ENGLISH.

The Church Quarterly Review, October 1923 (Vol. xcvii, No. 193: S.P.C.K.). T. W. DRURY The *epiclesis* in the Service of Holy Communion—H. WACE The revision of the Prayer Book—E. C. TRENHOLME The revision of the Prayer Book—A. NAIRNE Job's interpreters—F. H. MARSHALL Old Testament interpretation in mediaeval Greek and Slavonic literature—H. M. RELTON Divine Revelation—R. B. HENDERSON Akhnaton and Moses—A. J. G. HAWES Arminius and his teaching—A. C. HEADLAM Little bishopricks—W. H. RIGG Dr Scott Holland on the Fourth Gospel—Church Tutorial Classes—Short Notices.

The Hibbert Journal, October 1923 (Vol. xxii, No. 1: Williams & Norgate). THE EDITOR Government by talk—F. ADLER Permanence or impermanence of marriage—C. D. BROAD Butler as a moralist—L. HODGSON Birth-control and Christian marriage—C. C. J. WEBB Bernard Bosanquet's philosophy of religion—L. SPENCE Human sacrifice in Old Mexico—M. KURIHARA Moral problems of young Japan—O. LODGE The larger self—O. C. QUICK Value as a metaphysical principle—N. B. HARMAN Religion and the new psychology—L. DOUGALL The worship of Wrath—Discussions, Survey, and Signed Reviews.

The Expositor, October 1923 (Eighth Series, No. 154: Hodder & Stoughton). J. E. MCFAYDEN Bethel—C. R. SMITH The priest-preachers of Jerusalem—L. M. WATT The Vision—J. R. CAMERON Some notes on the development of Jesus—B. P. W. S. HUNT Is our Second Gospel complete?—F. R. M. HITCHCOCK The Virgin Birth in the Fourth Gospel—T. H. BINDLEY The Chalcedonian Christology.

November 1923 (Eighth Series, No. 155). H. W. ROBINSON An Old Testament scholar—G. MARGOLIOUTH Notes on some difficult passages in Qoheleth—C. R. PALMER Where did the earliest ministry of Jesus take place?—G. H. C. MACGREGOR How far is the Fourth Gospel a unity?—J. E. ROBERTS The story of Eutychus—A. MARMORSTEIN The attitude of the Jews towards early Christianity—Notices of recent literature.

December 1923 (Eighth Series, No. 156). A. E. GARVIE Christian Theology and recent psychology—P. J. BEVERIDGE 'I am' in the Fourth Gospel—B. W. BACON 'Raised the third day'—T. H. BINDLEY Fresh light upon Philippians ii 5–8—F. J. POWICKE Richard Baxter and the brothers Herbert—J. STALKER The Kaiser's chaplain—T. H. ROBINSON Recent literature on the Old Testament.

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(2) AMERICAN.

The Princeton Theological Review, October 1923 (Vol. xxi, No. 4: Princeton University Press). W. H. JOHNSON Is God Almighty?—R. D. WILSON The influence of Daniel—F. D. JENKINS Is Harnack's *History of Dogma* a history of Harnack's dogma?—O. T. ALLIS Notes and Notices—Reviews.

The Harvard Theological Review, October 1923 (Vol. xvi, No. 4: (Harvard University Press). J. B. PRATT Natural Religion: Consciousness and its implications—C. C. TORREY The Aramaic origin of the Gospel of John—J. R. KNIPFING The *libelli* of the Decian persecution—G. F. MOORE A rejoinder by Rabbi Klausner—R. P. CASEY Dickinson's collation of Codex Bezae: the 'lost' Codex 106 of the Gospels—K. LAKE A lost manuscript of Eusebius's *Demonstratio Evangelica* found: The date of the Slavonic Enoch.

(3) FRENCH AND BELGIAN.

Revue Bénédictine, October 1923 (Vol. xxxv, No. 4: Abbaye de Maredsous). G. MORIN Deux sermons africains du ve/vi^{e} siècle avec un texte inédit du symbole—D. DE BRUYNE Un traité inédit contre le mariage des prêtres—A. WILMART Le prologue d'Hervé de Bourgdieu pour son commentaire de la *Cena Cypriani*—A. WILMART Une conjecture mal fondée au sujet des sentences de Guillaume de Saint-Thierry—E. A. LOWE On the date of the Codex Toletanus—Comptes rendus.

Analecta Bollandiana (Vol. xli, Nos. 3 and 4: Société des Bollandistes, 24 Boulevard Saint-Michel, Brussels). H. DELEHAYE Les Actes de S. Marcel le Centurion—C. VAN DE VORST La vie de S. Évariste higoumène à Constantinople—A. PONCELET Catalogus codicum hagiographicorum latinorum bibliothecae Capituli Ecclesiae cathedralis Eporediensis—R. FAWTIER Les reliques Rouennaises de sainte Catherine d'Alexandrie—P. PEETERS Le texte original de la Passion des Sept Dormants—F. VAN ORTROY and R. LECHAT Une Vie italienne de sainte Catherine de Bologne—É. LÉONARD Prétendue découverte d'un archevêque d'Arles—Bulletin des publications hagiographiques.

Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique, October 1923 (Vol. xix, No. 4: 40 Rue de Namur, Louvain). J. LEBRETON Le désaccord de la foi populaire et de la théologie savante dans l'Église chrétienne du iiie siècle—F. CABROL Les écrits liturgiques d'Alcuin—L. VAN DER ESSEN Huchbald de Saint-Amand (c. 840–930) et sa place dans le mouvement hagiographique médiéval—Comptes rendus.

(4) GERMAN.

Theologische Quartalschrift (Vol. civ, Nos. 1 & 2: H. Laupp, Tübingen). RIESSLER Zur Chronologie des A. T. s—FRINGS Das Patmosexil des Apostels Johannes—OESTERLE Klandestine Ehen nach altem Rechte—GEISELMANN Das Irrationale Ottos im Lichte des kath. Glaubensbegriffs—LANDERSDORFER Die Boghazköi-Texte und die Ḫabiru-Frage—Rezensionen.

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The Journal
of
Theological Studies

APRIL, 1924

DOCUMENTS

A NEW PAPYRUS FRAGMENT OF THE *DIDACHÉ* IN COPTIC.

THE papyrus containing the text was brought to the British Museum last year in a flattened condition, and n all probability was a roll and not a book. It came, perhaps, from the neighbourhood of Oxyrhynchus in the Cynopolite nome, and is numbered Or. 9271.

Being one large sheet 11¼ inches by 1 foot 5¼ inches it contains two columns on the first side and one column on the back. Column 1 measures 8½ inches by 6¾. Column 2 measures 9 inches by 4¾. These columns are separated by a space of 1 inch and 4 inches extend beyond. Column 3 measures 4⅞ inches by 4⅜, occupying only a small portion of the whole sheet, ending in the first section of chapter xii of Dr Bigg's edition. Column 1 has 29 lines, column 2 has 32, and column 3 has 18: the lines of the second and third columns are much shorter than the lines of the first.

The writing may be called a rather large thick square uncial, not very regular, but no letters are joined, the letters 'phi', and 'hori' and 'rho' are very small in form, ï is double dotted. There are accents marking the construction of verbal and other forms which never appear in Sahidic writing. One larger letter occurs as a capital letter at the beginning of a line, but much irregularity is seen in division of words at the end and in the middle of lines.

It is remarkable that the content of this fragment of papyrus should largely correspond to the content of the fragment of the *Didaché* in the Statutes of the Apostles in the Ethiopic. The papyrus begins quite fragmentarily in chapter x, and breaks off in section 2 of chapter xii. The Statute 52 begins the fragment at section 3 of chapter xi, where the one capital letter of the papyrus occurs, and it adds at the end of its fragment the first section of chapter viii about Fast Days.

Mr Bell of the British Museum suggests that the papyrus may be a casual extract, and the interruption of the usual text in one place gives some support to such a supposition, as also the irregularity of the columns and of the writing.

The dialect is of Middle Egyptian kind, and possibly the writing is of the fifth century, the Greek authorities at the British Museum would put it even as early as A. D. 400.

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The Text.

(?)ⲧⲟⲩⲛⲥ ⲛϣⲏⲣⲓ ⲛⲗⲱⲙⲓ ⲉⲩϣⲓ ϩⲏⲧ ⲁⲛⲁⲛ
(ⲇⲉ) ⲁⲕⲉⲣϩⲙⲁⲧ ⲛⲉⲛ ϩⲁⲕϯ ⲛⲉⲛ ⲛⲟⲩϩⲣⲏ ⲙⲙⲡⲛⲉⲩ
(ⲙⲁⲧⲓⲕⲟ)ⲛ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲟⲩⲥⲟ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲟⲩⲱⲛϩ ⲛϣⲁ ⲉⲛⲉϩ
(ⲉⲃⲁⲗ) ϩⲓⲧⲛ ⲓⲏⲥ ⲡⲉⲕϣⲏⲣⲓ ⲉⲛϣ(ⲉⲡϩⲙⲁⲧ ⲛ)
ⲧⲁⲁⲧⲕ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ϩⲱⲃ ⲛⲓⲃⲓ ϫⲉⲟⲩⲏ ϣ(ϭⲁ)ⲙⲙⲁⲕ ⲡⲱⲕ
ⲡⲉ ⲡⲓⲁⲟⲩ ⲛϣⲁ ⲉⲛⲉϩ ϩⲁⲙⲏⲛ ⲁⲣⲓⲡⲙⲏⲟⲩⲓ
ⲡ̅ϫ̅ⲥ̅ ⲛⲧⲉⲕⲉⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ ⲕⲉⲥ ⲉⲕⲉⲛⲉϩⲙⲉⲥ ϩⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲙⲡⲉ-
ⲑⲁⲩ ⲛⲓⲃⲓ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲛⲕ'ϫⲁⲕⲥ ⲉⲃⲁⲗ ϩⲉⲛ ⲧⲉⲕ'ⲁⲅⲁⲡⲏ
ⲛⲕⲧⲟⲩⲏⲧⲥ ⲉ(ⲃⲁⲗ) ϩⲙ ⲡϥⲧⲟⲩ ⲧⲏⲟⲩ ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ ⲉⲧⲉⲕ
ⲙⲉⲧ'ⲣⲣⲁ ⲉⲧⲁⲕ(ⲥ)ⲃⲧⲟⲧⲥ ⲛⲉⲥ ϫⲉ ⲧⲱⲕ ⲧⲉ ⲧ'ϭⲁⲙ
ⲛⲉⲙ ⲡⲁⲟⲩ ⲛϣⲁ ⲉⲛⲉϩ ϩⲁⲙⲏⲛ" ⲙⲁⲣⲉϥⲓ ϫⲉ ⲡ̅ϫ̅ⲥ̅ ⲁⲩ-

Col. 1. 1. The passage begins in the third section of the tenth chapter of Dr Bigg's edition of the *Didaché* (S.P.C.K. 1898) with five obscure letters continuing 'the sons of man' representing 'for the men' of the Greek; but at line 17, where the regular text is interrupted, there is a plain reference to the earlier words of the tenth chapter which direct the thanksgiving for reception of the Eucharist, though mentioning only 'faith' without 'knowledge' and 'immortality'.

2. ἐχαρίσω is accurately given by the double verb 'thou diddest favour—thou gavest', the second verb having the prefixed letter 'h' which will appear again below.

2. The end of the word for 'spiritual' is lost, but the usual abbreviation is evidently not employed.

3. The last letter of 'life' is uncertain, but there is no additional vowel.

5. The preposition πρό is merely translated 'concerning'.

6. The additional 'amen' has a prefixed 'h', which does not occur after Maranatha in line 14.

7. ⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ, spelt with one 'ⲕ', has the 'ⲁ' written above the line; the following word ⲕⲉⲥ represents the abbreviated form of the conjunction ϫⲉⲕⲁⲥ which governs the verb for 'deliver'.

8. The verb for τελειῶσαι has the sign of the conjunctive ⲛⲕ' separated by accent from the ground form; thus also with the next verb σύναξον; and a similar accent occurs after the preformative ⲙⲉⲧ of the word for 'kingdom'; and again after the article of 'the power'.

11. 'namely the Lord', literally 'say the Lord', or, perhaps, 'therefore the Lord'. But 'The Lord' may be mistaken for an abbreviation of χάρις which is the word in the Greek.

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-ω ⲙⲁⲣⲉ ⲡⲉⲓⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲥⲓⲙⲓ ϩⲁⲙⲙⲓⲏ' ⲱⲥⲁⲛⲛⲁ ⲗⲉⲡⲏⲓ
ⲛ̅ⲁ̅' ⲡⲉⲧⲟⲩⲉⲃ ⲙⲁⲣⲉϥⲓ ⲡⲉⲧⲉⲛϥⲟⲩⲉⲃ ⲉⲛ ⲙⲁⲣⲉϥ
ⲉⲣⲙⲉⲧⲁⲛⲟⲉⲓⲛ ⲡ̅ⲭ̅ⲥ̅ ⲁϥⲓ ⲗⲉⲙⲙⲓ,, ⲙⲁⲗⲗⲉ ⲁⲉ ⲛⲉⲡⲣⲟ-
15 ⲫⲏⲧⲏⲥ ⲛⲥⲉⲯⲉⲡϩⲙⲁⲧ ⲛⲑⲏ ⲉⲧⲉϩⲙⲉⲩ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲥⲉ-
ϫⲓⲛ ⲁⲉ ⲛⲁⲡⲉ(ⲥⲧ)ⲙⲟⲩϥⲓ ⲯⲉⲡϩⲙⲁⲧ' ⲛⲧⲉⲓϩ ⲉⲧⲉ
ⲧⲙϫⲱ ⲙⲁⲥ ⲁⲉ (ⲉ)ⲛⲯⲉⲡϩⲙⲁⲧ' ⲛⲧⲁⲁⲧϥ' ⲡⲓⲱⲧ
ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲉⲥϯⲛ(ⲟⲩ)ϥⲓ ⲉⲧⲉϩⲁϥ'ⲧⲁⲗⲁⲁⲛ ⲉⲗⲁϥ ⲉⲃⲁⲗ
(ϩⲓⲧⲛ) ⲓ̅ⲏ̅ⲥ̅ ⲡⲉⲕⲱ(ⲛ)ϩⲓ (ⲡ)ⲱⲕ ⲡ(ⲉ) ⲡ)ⲁⲟⲩ ⲛⲩⲁ ⲉⲛⲉϩ
20 ⲗⲉⲙⲙⲓ ⲡⲛ ⲟⲩⲛ( )ⲉⲓ ⲛϥϯⲥⲃⲱ ⲙⲛⲧⲙ'
ⲙⲙⲉⲓ ⲉⲧⲁⲡⲉⲣⲯⲁ(ⲣⲡⲥⲁⲧⲉ)ⲟⲩ ⲯⲁⲡϥ ⲉⲣⲁⲧⲉⲛ
ⲉⲯⲱⲡⲓ ⲁⲉ ⲛⲧⲁϥ ⲡⲛ ⲉⲧϯⲥⲃⲱ ⲁϥⲯⲁⲛϩⲁⲧϥ ⲛϥϯ-
ⲥⲃⲱ ⲙⲛⲧⲙ ϩⲓ ϩⲉⲛϩⲉⲥⲃⲁⲟⲩⲓ ⲉϥϧⲱⲗ ⲉⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ-
ⲛⲓϩⲟⲩⲉϥ ⲡⲉⲓ ⲛⲧⲉⲓϩ ⲙⲡⲉⲣⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ ⲉⲣⲁϥ ⲉⲯⲱ-
25 ⲡⲓ ⲁⲉ ⲛⲧⲁϥ ⲁϥⲯⲁⲛⲟⲩⲱϩ ⲛⲛⲟⲩⲙⲉⲧⲙⲉⲓ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲟⲩ-
ⲥⲁⲟⲩⲛ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡ̅ⲭ̅ⲥ̅ ⲯⲁⲡϥ ⲉⲗⲁⲧⲉⲛ ⲛⲑⲏ ⲡ̅ⲭ̅ⲥ̅
Ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲛⲁⲡⲱⲥⲧⲱⲗⲟⲥ ⲁⲉ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲉⲡⲣⲱⲫⲏⲧⲏⲥ
ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲡⲥⲉⲁⲓ ⲙⲡⲉⲩⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲓⲱⲛ ⲁⲣⲉⲓ ⲛⲧⲉⲓϩ
ⲁⲡⲱⲥⲧⲱⲗⲟⲥ ⲛⲓⲃⲓ ⲉⲧⲙⲙⲛⲟⲩ ⲯⲁⲗⲁⲧⲓ [end of col. 1]

12. The Hebrew ⲱⲥⲁⲛⲛⲁ is spelt without an 'h'.

12, 13. 'The house of David' is a remarkable variant for 'The God of David' in the Greek.

14. 'The Lord came', either referring to the first coming, or implying the certainty of a second coming, both representing a literal translation of the Syriac 'atha' which some would render by the imperative mood.

Observe the Amen without 'h' and with punctuating marks.

ⲙⲁⲗⲗⲉ, literally 'give place'.

15. The permission to recite an Eucharistic prayer of his own form is found granted to the prophet in the Egyptian Church Order. Here, however, there is mention of thanksgiving for the holy chrism, the aroma or sweet-smelling *μύρον* which occurs at this point in the twenty-seventh chapter of the seventh book of the Apostolical Constitutions. I am indebted to a friend for this valuable identification, and for several other improvements of text and translation.

20. The usual text is resumed with conjunction *οὖν*.

23. 'while destroying the first things', paraphrase of *εἰς τὸ καταλῦσαι*.

27. At this point begins the extract from the *Didaché* in the fifty-second Statute of the Egyptian Church Order, published in the Ethiopic *Statutes of the Apostles*, 1904.

28. *τὸ δόγμα τοῦ εὐαγγελίου* is translated 'the word of the evangelion'.

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Col. 2.

ⲙⲁⲣⲉϥϭⲱ ⲛⲟⲩϩⲁⲟⲩ ⲉϣⲱⲡⲓ ⲇⲉ
ⲉⲧⲉ(ⲟⲩ)ⲭⲣⲓⲁ ⲧⲉ ⲙⲁⲣⲉϥϭⲱ ⲛϩⲁ-
ⲟⲩ ⲃ̅ ⲉϣⲱⲡⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲁϥϣⲁⲛϭⲱ ⲅ̅
ⲛϩⲁⲟⲩ ⲟⲩⲡⲣⲱⲫⲏⲧⲏⲥ ⲛⲛⲟⲩϫ
ⲡⲉ ⲉϥⲛⲟⲩⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲃⲁⲗ ⲛϫⲉⲡⲓⲁⲡⲱ-
(ⲥⲧⲱⲗⲟⲥ) ⲙⲡⲉⲣⲧⲉϥϫⲓ ⲗⲁⲡϯ
ⲛⲥⲁ ⲟⲩⲁⲉⲓⲕ ϣⲁⲛⲧⲉϥⲙⲛⲧⲁⲛ
ⲙⲙⲁⲥ ⲉϣⲱⲡⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲁϥϣⲁⲛϫⲓ ϩⲁⲙⲛⲧ
ⲟⲩⲡⲣⲟⲫⲏⲧⲏⲥ ⲛⲛⲟⲩϫ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲣⲟ-
ⲫⲏⲧⲏⲥ ⲛⲓⲃⲓ ⲉⲧ'ⲥⲉϫⲓ ϩⲛⲛ ⲟⲩ-
ⲡ̅ⲛ̅ⲁ̅ ⲙⲡⲉⲣⲡⲓⲣⲁⲍⲉⲓⲛ ⲙⲁϥ ⲟⲩⲇⲉ
ⲡⲉⲣϩⲏⲧ ⲥⲛⲉⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲃⲏⲧϥ ϫⲉ ⲛⲁ-
ⲃⲓ ⲛⲓⲃⲓ ⲥⲉⲛⲉⲕⲉⲟⲩ ⲛⲏⲧⲛ ⲉⲃⲁⲗ
ⲡⲉⲓ ⲛⲁⲃⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲛⲧⲁϥ ⲛⲥⲉⲛⲉⲕⲉϥ
ⲛⲏⲧⲛ ⲉⲃⲁⲗ ⲉⲛⲛ ⲟⲩⲁⲛ ⲛⲓⲃⲓ ⲉⲛ
ⲉⲧⲥⲉϫⲓ ϩⲛⲛ ⲟⲩⲡ̅ⲛ̅ⲁ̅ ⲛⲉⲓ ϩⲉⲛ
ⲡⲣⲟⲫⲏⲧⲏⲥ ⲛⲉ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲉϣⲱⲡⲓ
ⲉⲛⲉⲥⲙⲁⲧ ⲙⲡ̅ϫ̅ⲥ̅ ϣⲁⲁⲡ ⲙⲁϥ
ⲉⲃⲁⲗ ⲟⲩⲛ ϩⲛ ⲛⲉⲓⲥⲙⲁⲧ ⲧⲉⲧⲛ-
ⲛⲉⲥⲟⲩⲉⲛ ⲡⲓⲡⲣⲟⲫⲏⲧⲏⲥ ϫⲉ ⲟⲩ

Col. 2. 1. 'Let him remain for one day.' The Greek puts it negatively, 'he shall not remain except one day'.

2–4. The Coptic repeats 'let him remain', and expresses 'the other' by 'day 2', continuing 'but if he should remain three of day' for the Greek 'but three if he should remain'.

8. The Coptic 'If he should take brass' represents the Greek 'If for silver he should ask'.

10. Observe the accent denoting the relative preformative ⲉⲧ'ⲥⲉϫⲓ 'who speaketh'; also the preposition ϩⲛⲛ with doubled ⲛ.

11. In this line 'spirit' is abbreviated $\overline{\pi\nu\alpha}$.

13. 'they will forgive to you' representing the Greek passive ἀφεθήσεται.

16, 17. 'These prophets are' for the Greek 'prophet is'.

19, 20. Literally 'Ye will recognize the prophet, say what is the deficiency'. Tattam gives ⲉⲩⲁⲟⲩⲱ *deficientes* Deut. xxxii 36. The Greek has 'shall be recognized the prophet and the false prophet'.

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(ⲡ)ⲉ ⲡⲁⲉⲁⲩⲟⲩⲱ ⲡⲣⲱⲫⲏⲧⲏⲥ ⲛⲓ-
ⲃⲓ ⲉⲧⲕⲱ ⲛⲛⲟⲩⲧⲣⲁⲡⲉⲍⲁ ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ
ⲉⲛϥⲟⲩⲱⲙ ⲉⲃⲁⲗ ⲛϩⲏⲧⲥ ⲉⲛ ⲡⲉⲓ
ⲛⲧⲉⲓϩⲏ ⲟⲩⲡⲣⲟⲫⲏⲧⲏⲥ ⲛⲛⲟϫ
ⲡⲉ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲡⲣⲟⲫⲏⲧⲏⲥ ⲛⲓⲃⲓ ⲉⲧ
ϯⲥⲃⲱ ϩⲛⲛ ⲟⲩⲙⲉⲧⲙⲉⲓ ⲉⲛ-
ϥⲓⲣⲓ ⲙⲁⲥ ⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲡⲣⲟⲫⲏⲧⲏⲥ ⲛ-
(ⲛ)ⲟⲩϫ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲣⲟⲫⲏⲧⲏⲥ ⲛⲓⲃⲓ ⲙⲉⲓ
ⲉϩⲁⲩⲉⲣ ⲉϩⲁⲩⲉⲣⲇⲟⲕⲓⲙⲁⲍⲉⲓⲛ
ⲛⲛⲁⲓ ⲉⲧϯⲥⲃⲱ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲉϥⲉⲣⲙⲉ-
(ⲥ)ⲧⲣⲛ ⲛⲟⲩⲡⲁⲣⲁⲇⲱⲥⲓⲥ ⲛϫⲱⲥ
(ⲕⲟⲥⲙⲓ)ⲕⲱⲛ ϩⲛ ⲧⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ [end of col. 2]

Col. 3.

ⲛⲉⲩϯϩⲉⲡ ⲉⲗⲁϥ ϩⲛ ⲧⲏⲛⲟⲩ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ
ⲁⲣⲉ ⲡ(ⲉϥ ϩ)ⲉⲡ ϩⲁ ⲫϯ ⲛⲧⲉⲓϩⲏ ⲁⲛ
ⲛⲁⲩⲣⲁ ⲙⲁⲥ ⲛϫⲓⲛⲉⲡⲣⲟⲫⲏⲧⲏⲥ
ⲛⲧⲉ ⲛⲓⲟⲩⲁⲓϣ ⲡⲏ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲧⲏⲛⲉ-
ϫⲁⲁⲥ ϩⲛⲛ ⲟⲩⲡⲛⲛⲉⲟⲩⲙⲁ ϫⲉ ⲙⲁ
ⲛⲏⲓ ⲛⲉⲛϩⲁⲙⲧ ⲓⲉ ⲛⲉⲛⲕⲉⲓⲕⲉⲓ
ⲡⲉⲣⲥⲱⲧⲙ ⲛⲥⲟϥ ⲉϣⲱⲡⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲛ-
ⲧⲁϥ ⲁϥϣⲁⲛϫⲁⲁⲥ ⲛⲏⲧⲛ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ
ϩⲁⲓⲛⲓ ⲉⲩϫⲁⲣϩ ⲙⲡⲉⲣⲧⲉ ⲗⲁⲡϯ
ⲙⲁⲧⲛⲕⲣⲓⲛⲉ ⲙⲁϥ ⲟⲩⲁⲛ ⲛⲓⲃⲓ

22. ⲕⲱ—ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ to put (lay or set) down gives no idea of ordering or commanding as in the Ethiopic 'orders'.

'table' (ⲧⲣⲁⲡⲉⲍⲁ), the Ethiopic adds 'in spirit'.

23. 'not this of this kind', the Ethiopic translates *εἰ δὲ μήγε*.

24. 'false' ⲛⲟϫ (nodge); in line 28 (ⲛ)ⲟⲩϫ is written correctly with 'upsilon'.

32. 'good order'. The Greek has *εἰς μυστήριον κοσμικόν*. In the Coptic 'ⲕⲟⲥⲙⲓ' is lost, only ⲕⲱⲛ appears, which may represent ⲕⲟⲥⲙⲓⲕⲟⲛ as adjective, implying 'of good order and nothing irregular'.

Col. 3. 2. ⲁⲛ is the dialect form of ⲟⲛ 'also', accurately rendering *ὡσαύτως*.

4. 'of the times', that is 'the ancient times'.

6. 'brass', the ordinary word for money as before; the Ethiopic has 'gold'.

7, 8. 'indeed', the third personal pronoun as before.

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ⲛ ⲁⲉ ⲧⲓⲙⲏⲟⲩ ⲯⲁⲣⲁⲧⲉⲛ ⲫⲙ
ⲡⲣⲉⲛ ⲙ̅ⲡ̅ⲭ̅ⲥ̅ ⲯⲁⲛⲟⲩ ⲉⲣⲁⲧⲛ
ⲛ(ⲧ)ⲁⲧⲛ ⲁⲉ ⲁⲱⲕ(ⲓ)ⲙⲁ(ⲍ)ⲉⲓⲛ
(ⲉⲗⲁ)ⲫ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲥⲟⲩⲱⲛϥ ⲟⲩⲛⲧⲏ-
15 ⲧⲛ ⲙⲉⲩ ⲫⲱⲧⲛⲛ ⲟⲩⲉⲓⲙⲉⲓ
ⲛⲁⲟⲩⲓⲛⲉⲙ ⲙⲛ ⲛⲁⲥⲁⲭⲉ ⲉⲯⲱ
ⲡⲓ ⲁⲉ ⲟⲩⲉⲓ ⲉϥⲙⲏⲟⲩ ⲯⲁⲣⲁⲧⲛ
ⲉⲃⲁⲗ ⲫⲓⲧⲉⲫⲫⲓⲏ ⲧⲁⲉⲓⲙ ⲉⲗⲁϥ [end of col. 3]

11. ⲁⲉ ⲧⲓⲙⲏⲟⲩ for ⲁⲉ ⲉⲧⲙⲏⲟⲩ (who cometh).
13. ⲛⲧⲁⲧⲛ for ⲛⲧⲱⲧⲛ, the emphatic second personal pronoun plural.
13, 14. 'prove'—'recognize', ground form for imperative.
15. ⲙⲉⲩ, 'there', for ⲙⲙⲁⲩ after ⲟⲩⲛⲧⲏⲧⲛ, 'is to you'.
ⲟⲩⲉⲓⲙⲉⲓ, 'a knowing' as distinct from 'recognizing'.
18. 'honour'? but the Greek and Ethiopic have *βοηθεῖτε*.

Translation.

the sons of man unto enjoyment. But we | thou didst favour to us, thou gavest to us a spiritual food | and drink and life eternal | through Jesus thy son. We give thanks | to thee for every thing, because powerful thou art, thine | is the glory eternal, hamen. Remember, | O Lord, thy Church that thou shouldst deliver her from all | the evil and perfect her by thy love | and gather her from the four winds into thy | kingdom which thou preparedst for her. Because thine is the power | and the glory eternal, hamen. Let come the Lord, and | let this world pass away, hamen. Osanna to the house | of David. He who is holy let him come, he who is not holy, let him | repent. The Lord came, amen. But allow | the prophets, that they should give thanks according to their will. But concerning | the words with the aroma (ointment) give thanks thus as we say We give thanks to thee, O Father, | concerning the aroma (ointment), this about which thou showedst us through | Jesus thy son. Thine is the glory eternal, | amen. That (one) therefore who cometh and teacheth to you | these (things) which ye heard before, receive him unto yourselves. | But if indeed that (one) who teacheth should turn and | teach you in other doctrines destroying | the first such (a teacher) hear him not. | But if indeed he should add (some) righteousness and | knowledge of the Lord, receive him unto you as the Lord. |

But concerning the apostles and the prophets | according to the word

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of the evangel do thus: | every apostle who cometh as far as to you | let him stay a day. But if | there is need, let him stay | days 2. But if he should stay 3 | days, a prophet false he is. | But on coming out the | apostle, let him not take anything | except bread (to last) until his own abode. | But if he should take money, | a prophet false it is. | Every prophet who speaketh in a | spirit try him not nor | doubt concerning him; because | every sin they will forgive to you: | but this sin indeed they will not forgive | to you. Not every one | who speaketh in a spirit are (real) | prophets, but (only) if | the manners of the Lord are (upon) him | therefore from these manners ye | will recognize the prophet whether there is | deficiency. Every prophet | who putteth a table down, | eating not from it; not this | of this kind a prophet false | it is. And every prophet who | teacheth righteousness and | doing it not, a prophet | false it is. Every prophet true, | they having proved | these (things) which he teacheth, and as he doeth | mystery of a tradition | according to good order in the Church | they are not giving judgement against him among you: but | his judgement is being with God: thus also | they were doing, the prophets | of the times. But that (one) who will | say in a spirit, Give | to me some money or some other (things) | hearken to him not: but if indeed | he should say to you because of | certain others who are in want, let no one | of you condemn him. But every one | who cometh as far as to you in | the name of the Lord receive them unto you. | But ye indeed prove | him and recognize him. Ye have | yourselves a knowing | of the (things) of the right and the (things) of the left. | But if one is coming as far as to you | along a road honour him. |

G. HORNER.

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NOTES AND STUDIES

AN ARMENIAN DIATESSARON?

THE writer of this study tries to carry further a hint thrown out by Dr Armitage Robinson in his *Euthaliana* of 1895. Dr Robinson remarks (p. 73) that 'One fact which seems to stand out distinctly after the perusal of these puzzling statements (i. e. the traditions of early Armenian Fathers about their version of the Bible) is that the earliest attempts at translating the Scriptures into Armenian were based on Syriac codices'. He further supposes (p. 75) that when trustworthy Greek codices were brought from Constantinople (*c.* A.D. 420), 'the earlier translation from Syriac codices was not altogether cast aside, but was made the basis of a careful revision'.

He then tests this hypothesis and adduces numerous passages from the Gospels and Paulines which reveal an Old Syriac base. I long ago was convinced that he proved his thesis.

We possess two codices, the Sinai and Cureton MSS, of an Old Syriac version of the separate gospels. They have been edited by Prof. Burkitt, and are referred to as *S C*. We also have some knowledge of the Syriac Diatessaron, mainly from the old Armenian version of Ephrem's commentary, but also from the works of Aphrahat (*c.* 340), of Ephrem who cited it in his genuine works, of Marutha, and others.

The question arises: was the Armenian pre-Vulgate version of the Gospel an Armenian version of the Syriac Diatessaron, or was it a version, perhaps more than one version, of the Syriac separated gospels?

When we examine the citations of the Gospels in early Armenian Fathers, we chance on many not taken from the Armenian Vulgate which has held the field since about A.D. 700. We find, moreover, many of these discrepant texts identically given in two or more writers, who wrote in different places and times. Two writers who agree in citing a text identically, when it is not in the Vulgate, must have used in common some lost text of the N.T.; and a comparison with the Armenian Vulgate suggests that they are older texts which never underwent the careful revision suggested by Dr Armitage Robinson. In them there seems to lie before us an older translation, just as in Cyprian and other early Latin Fathers we recognise the *vetus Itala* which preceded Jerome's Vulgate. Fortunately Latin codices going back behind the Latin Vulgate remain to us. So do Syriac MSS preceding the Peshitta. But of the old Armenian version no MSS survive. We can only reconstruct it from citations.

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Let E signify the Armenian version of Ephrem's commentary on the Syriac Diatessaron, T signify that Diatessaron itself, A Aphrahat's Syriac text, A^2 the Armenian version of the same, Arm. 1 the hypothetical pre-Vulgate Armenian version of the Gospel or Gospels, probably made from Syriac, Arm. 2 the existing Vulgate.

Now it has been assumed by Dr Theodor Zahn in his work on the Diatessaron, by Dr Armitage Robinson and other scholars, that the Gospel citations in E represent T. This assumption is largely illusory. In a vast number of cases, where we can check them, they can be shewn to be citations of a lost version; they may, of course, represent T, but not necessarily; *prima facie* they can no more claim to represent it than the *codex Fuldensis* and Arabic which turn Tatian into Latin Vulgate and into Peshitta can do so.

Examples will establish this. The first we adduce shews that the Armenian translators of A and E were prepared to force upon the two Syriac Fathers, whom it was their task to translate, a loose and pleonastic text with which they were familiar. For it will not be contended that five of the Armenian Fathers and translators of the fifth century concurred by accident or inspiration in an identical translation of such a kind. They would then have rivalled the seventy translators of the Hebrew Scriptures, who, though locked into separate rooms by a Ptolemy, nevertheless arrived at an identical translation of their original. In the following pages the first column contains Arm. 2, the second Arm. 1:—

Arm. 2.	Arm. 1.
EXAMPLE 1. Mt. xi 28 ekaykh arh is amenayn wastakealkh ev berhnavorkh ev es hangutzitz zdzez	A^2 335 ekaykh arh is *ashchatealkh ev* wastakealkh *ev oykh unikh zberhins tsanuns* ev es hangutzitz zdzez
i. e. venite ad me omnes laborantes et onerati et ego requiescere faciam vos	i. e. venite ad me fatigati et laborantes et qui habetis onera gravia et ego requiescere faciam vos

Here Parisot 758 renders A thus: 'Venite ad me qui laboratis et onerati estis, et ego reficiam vos.' This is the Greek text; and the periphrastic text of A^2 is not the work of the translator; for almost the same peculiar rendering recurs in E 117,[1] in Agathangelus 221, in the Arm. version of Cyril *Catecheses* i 1, in Lazar of Pharp's Epistle (Venice ed. 1891, p. 675).

[1] E 117 has *ekaykh arh is wastakealkh ev ashchatealkh* and *hangutzanem* (i. e. 'facio'), but E 127 has *ekaykh arh is amenayn ashchatealkh.*

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Zahn, p. 150, cites Sasse's prolegomena to Aphraates, p. 28: 'Solet enim verbum archetypi simplex duobus verbis synonymis reddere'. This is generally true of all Armenian versions, but not of Arm. 2, which here as elsewhere has been arrived at by elimination of elements not in the Greek codices, by retention of just what they involved and no more, and by retranslation wherever they demanded it.

EXAMPLE 2. Mt. iii 15 zi ayspês wayel é mez lnul zamenayn ardaruthiun	E 41, 42 zi katarestzukh zardaruthiuns amenayn. So Elisaeus and Agath, §§ 410 and 591.
i.e. Sic enim decet nos implere omnem iustitiam	i.e. ut impleamus iustitiam omnem

The citation in E, Elisaeus, and Agath. follow direct on the words *sine modo* or *permitte nunc* as Moesinger renders; Zahn notes that this abridgement of the text, constant in E, is 'sonst nicht bezeugt'. However, Elis. and Agath. also witness to it; so, here too, their verbal coincidence with E proves that the latter, *prima facie* at any rate, only reproduces Arm. 1, and not Tatian. Note that they both render πληρῶσαι not literally by *lnul* = *implere*, but by *katarel* = *perficere* or *consummare*. Arm. 2 here corrects the less literal Armenian equivalent. It also adopts the order of the Greek πᾶσαν δικαιοσύνην instead of δικ. πᾶσαν of A 1.

EXAMPLE 3. Jn. v 28 ekestzé žamanak yorum amenekhin or i gerezmans kaytzen luitzen dzayni nora ev ekestzen artakhs	A^2 254 ekestze žamanak ... merhealkh luitzen zdzayn ordvoy mardoy ev eltzen i gerezmanatz iureantz. So A^2 265 and Arm. Marutha, p. 17, of the *Acts of Persian Martyrs*, Valarshapat, 1921.
i.e. veniet tempus in quo omnes qui in monumentis sint audient vocem eius et venient extra	i.e. veniet tempus ... mortui audient vocem filli hominis et exibunt de monumentis suis

Parisot 366 renders A 'Veniet hora ... quando mortui audient vocem Filii hominis ... et egredientur de sepulcris suis'. The entire structure of Arm. 1 varies from the T-R and Arm. 2; and note the use of *eltzen* = *exibunt* for *ekestzen artakhs* = *venient extra*.

The verbal identity between A^2 and the Arm. Marutha in this passage suffices to shew that A^2 is not rendering A, although it agrees with A in its peculiar order of words; a remarkable coincidence.

Arm. Marutha, p. 17, has *Filii Dei* for *Filii Hominis*, both equidistant from *eius*, and it omits *suis*. But these differences are negligible. The manner in which Arm. Irenaeus twice cites the verse is this, V xiii 1:—

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'Veniet hora in qua omnes mortui qui in sepulchris sunt audient vocem Filii Hominis et exibunt extra', but V xxxvi (*deest* Lat.):— 'Veniunt dies in quo (singular!) mortui qui in sepulchris sunt audient vocem Filii hominis et resurgent.'

It looks as if the translator of Irenaeus was accustomed to the form of text given in A^2 and Arm. Marutha, for he uses in the first citation the tell-tale *eltzen artakhs = exibunt extra*, where Arm. 2 has *ekestzen artakhs = venient extra*. The last word is necessary after *ekestzen*, but superfluous after *eltzen = exibunt*; so it was probably inserted in the text by a late scribe familiar with Arm. 2. Secondly, the translator omits *de monumentis* which offended Irenaeus's Greek. Thirdly, to suit the Greek he inserted 'qui in monumentis sunt' (I use the words of Latin Iren.) earlier in the sentence, where they also come in Arm. 2. But note that instead of rendering them, as does Arm. 2, by *or 'i gerezmans Kaytzen*, as he would surely have done had he possessed Arm. 2, he renders *de suo* by *or 'i shirimsn en*. Thus Arm. 2 corrects Arm. 1 in one way, the translator of Irenaeus in another. How *resurgent* came to be substituted in Irenaeus V xxxvi I cannot say. It stands in codex *b* of him, and may represent a Greek variant which stood in the margin of a codex used by the Armenian translator. In this second citation *omnes* is omitted as it is in A and Marutha.

Thus the testimony of Arm. Iren., though scanty, confirms our conclusion that A^2 does not here so much translate A, though A had the same text, as quote Arm. 1. This last text was clearly his standard, just as King James's version is for English Protestants and the Douai Bible for Roman Catholics.

EXAMPLE 4. Mt. xxi 44 ev yoyr weray anktzi hosestzé zna	E 193 ev yoroy weray anktzi manrestzé ev hosestzé zna
i. e. et super quem ceciderit conteret eum	i. e. et super quem ceciderit confranget et conteret eum
	A^2 7 ev yoroy weray ankanitzi na manrestzé zna

Probably Arm. 1 had both synonyms according to the principle noticed above (no. 1) by Sasse. Both survive in E 193; A^2 kept *manrestzé = confranget* alone, perhaps influenced by the Syriac text of Aphrahat which he was translating and which has but one equivalent of λικμήσει, for Parisot 18 renders the Syriac 'Super quem vero ceciderit comminuet eum'. The authors of Arm. 2, who eliminated pleonastic synonyms, kept the rival equivalent *hosestzé* which I render *conteret*. Here, again, the question arises why E and A^2 pitched on the same equivalent *manrestzé* unless it existed in a version familiar to both of them.

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EXAMPLE 5. Mt. iii 15. In Arm. vlg. there is no corresponding text, but *a* and *g* of the *vetus Itala* have 'Et cum baptizaretur lumen ingens circumfulsit (*g* magnum fulgebat) de aqua'.	Ephrem Arm. com. in Gen. p. 93 : ibrev mkrtetzav, asé, tér mer, *loys* bazum i *dshurtz* anti *phaylér*; i. e. cum baptizaretur lumen magnum de aquis fulgebat.

Here, as the coincidence with the Old Latin shews, we have the full text of Arm. 1 which E 43 cites fragmentarily thus: *i phayliun lusoyn* or linér 'i weray *dshurtz* = 'in fulgorem luminis quod fiebat super aquas', where the Armenian words italicized are in a literary connexion with the Com. in Gen., inexplicable unless the translators of it and of E both used Arm. 1. There is no reason to suppose that the two translators were the same person.[1]

EXAMPLE 6. Mt. xv 19 'i srté elanen chorhurdkh čarkh	E 63 and A^2 321 'i *srti linin* [amenayn] chorhurdkh *čharuthean*
i.e. ex corde egrediuntur cogitationes malae	i. e. in corde fiunt [omnes] cogitationes malitiae

Parisot 730 renders A 'In corde sunt cogitationes malae', so the concordance of E and A^2 is not, as Zahn notes, decisive for 'malitiae', which as the equivalent read in Arm. 1. It needs explaining, however, how Arm. 1 could independently have thrown up a reading so close to E and A, but unknown elsewhere.

EXAMPLE 7. Jn. v 22 ev oč ethé hayr dati zokh	E 151 hayr zokh oč dati
i. e. et non quod Pater iudicat aliquem	i.e. Pater neminem iudicat

A^2 220 and 429 have the same text as E except that A^2 429 transposes and reads 'zoč okh'. But the differences from Arm. 2 are of order and structure of sentence; just such small differences as would weigh in sifting out Latin and Greek texts. The example again enables us to judge how general was the influence of Arm. 1 over E and A^2.

EXAMPLE 8. Mt. xxii 39 = Mc. xii 31 = Lc. x 27 *zěnker* kho	E 194, A^2 20 &c. *merdsavor* kho
i. e. τὸν πλησίον σου	i.e. τὸν πλησίον σου
EXAMPLE 9. Mt. i 25 ev oč gitér zna minčev tsnav zordin iur zandranik	E 23, 25, 26 In sanctitate habitabat cum ea donec peperit primogenitum et sumpsit eam
i. e. et non cognoscebat eam donec peperit filium suum primogenitum.	*srbutheamb bnakér ěnd* nma minčev tsnav zandranikn ev arh zna

[1] [There is no reference to the Baptism of our Lord in the corresponding place of the original Syriac of Ephrem's Commentary on Genesis (ed. Rom. Syr. Lat. i 82). F.C.B.]

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I have not met with this text so fully cited as in E, but in a homily printed among the Armenian works of Ephrem, Venice 1836, iv p. 27, we find 'ĕnkalav yowséph zmariam ev *bnakér ĕnd srboyn* pahpan*utheamb*', i.e. 'accepit Joseph Mariam et *habitabat cum sancta* in tutela'.

The words italicized echo E, and prove that the translator of the homily had a biblical text identical with that which E cites.

Zahn notes that *primogenitum* without *filium* was a Tatianic reading. It here appears as the reading of Arm. 1.

EXAMPLE 10. Jn. xix 36 ὀστοῦν οὐ συντριβήσεται αὐτοῦ.

Arm. vlg. 'oskr nora mí phshrestzi', i.e. 'os eius ne frangetur'.

A^2 346 'oskr mí *bek*tzi *'i nma*', i.e. 'os ne conteratur in eo'.

E 259 'oskr nora oč *bek*av *'i nma*', i.e. 'os eius non contritum est in eo'. Parisot, p. 527, renders A 'os non comminuetur in eo'.

Here A^2 is formally citing the text, for it introduces the words with 'Tum etiam praecepit'; but Ephrem is only narrating what happened. Hence change of tense. Note that Arm. 1, i.e. E and A^2, and Elis. use the verb *bekanem*, which for distinction I render by *contero*, whereas Arm. 2 uses *phschrem*, which for the same reason I render by *frango*. They are synonyms. The addition *in eo* comes also in the Peshitto. As it is not in the Greek Arm. 2 drops it out, but Arm. 1 had it. Elis. 291 has nearly the same text as A^2 and E: 'oskr nora mí *bek*anitzi', 'os eius ne conteratur', but omits the *in eo*. Both in Elis. and in E *nora* seems the addition of a scribe familiar with Arm. 2. Arm. 1 had *'i nma* = *in eo*, which made it superfluous. Elis. has *nora* with E, but *mí* with A^2.

EXAMPLE 11. Lc. i 45 katarumn asatzelotzs nma	E 17 katarumn amenayn banitzn or eghen ĕnd nma
i.e. τελείωσις τοῖς λεγομένοις αὐτῇ	i.e. τελείωσις πάντων τῶν λόγων οἱ ἐγένοντο αὐτῇ

E 17 paraphrases where Arm. 2 is quite literal. Cyril xii 26 has same reading as E 17, but substitutes *or eghen* as if γενομένοις had stood for λεγομένοις. Here *S* also has a relative clause: 'A fulfilment for those things that were spoken with her', as also all Latin texts. One (*ff*) has 'omnia quae dicta sunt': in no other source is added the word 'all'. Arm. 1 clearly had 'amenayn banitzn or'.

EXAMPLE 12. Lc. xxiii 46 παρατίθεμαι. Arm. 2 renders *avandem* = I deposit. E 254 and Cyril *yandsn arhnem*, 'I hand over to'. Agath. and Elis. use, however, *dnem* = *pono*, as if there had been another source known to them using that equivalent. Anyhow E takes its equivalent from a text he had in common with the translator of Cyril.

EXAMPLE 13. Jn. iii 8 τὸ πνεῦμα (ὅπου κτλ.). Arm. vlg. renders *hoghm* = wind; but E 189, Cyril i 3 use *hogin* = the Spirit. Agath.

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225 renders *Spiritus Sanctus*. Clearly all three used a common Gospel text in which stood *hogin*.

EXAMPLE 14. Jn. i 1 καὶ ὁ λόγος ἦν πρὸς τὸν θεόν.

E 5 twice cites thus 'inkhn bann ér arh astuats', i. e. αὐτὸς ὁ λόγος ἦν πρὸς τὸν θεόν. Whatever the Syriac word was which is rendered by *'inkhn* = αὐτός, Ephrem in his ignorance of the Greek text attached importance to it, for he comments 'Et ne verbum absque interpretatione sineret adiecit *inkhn* verbum erat apud Deum, quibus praedicavit . . . subsistentiam (*inkhn*uthiun) verbi'.

At first sight then *inkhn* here is a translation of a Syriac word in Ephrem's citation of Jn. i 1 and cannot otherwise be explained. Yet it stood in Arm. 1, for the Armenian translator of Eusebius *H. E.* i 1 equally reads *ev inkhn bann* etc., shewing that Arm. 1 had the addition.[1] If therefore E uses *inkhn* and *inkhnuthiun* to render Ephrem's Syriac he does so because he cites from Arm. 1. Elsewhere the Armenian translator of Eusebius *H. E.* regularly uses a gospel text of some kind which he shared with E, and which contained pleonastic additions to the text which the Greek lacks; e. g. in Lc. xxi 20 (Eusebius *H. E.* iii 7) it reads 'Ierusalem circumdatam obsessam exercitu'. Here 'obsessam' *pashareal* is witnessed in Arm. Eus. and in the pseudo-Ephremic Tract *De Interpretatione Evangelii*, as also is *haseal é* 'has arrived' for *merds é* of Arm. 2 = 'is near'. Both readings are due to Arm. 1.

EXAMPLE 15. Mt. xxiv 20 yaghôths katzékh zi mi linitzi	E 214 yaghôths katzekh ev chndretzékh zi mi linitzi
i. e. Orate ne fiat	i. e. Orate *et petite* ne fiat

Pseudo-Ephrem in Arm. version, vol. ii 323 has same as E 214.

Here no other text adds *et petite*. The translators of ps.-Eph. and of E clearly had in common Arm. 1, and derive the addition from it. The Syriac Tatian never had it.

EXAMPLE 16. Lc. viii 46 zôruthiun el yinén	E 81, 83 virtus magna abiit de me zoruthiun bazum gnatz yinén.
i. e. virtus exiit de me	Elis. identically. Even if he had read E, I see no reason why he should ferret out a text in a context which does not suggest it.

E and Elis. not only agree in using the epithet *bazum*, but also *gnatz* = *abiit*. Arm. 2 substitutes *el* = *exiit*, and omits *bazum* as unwarranted by the Greek.

[1 No doubt in both cases the Armenian is a literal rendering of the Syriac *hū mellthā* (so all Syriac renderings of Jn. i 1, including Eus. *H. E.* i 1). F.C.B.]

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EXAMPLE 17. Mt. v 17 ne putate quoniam veni solvere legem aut prophetas: non veni solvere sed adimplere

E 64, A^2 28 non veni solvere legem et prophetas sed (+ stabilire et A^2) consummare (+ eas A^2). So Eznik, Cyril iv 33 and x 18, and others.

Parisot 58 renders A 'non veni solvere legem et prophetas sed eos adimplere'. The added 'stabilire' *hastatel* in A^2 is a characteristic Arm. pleonasm. Arm. 1 was evidently full of them. Arm. 2, as usual, renders πληρῶσαι literally by *lnul*. Arm. 1, whose authors had not access to Greek texts, used *katarel* = *perficere* or *consummare*. Eznik, however, who was a Greek scholar, changes to *lnul* in his citation, though in other respects he cites Arm. 1.

EXAMPLE 18. Lc. xix 42. Eusebius *H. E.* iii 7 cites εἰ ἔγνως καί γε σὺ ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ταύτῃ τὰ πρὸς εἰρήνην σου· νῦν δὲ ἐκρύβη ἀπὸ ὀφθαλμῶν σου. Arm. 2 reads '*Ethé gitéir du goné* yavurs yaysmik zchaghaghuthiunn kho, baytz ayžm tsatsketzav *yeresatz khotz*', which involves τὴν instead of τὰ πρὸς. But Arm. Eusebius reads '*ethé ér gitatzeal kho zór chaghaghuthean* kho, ayl tsatsketzav na yačatz khotz', a very different text which may be rendered in ungrammatical Latin, thus 'si erat cognitum tui diem pacis tuae sed abscondita est illa ab oculis tuis'. E 184 renders identically '*ethé gitatzeal ér kho* goneay *zórs* zays kho'. This is a truncated citation omitting *pacis* and *ab oculis tuis*, but adding *goneay* which answers to γε. E 207 again cites the verse, partly in the same way as E 184 and Arm. Eus., partly as Arm. vlg.; for it takes *ethé gitéir du goné* and *yeresatz khotz* from Arm. 2, and the rest from Arm. 1 (the other two sources). Arm. 2 alone renders νῦν. ἀπὸ ὀφθαλμῶν is rendered 'from thy presence' or 'from thy face' in Arm. 2 and E 207, but as 'from thine eyes' in Arm. Eus.

There can be no doubt that the reading of Arm. Eus. and E 184 is the older, though Arm. 2 has made an inroad on the citation at E 207; yet there too is involved, as in E 184 and Arm. Eus., the characteristic rendering 'hunc diem pacis tuae' (as Moesinger renders), instead of 'in hac die quae ad pacem' of the Greek and other sources, and of *S C* as well. Note that *C* (not *S*) reads 'But peace hath been hidden from thine eyes', along with E 207 'Sed abscondita est pax a facie tua'.

Here, again, we discern a common Gospel text behind the translator of Eusebius and E.

EXAMPLE 19. Jn. xxi 3. The words ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ νυκτὶ ἐπίασαν οὐδέν are rendered by Elisaeus thus: νύκτα ὅλην ἐκοπίασαν ἐπίασαν οὐδέν. Here is imported into the citation a reminiscence of Lc. v 5. At first sight this looks like a vagary; but in a tract 'on the Resurrection' ascribed to Ephrem and printed p. 61, vol. iv, of his *paralipomena*

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armena, the very same reading recurs as a rendering of Jn. xxi 3. We cannot explain the coincidence except by supposing them to be quoting from a common document. It is curious, but probably a mere coincidence, that the first hand in ℵ here reads ἐκοπίασαν for ἐπίασαν.

EXAMPLE 20. Lc. i 29 χαῖρε κεχαριτωμένη is rightly rendered in Arm. 2 by 'urach ler berkreald'. In A^2 273, E 49, and in the pseudo-Ephremic tract already referred to in Example 7, and read in *Op. Arm. Ephremi* iv 14, we read instead 'oghdschoyn ĕnd khez ôrhneald 'i kanays' which means 'salus tecum benedicta in mulieribus'.

Parisot renders the Syriac text of A 418 thus, 'Pax tibi, benedicta inter mulieres'. There can be no doubt that these three Armenian writers had the text in a common document, and A^2 used it when he had to translate the corresponding Syriac. Here, then, as elsewhere, A^2 primarily represents not A but Arm. 1.

EXAMPLE 21. Eznik's (p. 277) handling of Mt. xix 16–18, Mc. x 17, Lc. xviii 18, is as follows:—

'Et legisperito qui interrogavit illum, Quid faciens (= ποιήσας) ut vitam eternam heres possideam, ait, Mandata legis scis? Et interrogans iterum, Quae mandata? Ait, Ne adulteres, ne fureris, ne occidas'.

Note that in A 927 (Parisot) we have the same rare order as in Eznik, 'Non moechaberis; non furtum facies', and as in the old Latin codices *b, e, l, q*. Secondly, in E 169 we have the comment '*Interrogavit* dominum de lege', the same word *ehartz* being used as in Eznik, whereas in Matthew we only read πόιας; φησίν. Lastly, both Eznik and E make out the youth to be a lawyer; for E writes 'hic legisperitus venerat ut quasi ex lege erudiretur'. E uses *órinavor*, Eznik *órinakan* for 'lawyer'. We might suppose that Eznik had an Arm. Diatessaron in his hands; at least the common use of *ehartz* and *órinakan* hints at such a conclusion. But here, as elsewhere, the language of Arm. 1 has been adopted both by Eznik and by E.

What was this common text? We may assume on the principle of the economy of causes that it was the Syriac base, as Dr Armitage Robinson aptly termed it, of the existing Armenian Vulgate.

But we are left in a dilemma; for as many as eight of our examples are either attested by A to have been elements in his Gospel text, which we know to have been a Syriac Diatessaron, or, if not, yet to be such texts as have been reckoned by scholars to be of Tatianic origin. Nevertheless all eight, like the other thirteen, stood in Arm. 1. However, the eight belong primarily to Arm. 1, and are morticed and adjoined thereto. If we assign them to an Armenian Diatessaron, then Arm. 1 would claim Tatianic influence as to eight parts out of the twenty-one, and a Gospel of vague origin and antecedents as to the other thirteen

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parts. And that is a lame conclusion. The eight champions, as we may call them, of Tatian, are examples 3, 5, 6, 9, 14, 17, 20, 21, *rari nantes in gurgite vasto.*

In the above pages I have scarcely appealed to the Homilies on the Transfiguration and the Passion attributed to the fifth-century Armenian historian Elisaeus, because Dr Burkitt has argued very cogently that their author had read E, so that such undoubted citations of Tatian as they have in common with E may have been copied from E, and therefore afford no independent testimony to the existence of an Armenian Diatessaron.

But his argument, though it invalidates some evidence which formerly struck me as cogent, is compatible with our supposing that, in addition to having read E, he was also acquainted with Tatian's work in an Armenian dress. Some indeed have argued that if the Armenians had not used a diatessaron they would not have troubled themselves to translate a Syriac commentary on it; but I do not find that argument conclusive.

Is there then reason, apart from citations that Elisaeus may and probably did take direct from E, for thinking that he used an Armenian T? Up and down his homilies there are narrative passages which he introduces with 'he says' or 'it says', the formula with which Armenian Fathers usually introduced a citation of Scripture. Let us take some of these and see if they bear signs of T. Here is one from p. 291:—

'There came, he says, Joseph, a man just, noble in nature and rich in the world, towards men in secret, but toward God openly. He not only is not found in their deeds of wickedness, but also not in the counsels of their impiety. But now mark the man's courage; in a time when everyone was united and were in rebellion against God, he alone armed himself secretly with weapons of virtue, and took his brigade of the forces of faith. He was valorous in himself. . . .

For it was a fearsome spot and an awestricken hour, and risk of death for him who dared to say that in righteousness died the man. . . .'

Nay, the Gospel writer in no small degree relates the man's bravery, but does so in terms vigorous and loud:—

'(p. 292) There came, he says, Joseph of Arimathea. He dared, entered to the judge, and asked for the body of Jesus.'

We have to compare the above with the Arabic, which runs:—

'There came a man named Joseph, rich (and) a counsellor, of Arimathea, a city of Judaea, who was a good man and upright, and a disciple of Jesus, who concealed himself being afraid of the Jews; but he had not consented to the counsel and deeds of the accusers and was looking for the kingdom of God.

'This man then came and went into Pilate, and requested of him the body of Jesus. . . .'

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The passage of Elisaeus, like the Arabic, is a mosaic of Gospel texts, and the initial phrase 'he says' indicates that he has some document or other open before him. Let us arrange the two together clause by clause and put Elisaeus in Greek in the first column and the Arabic (also in Greek) in the second, numbering the clauses of each :—

1. ἦλθεν Ἰωσὴφ Mc. 43	1. ἦλθεν Mc. 43
2. ἀνὴρ . . . δίκαιος Lc. 50	1B. ἀνὴρ ὀνόματι Ιωσὴφ Lc. 50
3. εὐσχήμων (? noble in nature) Mc. 43, or ? βουλευτής	4. πλούσιος (βουλευτής Lc. 50 = Mc. 43) (ἀπὸ Ἀριμαθαίας πόλεως τῶν Ἰ. Ιουδαίων Lc. 51)
4. πλούσιος Mt. 57	
5. κεκρυμμένος Jn. 38	2. ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς καὶ δίκαιος Lc. 50
6. προσδεχόμενος τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ (? towards God openly) Mc. 43 or Jn. 38 μαθητὴς τοῦ Ἰησοῦ	?6. (μαθητὴς τοῦ Ἰησοῦ Jn. 38)
	5. κεκρυμμένος διὰ τὸν φόβον τῶν Ἰ. Jn. 38 *b*
7. οὗτος οὐκ ἦν συγκατατεθειμένος τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῇ πράξει αὐτῶν Lc. 57	7. οὗτος κτλ. Lc. 51
8. of their impiety	8. of the accusers (not in Gospel text)
. . . . .	
9. ἦλθεν Ἰωσὴφ ὁ ἀπὸ Ἀριμ. Mc. 43	9. οὗτος προσελθών Lc. 52
10. τολμήσας Mc. 43	10. omit
11. εἰσῆλθε πρὸς Πιλάτον Mc. 43 *b*	11. εἰσῆλθε πρὸς Πιλάτον Mc. 43 *b*
12. Καὶ ᾐτήσατο τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Ἰ. Mc. 43 *b*	12. Καὶ ᾐτήσατο κτλ. Mc. 43 *b*

The reference of Mc. xv 43 to 'the Gospel writer' at first sight pins us down to the use of the separate Gospels which no doubt Elisaeus knew of, just as the translator of the commentary on T knew of them; but it might equally mean a diatessaron. He cites otherwise than the Vulgate, using the past indicative *ekn* for the participle *ekeal*, 'arimathetzi = Arimathean' for 'or yarimatheayn ér' = 'who was from Arimathea', and 'judge' *datavor* instead of 'Pilate'.

It is seen from the above that the two sources take very nearly the same elements from the four Gospels and combine them in a mosaic nearly in the same order, both ending the story with a renewed citation of Mc. xv 43. But it is strange that the Arabic ignores τολμήσας of Mc. xv 43, as does the Dutch Diatessaron.

The probability of Elisaeus, who was just a pious rhapsodist, making any sort of textual harmony is slight. That his harmony should march so closely with the Arabic here is very improbable unless he had Tatian in his hands. On the whole I do not find the example convincing.

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Here is another example. His homily on the Transfiguration begins :—

Elisaeus.	Arabic.
Dum incedebant illi in via, ait Dominus noster ad Duodecim: Quem utique dicunt de me homines quod sum.	Mc. viii 27. And as he was walking in the way, himself and his disciples apart, he asked his disciples, saying: Matthew, Mark. What do men say concerning me, that I, the Son of Man, am?
Dixerunt illi τὰ externorum, quia alii alia putabant. Ait illis: Sed vos quid dicitis de me. Primus incessit Petrus et dicit: Tu es Christus Jesus Filius Dei . . .	He said unto them, But ye, who say ye that I am? Simon Cephas answered, and said, Thou art the Messiah, the Son of the living God.
Invidebant novae vitae manifestationem, appellantes eum Eliam aut Eremiam aut alium quemdam antiquorum prophetarum.	Matthew. They said unto him, Some say John the Baptist; and some Elijah; but others Jeremiah or one of the Prophets.

One notices in the above the common addition of *dum incedebant*. It can hardly be accidental, for it is the same addition in the same context, and should therefore go back to T, which source alone could be common to both texts.

Secondly, in Mt. xvi 14 and the parallel texts Ἰωάννην τὸν Βαπτιστήν is omitted. Zahn notes that in E 153, 156 'an beiden Stellen fehlt Joannes Baptista', but only he adds 'durch willkürliche Abkürzung'. Yet it looks as if the omission was Tatian's.

Thirdly, Peter leapt forward or went first in answering the Lord's query. E calls him head and chief of the Apostles on this occasion, and Zahn divines that there was some epithet of the kind in Tatian's text.

Fourthly, the epithet 'ancient' of the prophets is woven into Matthew's text from Lc. ix 19. Tatian would naturally so weave it in. Points one and two are at least remarkable coincidences, if they are no more.

On p. 278 of Elisaeus's *On the Passion* we read :—

'In eodem tempore, ait, elevatus est Dominus noster super crucem. Sol obtenebratus est, velum templi scissum est usque deorsum. Terra mota est, petrae scissae sunt, monumenta aperta sunt et multi mortuorum surrexerunt et post resurrectionem Domini ingressi sunt in civitatem sanctam et apparuerunt multis.'

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This is Mt. xxvii 51–53, but Matthew lacks the introductory phrase, nor does he or any source place here the darkening of the sun. It comes before His death in *v.* 45, 'as a darkness all over the earth'. The phrase ἐσκοτίσθη ὁ ἥλιος is taken from Lc. xxiii 45, where it explains the general darkness, and in him also it precedes the death. The other portents here enumerated from Matthew follow the death and do not precede it.

Now in the *Teaching of Addai*, which is admittedly written from a Diatessaron, we read in the old Armenian version (I cite the Venice rendering of the text, A. D. 1868, p. 43) in Abgar's letter to Tiberius 'et, au moment où ils l'attachèrent à la croix, le soleil s'obscurcit, la terre s'ébranla et toutes les créatures s'agitèrent avec de violentes secousses'.

But the oldest text is that which the old gossip, Moses of Khoren, repeats in the same letter (in ii 153 of the critical edition of his history, Tiflis, 1913) thus: 'For also *in the time* in which they *crucified* him, *the sun was darkened, and the earth moved* did quake, *and* he himself *after* three days *arose* from *the dead and appeared to many*'.

I italicize the words which the text of Moses has in common with Elisaeus. I cannot believe but that here in Elisaeus and the Doctrine of Addai we have two variants of a common Tatianic text. Another variant of it is read, p. 27, of the *Doctrine*, thus:—

'Pendant qu'il était crucifié il fit obscurcir le soleil dans le firmament; et lorsqu'il fut enterré, il se leva du sépulcre le troisième jour en ressuscitant avec lui plusieurs morts.'

It is doubtful whether there is a literary connexion between these passages and one which comes in the Dutch Mediaeval Diatessaron edited by Dr J. Bergsma, p. 259:—

'Alse Jhesus aldus ane den cruce ghehangen was, omtrent den middaghe, so verghinc de sonne ende al de werelt was in demsternessen toter noenen,' etc.

For here the other portents are not mentioned, and only come later on in the usual context. What Elisaeus and Addai have in common is, (1) the introductory formula; (2) the darkened sun; (3) the earthquake; (4) the Resurrection; (5) the verbal identity, slight it is true, but enough to establish literary connexion. They both seem to cite a common document, and Elisaeus expressly introduces it as from a written text when he says *ait asé*. Could the document not be an Armenian version of T? And yet I do not feel quite sure.[1]

To sum up. The Gospel texts in the Armenian version of Ephrem's commentary, E, wherever we can test and probe them, turn out to be

[1 Moses of Khoren certainly uses the Doctrine of Addai elsewhere, and is probably using it here. Elisaeus may have known it also. The Syriac does not imply more than 'at the time of the Crucifixion' (see Phillips, p. 37). F.C.B.]

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citations of a document we have called Arm. 1, which the translator had in common with the translators of Aphrahat, of Cyril's *Catecheses*, of Eusebius, of Marutha, and with Agathangelus, Eznik, Lazar of Pharp, with the translators of early documents in the *Letterbook of the Patriarchs*, and with other authors. We have thus a sort of screen between our eyes and Ephrem's text, and neither his translator nor Aphrahat's renders Gospel citations *hac vice* and *de suo*. Both, whenever they recognize a text, quote it from some lost version of the Gospel which they reverenced much and had at their finger tips.

This is all we can say for certain. At the same time it must be acknowledged that this early version contained several texts which *a priori* we should look for in a diatessaron. Citations of the Diatessaron also seem to come in Elisaeus, but some of them are most probably copied from E. Lastly, this well-established, but lost, version must have been the Syriac base of the Armenian Vulgate discerned by Dr Armitage Robinson; and almost certainly a mass of it survives in that Vulgate, the revisers having retained all they could of a version so familiar to the faithful.

In conclusion, I venture to hope that the Armenian scholars of Venice, Vienna, Jerusalem, Édschmiatsin, Paris, and other centres, where there are collections of Armenian codices, will examine them for fresh examples of the lost Syriac base of the Armenian Vulgate. Perhaps it is lurking entire in some of these libraries in the guise of an old lectionary. Some folios of it might also be recovered among the countless Gospel fragments bound up in manuscripts of all kinds. In Valarshapat alone I once counted nearly five thousand such folios all used as fly-sheets. It would be strange if a Gospel document held in such respect, and so widely diffused as late, perhaps, as 750, should have wholly perished; and a few lines of it would at once reveal whether it was a diatessaron or only an archaic form of the Separated Gospels.

F. C. CONYBEARE.

[A pathetic interest attaches to this important article, for Dr Conybeare may be said to have died in the very act of writing it. For many months he had been occupied with the pre-Vulgate quotations of the Armenian Fathers, of whose works he had so singular a knowledge, and I had had some correspondence with him on matters of detail connected with his discoveries. His MS in its revised form had at last been sent off; but we were still corresponding, when I received a telegram announcing his sudden death, in the very plenitude of his intellectual powers. An unfinished letter to me connected with the subject was actually found on his desk.

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Dr Conybeare in his last letter to me had thought of sending back for his MS, in order still further to illustrate and perhaps in detail to modify it, but it has been agreed, with Mrs Conybeare's consent, to print it practically as it stood. We can now never have his completed work, but he has clearly stated the problem and done a very great deal towards indicating the solution. Is it too much to hope that some younger scholar will now prepare himself to step into the gap by becoming acquainted with the early Armenian authors, whose works alone supply us with the material for writing this unknown chapter in the history of the text of the New Testament?

However learned such a successor may become, he will never have a more passionate love of truth or a kinder heart than F. C. Conybeare.

F.C.B.]

THE PASSION OF ST CATHARINE AND THE ROMANCE OF BARLAAM AND JOASAPH.

THE legend of St Catharine of Alexandria, with her wheel—more properly her wheels—and her dove, has enjoyed a wide popularity alike in the East and in the West. In the East her name is Ecaterine (Αἰκατερίνα), a form of which no satisfactory explanation has been offered. The Latin texts of her passion have not yet been critically examined; but they are only secondary and are not likely to throw much light on the developement of the story. It is otherwise with the Greek texts. Three of these were published by the Abbé Viteau in 1897, drawn from manuscripts at Paris, Rome, and elsewhere. A fourth text, the most highly developed of all, we already had in the great tenth-century collection which passes under the name of Symeon Metaphrastes (Migne *P. G.* 116, col. 275 ff). The first of M. Viteau's texts is a rude composition, written in very faulty Greek: though it tells of the wise speeches by which the saint confounded her adversaries, it makes no attempt to reproduce them. The second text fills this obvious gap by introducing grotesquely fanciful orations, full of quite imaginary Greek words, such as *σφιρμιγγιλιορύθμιστον*. The third, which seems to have no relation to the second, undertakes the same task in a highly intelligent manner, drawing arguments against heathenism from early sources. Finally we have the text contained in the collection of the Metaphrast, which presents us with a literary revision of the third of M. Viteau's texts.

It is evident that we have in this abundance of materials an exceptional opportunity of studying the methods of the Greek hagiographers.

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But Dr Rendel Harris has recently given to this passion a new interest of a more important kind.[1] He has pointed out—as it would seem for the first time—that the text offered us by the Metaphrast, be its date what it may, has been very freely used in the composition of the famous romance of Barlaam and Joasaph. But he has gone further still, and has convinced himself that, just as the author of that romance has embodied a large part of the Apology of Aristides, putting it into the mouth of the rhetorician Nachor, so the passion of St Catharine has preserved to us another early Apology, albeit in a more fragmentary condition, in the speeches in which this learned and philosophic martyr makes her defence of Christianity: he thinks it even possible that the same hand, that of St John of Damascus, may be responsible for so similar a proceeding in the two instances. This is indeed a daring hypothesis; but, whether we accept it or not, we must be grateful to its originator for the mass of materials which he has collected in support of it.

We may begin our examination of the questions thus raised with the speech which, in the Metaphrast's form of the passion, is addressed by St Catharine to the emperor Maxentius on the occasion of the great sacrifice which he had ordered. 'You ought to have known of yourself', she says, 'that it is to the images of perishable men that you are offering sacrifices, as if they were really gods. But since the demon has blinded you, so that you cannot see this plain truth, you should listen to your wise Diodorus and learn what your gods are, and not go on in this absurd and improper way, nor treat as gods the images of men who have come to a wretched death.'

Φησὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνος ἀνθρώπους τε τοὺς θεοὺς εἶναι λέγων καὶ δι' εὐεργεσίας τινὰς ἀθανάτους ὀνομασθῆναι. ἱστορεῖ δὲ καὶ ἰδίας αὐτοὺς ὀνομάτων ἐσχηκέναι προσηγορίας, καί τινων ἄρξαι χωρῶν τε καὶ πόλεων. ἀγνοίᾳ δὲ πλανηθέντας φησὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους θεούς τε αὐτοὺς καλέσαι καὶ ἀθανασίας περιβαλεῖν ἀξιώματι.

The passage referred to is Diodorus Siculus *Bibliotheca Historica* i 13. It is important to note its context. In treating of the nature of the gods, Diodorus has begun with Egypt, of which he has given a somewhat full description. He deals first with elemental deities, sun, moon, and so forth; ending this section with the words (i 12) *Περὶ μὲν οὖν τῶν ἐν οὐρανῷ καὶ θεῶν καὶ γένεσιν ἀΐδιον ἐσχηκότων τοσαῦτα λέγουσιν Αἰγύπτιοι.* Then comes the passage which concerns us:—

13. *Ἄλλους δ' ἐκ τούτων ἐπιγείους γενέσθαι φασίν, ὑπάρξαντας μὲν θνητούς, διὰ δὲ σύνεσιν καὶ κοινὴν ἀνθρώπων εὐεργεσίαν τετυχηκότας τῆς ἀθανασίας. ὧν ἐνίους καὶ βασιλεῖς γεγονέναι κατὰ τὴν Αἴγυπτον. μεθερμηνευο-*

[1] *A New Christian Apology:* Manchester University Press, 1923.

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μένων δ' αὐτῶν, τινὰς μὲν ὁμωνύμους ὑπάρχειν τοῖς οὐρανίοις, τινὰς δ' ἰδίαν ἐσχηκέναι προσηγορίαν, Ἥλιόν τε καὶ Κρόνον καὶ Ῥέαν, ἔτι δὲ Δία τὸν ὑπό τινων Ἄμμωνα προσαγορευόμενον.

This is the passage which, in a form so mutilated as to be almost unintelligible, has been put into the mouth of St Catharine. It will be instructive to trace the stages of this mutilation.

Eusebius, in dealing with the Egyptian deities in his *Praeparatio Evangelica* (ii 1), refers to the exhaustive work of Diodorus, and says that it will be best to give his own words. Accordingly, after citing a couple of sentences on the life-giving properties of the Nile, which caused Egypt to be the first home of the human race, he proceeds to quote from § 13 as follows:—

Τοὺς δὲ θεοὺς ἀνθρώπους μὲν ὑπάρξαι θνητούς, διὰ δὲ σύνεσιν καὶ κοινὴν ἀνθρώπων εὐεργεσίαν τυχεῖν τῆς ἀθανασίας· ὧν ἐνίους καὶ βασιλεῖς γενέσθαι. μεθερμηνευομένων δὲ αὐτῶν τινὰς μὲν ὁμωνύμους ὑπάρχειν τοῖς οὐρανίοις, τινὰς δὲ ἰδίαν ἐσχηκέναι προσηγορίαν, Ἥλιόν τε καὶ Κρόνον (κτλ.).

In thus abbreviating his author, Eusebius has unwittingly misrepresented him. According to Diodorus it was the belief of the Egyptians that the heavenly and immortal gods had descendants on earth—that is the force of ἐκ τούτων—who were mortal to begin with, but for their wisdom and good services achieved immortality. But Eusebius, by omitting the reference to these heavenly and immortal gods, has made Diodorus say that the Egyptians held that the gods were mortal men to begin with, who for their wisdom and services achieved immortality. In the remainder of the passage he has only omitted the express mention of Egypt.

It is clearly from this abbreviated statement in Eusebius that St Catharine's quotation as given above is ultimately drawn. She herself departs yet further from the original, and makes Diodorus—not the Egyptians—declare that the gods are mortal men and for certain services have been styled immortal. Then by the omission of a clause the sentence which follows is rendered meaningless: 'and he relates that they have obtained appellations (ὀνομάτων προσηγορίας) of their own, and ruled over certain regions and cities'. Further she makes Diodorus say that 'men, being led astray by ignorance, called them gods and invested them with the honour of immortality'.

We shall presently see that there is more than one intermediate stage between the unconscious misrepresentation of Diodorus by Eusebius and this almost unintelligible caricature of his words. But at this point we will pause for a moment to read a brief passage from *Barlaam and Joasaph* (Boissonade, p. 297; Migne *P. G.* 116, col. 1168):—

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Ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν ποιητῶν ὅσοι μικρόν τι δεδύνηνται τῆς πολλῆς ἀνανεῦσαι μανίας εἶπον τὸ ἀληθέστερον, ὅτι οἱ λεγόμενοι θεοὶ ἄνθρωποι ἦσαν, καὶ διὰ τὸ τινὰς μὲν αὐτῶν ἄρξαι χωρῶν τε καὶ πόλεων, τινὰς δὲ ἄλλο τι οὐδαμινὸν κατὰ τὸν βίον ποιῆσαι, πλανηθέντας τοὺς ἀνθρώπους θεοὺς αὐτοὺς καλέσαι.

These are words which the author of the romance has put into the mouth of Joasaph, when he is arguing against the magician Theudas. Though nothing is said about Diodorus, and no actual words of his are quoted, we cannot escape the conviction that the writer is here drawing upon the speech of St Catharine. The underlined words are sufficient to prove this: he has even taken over the construction of the accusative with the infinitive regardless of syntax. The word οὐδαμινόν, which comes in a clause where he is paraphrasing the language of his source, is one which he has already used more than once in the earlier part of his story (p. 255, col. 1124; p. 277, col. 1148).

We must now return to the Diodorus passage and note another stage in its mutilation before it reached St Catharine. The literary career of John Malālas stretches well into the sixth century: his great chronological compilation comes down certainly to 565, and not improbably to 573 (Krumbacher *Byz. Lit.*, ed. 2, p. 331). His text is preserved in a single manuscript and is notoriously corrupt: his sources have been the subject of much controversy. On p. 54 (ed. Dindorf), after giving an account of Serug, of which we shall have to speak later, he writes as follows:—

Περὶ ὧν ἐν ταῖς συγγραφαῖς αὐτοῦ λέγει καὶ ὁ Διόδωρος ὁ σοφώτατος ταῦτα· ὅτι ἄνθρωποι γεγόνασιν οἱ θεοί, οὕστινας οἱ ἄνθρωποι ὡς νομίζοντες δι' εὐεργεσίαν ἀθανάτους προσηγόρευον· τινὰς δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ ὀνομάτων προσηγορίας ἐσχηκέναι καὶ κρατήσαντας χώρας. τοῦτο δὲ ἐποίουν οἱ ἄνθρωποι ἀγνοίᾳ πλησθέντες.

Dom H. Bourier, one of the latest students of the sources of Malālas, suspects that this has come from the chronographer Timotheus, whom he places in the sixth century a little earlier than Malālas himself. Whatever the source may have been, it is clear that it had the same misrepresentation of Diodorus which we found in Eusebius. It is also clear that we are here pointed to an intermediate stage between Eusebius and St Catharine: this is shewn by the omission both in *Mal.* and in *Cath.* of the statement that 'some had the same names as the heavenly deities', which renders the next clause unintelligible, and also by the pleonastic expansion ὀνομάτων προσηγορίας.

If now we turn to the third of M. Viteau's texts of the passion, we shall find that it is much closer than the Metaphrast's text to the language of Malālas: it is not indeed taken from Malālas's very corrupt

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text as it has come down to us, but either from a purer form of his text or from the source which he was here using. It is worth while to set out together the two texts, which we may call *Cath. V* and *Cath. M.*

Cath. V (p. 45).	*Cath. M* (c. 4).
Ὅστις οὕτως ἐν ταῖς ἑαυτοῦ συγγραφαῖς λέγει περὶ αὐτῶν ὅτι ἄνθρωποι γεγόνασιν οἱ θεοί, καὶ δι' εὐεργεσίας τινὰς ἀθανάτους αὐτοὺς οἱ ἄνθρωποι προσηγόρευσαν.	Φησὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνος ἀνθρώπους τε τοὺς θεοὺς εἶναι λέγων καὶ δι' εὐεργεσίας τινὰς ἀθανάτους ὀνομασθῆναι.
ἱστορεῖ καὶ ἰδίας ἐσχηκέναι ὀνομάτων προσηγορίας αὐτούς, ἄρξαντας καὶ χωρῶν τινῶν.	ἱστορεῖ δὲ καὶ ἰδίας αὐτοὺς ὀνομάτων ἐσχηκέναι προσηγορίας, καί τινων ἄρξαι χωρῶν τε καὶ πόλεων.
τοῦτο δὲ πεποιήκασιν ἀγνοίᾳ πλανηθέντες, φησίν.	ἀγνοίᾳ δὲ πλανηθέντας φησὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους θεούς τε αὐτοὺς καλέσαι καὶ ἀθανασίας περιβαλεῖν ἀξιώματι.

The portions underlined are correspondences with *Mal.* which have been lost in *Cath. M.* The dotted lines, on the other hand, indicate correspondences of *B. and J.* with *Cath. M* as against *Cath. V.*

The parallel between the language of *B. and J.* and that of *Cath. M* in the Diodorus passage is so slight that it would have been hazardous to base any conclusion upon it as to the literary relation between the two documents, if it were not the fact that the passage about Serug which immediately follows has been borrowed with hardly any change at all by the author of the romance. As Dr Rendel Harris has printed both texts in full at this point, underlining the words they have in common, it is needless to repeat the process here. But it will be a useful complement to what he has given us, if we compare M. Viteau's third text with the somewhat longer passage of Malālas which, as we said above, immediately precedes the Diodorus passage.

Mal. (ii 53).	*Cath. V* (p. 45).
Ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἀνωτέρω προγεγραμμένοις ἐκ τῆς φυλῆς τοῦ Ἰαφὲθ [*l.* Σὴθ] ἐγεννήθη ὁ Σερούχ, ὅστις ἐνήξατο πρῶτος τοῦ Ἑλληνισμοῦ δόγματος διὰ τῆς εἰδωλολατρίας, καθὼς Εὐσέβιος ὁ Παμφίλου συνεγράψατο,	Οὕτω γὰρ καί τις ἄλλος τούτων σοφῶν ἱστόρων ἔφησεν ὡς ὁ Σερούχ ἐκεῖνος πρῶτος ἐξεύρηται τὰ τοῦ Ἑλληνισμοῦ συνιστῶν
διὰ τὸ τοὺς πάλαι γενομένους πολεμιστάς, ἡγεμόνας, ἢ πράξαντάς τι ἀνδρεῖον ἢ ἀρετῆς ἐν τῷ βίῳ τοῦ μνημονεύεσθαι εἶναι ἄξιον,	διὰ τὸ τοὺς πάλαι γενομένους ἢ πολεμιστὰς ἤ τι πράξαντας ἀνδρείας ἢ ἀρετῆς ἐν τῷ βίῳ, ὡς μνημονεύεσθαι ἄξιον,

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Mal. (ii 53).	*Cath. V* (p. 45).
μάλιστα τοὺς ποιήσαντας διὰ δυνάμεώς τινος μυστήρια, ὡς ὄντας αὐτῶν προπάτορας ἀνδριᾶσι στηλῶν ἐτίμησαν,	ἀνδριᾶσι τιμῆσαι στηλῶν·
καὶ πάντας ὡς εὐεργέτας εἰς θεὸν προσεκυνοῦν, καὶ ἐθυσίαζον αὐτοὺς τιμῶντες, ὅτι ἀγαθὸν εὑρηκότας, ἢ διὰ τέχνης ἢ διὰ κτίσματος ἢ διὰ σοφίας ἢ δι' ἄλλης οἱασδήποτε ἀρετῆς ἐλθόντας, οὕστινας ἀπεθέωσαν, καθὼς Ῥηγῖνος ὁ σοφώτατος συνεγράψατο τῶν ἀποθεωθέντων ὀνόματα.	
οἱ δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα ἄνθρωποι, ἀγνοοῦντες τὴν τῶν προγόνων γνώμην, ὅτι ὡς προπάτορας καὶ ἀγαθῶν ἐπινοητὰς ἐτίμησαν μνήμης καὶ μόνης χάριν, ὡς θεοὺς ἐπουρανίους ἐτίμων καὶ ἐθυσίαζον αὐτοῖς, οὐχ ὡς γενομένους ἀνθρώπους θνητοὺς καὶ ὁμοιοπαθεῖς.	οὓς οἱ μετὰ ταῦτα ἄνθρωποι, τὴν τῶν προγόνων ἀγνοοῦντες γνώμην, ὅτι μνήμης καὶ μόνον χάριν ὡς προπάτορας καὶ ἀγαθῶν ἐπινοητὰς ἐτίμησαν, ὡς θεοῖς ἐπουρανίοις ἐθυσίαζον, καὶ οὐχ ὡς γενομένοις ἀνθρώποις θνητοῖς καὶ ὁμοιοπαθέσιν αὐτοῖς.
Περὶ ὧν ἐν ταῖς συγγραφαῖς αὐτοῦ λέγει καὶ ὁ Διόδωρος . . .	Οἷς καὶ ὁ Χειρονήσιος Πλούταρχος . . .

It will suffice to note a single passage to illustrate the way in which the language of *Cath. V* has been modified in *Cath. M*, and these modifications have been carried over into *B. and J.*

Cath. M. ἢ ἀνδρίας ἢ φιλίας, εἴτε τινὸς ἄλλης ἀρετῆς ἔργον μνήμης ἄξιον καὶ σπουδῆς ἐπιδειξαμένους ἀνδριᾶσι λέγεται καὶ στηλαῖς τιμῆσαι.

B. and J. ἢ ἀνδρείας ἢ φιλίας ἤ τινος ἄλλης ἀνδραγαθίας ἔργον μνήμης ἄξιον ἐπιδειξαμένους ἀνδριᾶσι λέγεται καὶ στηλαῖς τιμῆσαι.

The source of Malālas is here again a matter of controversy. It is certainly not Eusebius; but, as in the other places where he cites Eusebius as his authority, he may have been using some enlarged form of the *Chronicle* which is not now extant.

The sources of the first fourteen books of Malālas are discussed in two Programmes by Dom Hermann Bourier (Augsburg, 1899, 1900). He thinks that Malālas wrote practically nothing of his own, but merely compiled out of a very few sources, nearly all the authorities whom he names being cited at second-hand. Edwin Petzig reviews Bourier in *Byz. Zeitschr.* x (1901), pp. 255 ff, 598 ff. He rejects his main theory as to paucity of sources.

The Serug passage as given by Malālas is parallel to but by no means the same as that found in Leo Grammaticus 18 f. Gelzer (*Sext. Jul. Africanus und die Byz. Chronographie* i 85) thinks that the latter

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must have come from a Chronicle based on Eusebius and just earlier than the time of Epiphanius, i.e. before 375. Bourier holds that Timotheus is here again the source of Malālas.[1]

The earliest Greek authority for the Serug tradition seems to be not Eusebius, as Malālas would have it; nor Eustathius of Antioch (†360), for the *Comm. in Hexameron* is spurious; but perhaps Epiphanius (†403), who says in the preface to his *Adv. Haereses* (Migne *P. G.* 14, col. 138): καὶ ἤρξατο εἰς ἀνθρώπους ἡ εἰδωλολατρεία τε καὶ ὁ Ἑλληνισμός, ὡς ἡ ἐλθοῦσα εἰς ἡμᾶς γνῶσις περιέχει (Petau's note here is misleading). Professor Burkitt tells me that in *Jubilees* (='Leptogenesis') xi 6f it is stated that idolatry began in the days of Serug, and also that Serug himself was an idolater: but this part of *Jubilees* is only extant in Ethiopic.

The mistake of 'Japhet' for 'Shem' appears first in Malālas[2]: it may have come to him from his unknown authority; for he himself has Serug's descent right at an earlier point (p. 16), where he is following the LXX account as given in Euseb. *Chron.*

We may now bring together the principal points of our enquiry.

(1) Whatever may be the element of historical fact in the legend of St Catharine we cannot at present trace her story back beyond the ignorant and ill-written passion which M. Viteau has printed from *cod. Palatin.* 4 in the Vatican Library, a manuscript ascribed to 'saec. x–xi'. The passion is here entitled Μαρτύριον τῆς ἁγίας Αἰκατερίνας τῆς ἐκβιργιλίου καὶ ῥήτορος (*poetae et oratricis*, as M. Viteau renders it). Though her knowledge of rhetoric, philosophy, and poetry is highly extolled, no evidence of it is given in the meagre speeches put into her mouth.

(2) This obvious defect was supplied in two later recensions. One of these has been found by M. Viteau in six MSS, the earliest being assigned to the tenth century. The speeches here inserted are bombastic and grotesque. This recension may be neglected.

(3) Of the other recension yet more MSS are to be found, but again none seems to be earlier than the tenth century. Here we have the work of a writer of some learning, who presents the saint with two quite reasonable discourses. In the first of these arguments are introduced from Diodorus Siculus and some other historian, and from Plutarch: while in the second, replying to a rhetorician who has quoted from Homer and Orpheus, the saint quotes not only from these poets, but also from Sophocles and Plato, and from Apollo himself, 'bard and god'.

[1] It is to be noted that the Orphic verses quoted by St Catharine are also in Malālas, and are there said to be derived from the chronographer Timotheus.

[2] It is found also in Suidas (end of the tenth century).

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(4) Finally we have a literary revision of this clever piece of work in the text preserved to us by the Metaphrast.

(5) This latest text of the passion has been very freely used by the writer of the romance of Barlaam and Joasaph, who has not only adopted considerable portions of St Catharine's speeches, but has again and again taken over details of the narrative in framing his own story.

(6) Of the passages cited by the writer of the third recension not less than five have been drawn either from the great chronological compilation of John Malālas, or from some similar compilation (possibly that of Timotheus) which lay behind his work. The two attributed to Plato and Apollo are found in the Oxford collection of χρησμοὶ καὶ θεολογίαι printed by Bentley in his notes on Malālas.[1]

Some literary questions of considerable importance are raised by the facts thus newly brought to light. The romance of Barlaam and Joasaph has commonly been attributed to St John of Damascus (†*c.* 757). But Krumbacher (*Byz. Litteraturgesch.* ed. 2 [1897], p. 888) has declared that it can no longer be assigned to his authorship. He places it a full century earlier, and regards it as the work of a Greek monk, writing in Palestine, probably at the monastery of St Sabas, in the first half of the seventh century. Will it be possible to maintain this position now that it has been shewn that the author has made copious use of the final recension of the passion of St Catharine which is preserved to us in the collection of the Metaphrast, and that the previous recension of that passion, which introduced the citations from Diodorus and others, was indebted to John Malālas or one of his predecessors who wrote probably not earlier than the sixth century? This is a question for our modern students of Byzantine literature. The answer can only come from those who can speak with authority on the materials and methods of the Metaphrast.

The hypothesis which Dr Rendel Harris has so attractively put before us—that the speeches assigned to St Catharine contain the *disiecta membra* of a lost Apology of the second century—may not survive discussion. But we cannot close this investigation without once again recognizing the service he has rendered and the stimulus he has given by his discovery of another of the various sources used by the author of the famous Christian romance.

[1] Harris *loc. cit.* p. 20 f. The substitution of the name of the Sibyl for that of Plato is one of the changes made by *Cath. M.* Compare the correction of Χειρονήσιος as the description of Plutarch [Χερονήσιος *Mal.*] into Χαιρωνεύς in *Cath. M.*

J. Armitage Robinson.

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THE QUARTODECIMAN QUESTION.

AN immense cloud of dust has been raised over the Paschal Question. Or rather, over the Paschal Questions: for one source of the bewilderment has been the treatment of distinct questions as though they were one and the same. It is perhaps still necessary to repeat that in the ante-Nicene period there were at least three distinct Paschal Questions. Of the four familiar incidents—the conversation between St Polycarp and Anicetus of Rome in the middle of the 2nd cent. (Eus. *H. E.* iv 14 § 1, v 24 § 16 sq.); the discussion at Laodicea in the sixties of the century (*ib.* iv 26 § 3, vi 13 § 9); the serious dispute between the Asian and some neighbouring churches on the one side and the rest of the Church on the other in the last decade of the 2nd cent. (*ib.* v 23–25); and the divergences in usage which the Nicene Council discussed and attempted to reconcile (Eus. *V. C.* iii 14, 18–20; Socr. *H. E.* i 9)[1] —of these incidents, only the first and the third are concerned with the same question, and even that has lately been disputed. This is the 'Quartodeciman Question', the question, that is, as between the Asian observance of the Pascha on the 14th day of the first moon of the year, and the observance of it on the following Sunday, which was the usage of the rest of the Church; and it is this question only with which the present Note is concerned. Of the other two incidents: the Laodicene dispute, for all we know about it, may have meant little more than a difference over a point of exegesis, as to whether the Last Supper was the Passover or not; and anyhow the dispute was an internal one as between the Asian Quartodecimans themselves and did not concern the Church at large; while the difficulty treated of at Nicaea was the local differences in the date at which Easter was kept in any year, resulting from different methods of calculating which was the first month and the Paschal moon.

In treating of the Quartodeciman Question the earlier of modern ecclesiastical historians, the Centuriators and Baronius, content themselves with quoting Eusebius's account without comment. In the 17th cent. Natalis Alexander and Tillemont summarize Eusebius in their own words, Alexander apparently, and Tillemont explicitly, understanding Eusebius's account in what seems to be its most natural sense.[2]

[1] Duchesne 'La question de la Pâque au Concile de Nicée' in *Rev. des questions historiques* xxviii (1880); *Origines du culte chrétien* pp. 226 sqq.

[2] Nat. Alexander *Selecta hist. eccl. capita* saec. ii pars prima, Paris 1667, Diss. v art. ii; Tillemont *Mémoires*, 1699, Saint Victor art. ii p. 172.

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And Tillemont's interpretation is the more significant because he had before him a different interpretation. For the Jesuit Gabriel Daniel had proposed that the Quartodeciman observance of the '14th day' was a commemoration of the Passion, not of the Resurrection. Tillemont in an appended note considered Daniel's arguments and adhered to his own interpretation.[1] From this time onwards, for two centuries and a quarter, discussion has been reopened from time to time without final result. But it is, I suppose, since F. C. Baur's use of a certain view of the Quartodeciman position as a count against the Joannine authorship of the Fourth Gospel that the question has been discussed most frequently and at length; and a bewildering volume of theories and assumptions has been proposed. The last of these discussions is that of Dr Carl Schmidt in an excursus of 150 pages appended to his edition of the *Epistola Apostolorum* in *Texte und Untersuchungen* xliii (1919) pp. 577–725. In the present Note I am venturing to suggest that the whole matter is not quite so complicated and difficult as from the many discussions of it it may appear to be, and to question some at least of Dr Schmidt's conclusions.

The occasion of Dr Schmidt's excursus is this. On various grounds he assigns the *Epistola* to Asia as its place of origin and to 160–170 as its date. If this is right, the document springs from a Quartodeciman *milieu*, and if it can be shewn to imply the Quartodeciman position, his conclusion as to its date and provenance is confirmed. But in the course of the *Epistola* (pp. 52–55) our Lord, after the Resurrection, is represented as commanding the Apostles after the Ascension to observe a memorial (or a day of memorial) of His Death; and He tells them that at the Passover one of them will be thrown into prison for His Name's sake, and there will grieve that he cannot keep the Passover with the rest; but that He will send His power in the form of an angel, who will open the doors of the prison; and the prisoner will join the other Apostles and keep vigil with them until cockcrow. When the Memorial is finished and the Agape is over, he will be thrown once more into prison until he comes forth again and preaches what the Lord has commanded. Dr Schmidt's excursus aims at shewing that this describes Quartodeciman usage. And his theory is that the writer of the *Epistola* is defending and justifying that usage: in putting the command into our Lord's mouth, he is appealing behind the apostolic tradition, which, since both sides in the Quartodeciman Question laid claim to it each in support of its own usage, left the question insoluble. How far there is

[1] Tillemont *ibid.* Note I sur Saint Victor Pape. Daniel's *Dissertation* (which I have not seen) is referred to by Mosheim and Hefele as in his collected works, *Recueil de divers ouvrages* &c., Paris 1724; but it was written many years before, since Tillemont died in 1698.

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anything peculiarly Quartodeciman in the description of the Paschal usage will perhaps appear lower down. As to the theory, it is ingenious, but surely as precarious as it is ingenious. It is quite possible that the writer had no controversial purpose at all; and if he had, it is surely at least as likely that it related to the dispute at Laodicea, which happened in the very decade to which Dr Schmidt assigns the *Epistola*, and that possibly, however obscurely, he was defending the view that the Last Supper was a Passover.

In considering the Quartodeciman Question, there are three questions which may be asked. I. What was the Pascha? II. In what sense did the Quartodecimans 'observe the 14th day'? III. What did their observance mean? what did it commemorate?

I.

The Paschal observance, in the most general sense, consisted of a Fast followed by a Feast. There were differences, local and perhaps also as between individuals, in the duration of the Fast: some fasted one day, some two, some forty hours, others more days than two.[1] That is to say, in terms of the Catholic[2] observance, apparently, some fasted only on Saturday, the Great Sabbath; some on Friday and Saturday, by the 'superposition' or 'continuation' of the usual Friday station or half-fast on to the Saturday; others from the meal which followed the Friday half-fast till after the Liturgy and Communion on Sunday morning, approximately forty hours; and others again added more or fewer of the 4 weekdays preceeding Friday. In the course of the 3rd and the early 4th centuries the 6 days' fast came to be very generally adopted (ἡ Μεγάλη Ἑβδομάς, *Hebdomada maior*, *Hebd. authentica*), Friday and Saturday being a continuous fast, the other days less rigorously observed.[3] The following Feast was of 50 days, the *spatium latissimum*[4] of the Pentecoste, during which no fasts were observed and the faithful did not kneel at prayer: in fact, a period of 50 continuous Sundays.[5]

This then being the nature of the Paschal observance in its broadest sense, the Pascha in its most specific sense is, I conceive, the point of

[1] S. Iren. ap. Eus. *H. E.* v 24.

[2] I use 'Catholic' as contrasted with 'Quartodeciman' only for convenience and not as reflecting on the orthodoxy of the Asians, which no one impugns, and Hippolytus and Epiphanius explicitly vindicate.

[3] S. Dion. Al. *Ep. ad Basilidem*; *Didaskalia* v 14 § 17; S. Ath. *Festal Epp.*; *Ap. Const.* v 13 § 20; S. Epiph. *Expos. fid.* 22.

[4] Tertull. *de Bapt.* 19, where surely *latissimum*, not *laetissimum*, must be right.

[5] S. Iren. ap. [Justin] *Quaestiones* 115; Tertull. *de Bapt.* 19, *de Cor.* 3, *de Idol.* 14, *de Orat.* 18.

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transition between these two periods of fast and feast, viz. the Vigil,[1] which in the Catholic usage occupied the Saturday–Sunday night, observed by the faithful in church, with the *sollemnia Paschae* (Tert. *de Uxore* ii 4), a prolonged *missa catechumenorum* followed by the baptism and confirmation of the competents and closing with the Liturgy and Communion. And it is a valuable point in the *Epistola Apostolorum*, if Dr Schmidt has placed and dated it aright, that it carries back the evidence for the Paschal Vigil some 30 years, the earliest witness for it hitherto having been Tertullian (*ibid.*), and shews that it was in use in Asia. Since in the Catholic rite the Vigil began on the Saturday night, it was natural that the name Pascha should come to be extended to the whole day; and this is the case in Tertullian, for whom Pascha seems to mean Easter Even.[2] Later on it was extended backwards and forwards; backwards to all the ferias of the Great Week (τὸ Πάσχα, ἡ Ἑβδομὰς τοῦ Πάσχα, *Septimana paschalis*), and forwards to the Sunday, Easter day; and this latter came to be the common use of the title. The modern Nestorians apply it in particular to Maundy Thursday. But I can recall no case of its application to Good Friday in particular; and the distinction of πάσχα σταυρώσιμον (Good Friday) and πάσχα ἀναστάσιμον (Easter Day), which is quoted by Suicer (*s.v.* Πάσχα) from Vossius and has frequently been used since, is, for all I have ever seen to the contrary, an invention of Vossius himself.

It is to be noted that, except in point of time—the Saturday–Sunday night of the Catholic observance being that following the 14th day of the moon, the historical date of the Passion—there is in this observance no realism; it is no reproduction of the successive events of the Passion and the Resurrection on the several days of their occurrence. In particular, except in so far as in some churches Friday was fasted, there is no Good Friday, and still less a Maundy Thursday or a Palm Sunday. The commemoration, whatever its content might be, was confined to the rite of the Vigil. Nor, so far as I know, is there any reference to Good Friday until we find it towards the end of the 4th cent. in Jerusalem, the original home and fountain-head of all this type of realism, where so far as possible all the events of the Gospel, from Palm Sunday to Low Sunday, are commemorated, in some degree dramatically, at their proper times and places, and Good Friday is already marked by the Veneration of the Cross, and the 'Three Hours'.[3] But this was, so far, unique, and it was a long time before the system was partially

[1] Διανυκτέρευσις, παννυχίς Eus. *H. E.* ii 17 § 21, vi 9 § 2, 34, *V. C.* iv 57: *Didaskalia* v 19: *pervigilium* Lactant. *Instt.* vii 19.

[2] *de Ieiun.* 13 sq., *de Orat.* 14.

[3] Aetheria *Peregrinatio.* The Friday rite implied in Sozom. *H. E.* vii 19 § 9 is Palestinian.

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accepted all over Christendom. It is significant that it is not till she comes to the Vigil that Aetheria notes anything as already familiar to herself and her sisters, and therefore refrains from describing it, except for one local detail; while hitherto all has been described as if new and unfamiliar. St Leo preaches the Passion only on Sunday and Wednesday, and makes no allusion to Friday; and there are very few patristic sermons belonging to Good Friday.[1] It is difficult, in fact, to say when a rite was attached to Friday; and when it was, in Rome it was probably identical with that of the preceding Wednesday, except in respect of the particular Scriptures used.[2] The developement was of course inevitable; and no doubt the germ of it is to be seen in the local Friday fast of the 2nd cent. and in Tertullian's use of *Parasceve* (*de Ieiun.* 14) as the name of the day; but it was certainly not yet any such day as the later Church became familiar with, nor is it mentioned in relation to the Quartodeciman Question, except incidentally as implied in the local two days' fast. If this is so, writers like Neander, Hefele, Duchesne, and Dr Schmidt are not justified in laying down at the outset that the Church at large, as distinguished from the Quartodecimans, celebrated the Passion on Friday.

II.

The Pascha proper being the celebration of the Vigil, the Paschal Question with which we are concerned may be defined as the question how the date of the Vigil was to be adjusted to the one realistic consideration which conditioned it—viz. the date of the full moon. And we know that the Church in general adjusted it to the Sunday which followed the full moon, keeping the Vigil on Saturday–Sunday night; whereas the Quartodecimans adjusted it to the day of the full moon itself. But how exactly?

The original authorities we possess are two.

1. St Hippolytus, who has a chapter on the Quartodecimans in the *Philosophumena* (viii 18); and here he is followed by Epiphanius. He also treated of them in the *Syntagma*, of which we possess only a single fragment of half a dozen lines in the *Paschal Chronicle* (preface); and again in the *de Pascha* of which only a single fragment (*ibid.*) has survived.

2. Eusebius (*H. E.* v 23–25), who had before him the *dossier* of the controversy, including the decisions of the Councils which considered the question, and the correspondence of St Irenaeus and other bishops

[1] Certainly not S. Chrys. *Hom. in Coemeterio et de Cruce*, in spite of Montfaucon; see § 3. There is one sermon of St Augustine assigned to Good Friday, none of St Leo.

[2] See Duchesne *Origines du culte chrétien*, p. 224.

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on the crisis, some of which he quotes verbatim. Eusebius is followed by Socrates (*H. E.* v 22), who refers to him for details, and apparently also by Theodoret (*Haer. fab.* iii 4), whose few lines tell us nothing that he might not have derived from Eusebius, though he repeats it in a form which is significant for our purpose.

In one respect these two groups of authorities differ from each other. For whereas Eusebius and his followers describe, not only the Quartodeciman idiosyncrasy, but also the contrasted Catholic usage, which helps to define the Quartodeciman (though in the case of Socrates I suspect that the definition is mistaken); Hippolytus, with Epiphanius, describes only the Quartodeciman usage, and that in quite general terms (though here Epiphanius, too, has perhaps misunderstood his authority).

To begin with Eusebius: his summary of the question (*H. E.* v 23) is as follows:—

'When no small question was raised because the dioceses of all Asia, on the alleged ground of an ancient tradition, were of opinion that they ought to observe the 14th day of the moon at the saving feast of the Pascha, on which day the Jews were commanded to sacrifice the sheep, holding that by all means it is on this day that they ought to bring their fastings to an end, on whatever day of the week it might fall; whereas it was not the custom with the churches of all the rest of the world to celebrate the feast after this sort, since they observed the custom which by apostolic tradition had held good hitherto, to the effect that it was not fitting to end the fasts on any other day than that of the Resurrection of our Saviour'—this is the protasis of the portentous sentence; the apodosis proceeds: 'so, synods and meetings of bishops were assembled and all with one consent communicated by letter to the [faithful] everywhere an ecclesiastical decree to the effect that the mystery of the Lord's Resurrection from the dead should never be celebrated on any other day than the Sunday and that it is on this day only that we should observe the ending of the Paschal fasts.'

There are here three main statements, viz. that of the Quartodeciman usage, that of the general usage, and that of the consentient decisions of the councils.

The first and third of these statements consist of two component clauses, one as to the day observed, the other as to the ending of the fast. But the middle statement has only a single clause, relating only to the ending of the fast, while the day observed is left to be understood.

The three main statements are obviously parallel to one another. The first and third are parallel clause by clause; but the parallelism between the first and second and that between the second and third are formally lopsided through the absence of a first clause in the second statement.

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The relation of the statements can be tabulated thus:

Quartodeciman usage.	*General usage.*	*Conciliar decrees.*
1. The 14th day observed.	. . . . .	Sunday to be observed.
2. Fast ended on the 14th.	Fast ended on Sunday.	Fast to be ended on Sunday.

As for the missing clause in the second column, I conceive that it will not be disputed that if Eusebius had inserted it, it would have been to the effect that all the Church, except the churches of Asia and some of their neighbours, 'observed the Sunday'. And it follows that, according to Eusebius, in respect both of the day observed and of the ending of the fast, the Sunday in the one use and the 14th day of the moon in the other are simply parallel the one to the other: what Sunday is to the general observance, the 14th day of the moon is to the Quartodeciman.

But there are three points in Eusebius's statement which at first sight may appear to be ambiguous and have in fact occasioned different interpretations of his meaning.

(*a*) He relates that the Councils decreed that '*the mystery of the Lord's Resurrection* should be celebrated only on Sunday', while of the Quartodecimans he says that 'at *the saving feast of the Pascha* the 14th day of the moon was observed'. Whether this difference of expression implies any difference in the significance of the days—as Dr Schmidt (p. 379) puts it, 'Dort Passah, hier Ostern!'—will perhaps become clearer as we proceed. Meanwhile, to me at least, the run of the sentences suggests that the emphasis is laid on 'the 14th day of the moon' and 'Sunday', while on the rest there is no stress; so that to observe the 'feast of the Pascha' and to 'celebrate the mystery of the Resurrection' are only two ways of saying the same thing, and the variation is only rhetorical. And I do not know that any one has suggested that elsewhere Eusebius even hints that there was any distinction in point of observance or of meaning between the Sunday of the one usage and 'the 14th day' of the other.

(*b*) What is meant by 'the ending of the fasts' on a given day (*τὰς τῶν ἀσιτιῶν ἐπιλύσεις ποιεῖσθαι, τὰς νηστείας ἐπιλύεσθαι, τῶν νηστειῶν φυλάττεσθαι τὰς ἐπιλύσεις*)? Does it mean that the day was partially fasted and the fast was discontinued at some time in the course of the day? or that the day was not fasted at all? By most modern writers it appears to be interpreted, in so far as it refers to the Quartodeciman usage, in the first sense. I cannot supply any pertinent example in Greek[1]: but in English at least if we say that we 'discontinue' or 'give

[1] The *Festal Epistles* of St Athanasius and St Cyril are useless for this purpose because they specify a point in the day at which the fast is to cease (*περιλύειν, καταπαύειν*), viz. late in the evening (*βαθείᾳ ἑσπέρᾳ*).

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up' or 'drop' this or that on a certain day, unless some moment in the day is specified or obviously implied, we mean that we do not do the thing at all on that day, not that we do it for a part of the day and then stop. If I say I give up fires on May 15, I mean that I do not light them at all on that day and onwards, not that I light them on the morning of the 15th and let them go out in the course of the day. So in Latin, St Augustine's 'post quem diem [paschalem] per dies quinquaginta ieiunia relaxamus' (*Serm.* ccx 2) means that we do not fast for any part of any of the days; and still more unambiguously, the 27th canon of the first Council of Orleans, 'Rogationes, id est litanias, ante Ascensionem Domini ab omnibus ecclesiis placuit celebrari, ita ut praemissum triduanum ieiunium in dominicae Ascensionis festivitate solvatur' (Bruns *Canones* ii p. 165), means that we are to fast on the three Rogation Days and are not to fast on Ascension Day. But in fact there is surely no real ambiguity in Eusebius; for he says of the 14th day of the Quartodeciman usage precisely what he says of the Sunday of the general usage; and since in the latter case we know that his words mean that the day was a feast and not a fast, it is impossible to suppose that, in reference to the Quartodecimans, they mean that their day was even a half-fast.

(*c*) Eusebius says that the Church in general, apart from the Quartodecimans, thought it fitting 'to end the fasts' on no other day than 'that of the Resurrection of our Saviour' (*τὴν τῆς Ἀναστάσεως τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν ἡμέραν*), and this phrase has by some writers been taken not to be merely a rhetorical periphrasis, natural in the context, for 'Sunday', but to mean '*Easter* Sunday'. If this were so, it would obviously be implied that the Sunday as the celebration of the Resurrection was common to the two usages, and the difference between them was only that, whereas the Church at large fasted up to the Vigil and then observed the Sunday, the Quartodecimans discontinued their fast on the 14th of the moon, for whatever exact reason, and then, if the 14th did not fall on Saturday or Sunday, either resumed the fast on the 15th and continued it till Saturday,[1] or, without fasting, simply waited for Sunday, to celebrate the Resurrection. But if so, why should Eusebius represent the Councils as ruling that 'the mystery of the Lord's Resurrection should never be celebrated on any other day than Sunday'? If the Quartodecimans were not in fact celebrating the Resurrection on some other day than Sunday, this negatively expressed decision seems to be gratuitous and unintelligible.

I conclude, therefore, that according to the account of Eusebius—and Eusebius had before him at least the principal documents relating to the controversy, and, if he was wrong in his account, we know very

[1] So Mosheim *Commentaries* (Eng. tr. London 1813) ii p. 379.

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little about the matter and it is of little use to discuss it—according to the account of Eusebius, as the churches in general first fasted for a day or more, and then observed the Paschal Vigil on the Saturday–Sunday night following the 14th day of the moon and so began the seven festal weeks of the Pentecoste; so the Asians and their neighbours kept their fast, of whatever length, and then observed the Vigil on the night of the 13th–14th of the moon and began their Pentecoste. In other words, the two usages differed in point of date, as between the 14th of the moon and the following Sunday, but were otherwise identical.

As for Hippolytus: his notice of the Quartodecimans in *Philosophumena* (viii 18), to the effect that they maintain that the Pascha ought to be observed 'on the 14th day of the 1st month, according to the prescription of the Law, on whatever day of the week it falls', is so general that at first sight it would appear to be consistent, not only with Eusebius's account, but with any possible interpretation of the situation. But in the fragment of the *Syntagma* preserved in the *Paschal Chronicle*, Hippolytus cites an opponent, apparently a Quartodeciman who held that the Last Supper was a Passover, as saying, 'At that time Christ kept the Passover on the day on which He suffered: therefore I also must do as the Lord did': and this implies that the speaker reckoned the day as from sunset to sunset, and not as from midnight to midnight, since only so would the Last Supper and the Passion fall on the same day. Thus the 14th day includes the night of the 13th–14th of the moon: and if the '14th day' is used in the same sense in the *Philosophumena*, the account there given agrees simply with that of Eusebius. The fragment of the *de Pascha* has nothing to the present purpose and refers only to Hippolytus's rejection of the view that the Last Supper was the Passover.

But it has been already suggested that Epiphanius who follows Hippolytus, and Socrates who follows Eusebius, have both misunderstood their authorities.

In the 50th article of the *Panarium* 'Against the Quartodecimans' Epiphanius treats, not very lucidly, of two groups of people. The first are apparently the original Quartodecimans; and here he merely reproduces Hippolytus, only adding that the Quartodecimans 'keep one day'. The other group (ἕτεροι δὲ ἐξ αὐτῶν), apparently Epiphanius's contemporaries, were not Quartodecimans of the original type at all, but kept a fixed Pascha on March 25, which according to the *Acts of Pilate* was the date of the Passion, and consequently the day of the solar year on which the 14th of the moon happened to fall in the year of the Passion. But Epiphanius's argument, such as it is, is apparently directed against the two groups in common; and it is quite possible that he confuses them and attributes to the original Quartodecimans

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what was only true, if so it was, of the later group. Consequently when he says of the original Quartodecimans that 'once a year they keep the Passover for one day', viz. the 14th of the moon, and later on in arguing against both groups implies that both of them fasted on the day observed, it is possible that he is attributing to the Quartodecimans of the 2nd cent. what was only true of his contemporary quasi-Quartodecimans. But however this may be, for Epiphanius the association of τὸ Πάσχα is with the Paschal *fast*, the Great Week (*Panar.* lxxv 6, lxx 12), and the argument of his article 'Against the Quartodecimans', so far as it affects the character of the Paschal observance, is wholly concerned with the fast.[1] When therefore he found Hippolytus saying that the Quartodecimans observed the Pascha on the 14th day of the moon it was quite natural that he should suppose that the 14th day was the Quartodeciman fast, and that the Asians 'kept the Pascha for one day' only, i. e. observed only one day of fasting, instead of the 6 days observed in Epiphanius's own time.

In the other group of authorities, led by Eusebius, Socrates (*H. E.* v 22) describes the Quartodecimans as 'observing the 14th and ignoring the *Saturday*', thus understanding Eusebius to mean that the Quartodeciman 14th of the moon corresponded, not to Easter Day, but to Easter Even, the Great Sabbath. That it is possible to understand, or to misunderstand, Eusebius in this sense, seems plain from the fact that most modern writers on the subject seem so to have understood, or misunderstood, him, in so far as they have placed the specific Paschal observance of the Quartodecimans on the night of the 14th–15th of the moon instead of on that of the 13th–14th. But Socrates's interpretation of Eusebius can be explained in the same way as Epiphanius's interpretation of Hippolytus: τὸ Πάσχα immediately suggested to him the Great Sabbath, on the evening of which the great Paschal observance began; and if he nowhere calls the Saturday simply τὸ Πάσχα, yet he says of those who ignored the Nicene synodical letter that 'they observed the Sabbath of the Feast, but differed as touching the month' (v 22), and in describing the practice of Sabbatius the Novatian he says that he 'fasted and then by keeping vigil (νυκτερεύων) celebrated the accustomed day of the Sabbath' (v 2).

But Theodoret, if he is following Eusebius, does not so understand him. He says of the Quartodecimans (*Haer. fab.* iii) that 'they say that the Evangelist John, preaching in Asia, taught them to celebrate the feast of the Pascha on the 14th of the moon; and wrongly understanding the apostolic tradition they do not wait for the day of the Lord's Resurrection, but celebrate the memorial of the Passion some-

[1] Dr Schmidt (p. 635) attributes this, not to a mistake on Epiphanius's part, but to an 'Advokatenkniff'! Surely not a very plausible 'trick'.

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times on Tuesday, sometimes on Thursday, sometimes on Saturday, or however it may fall out'. On the language of this passage something will be said lower down; for the moment it is enough to note that, according to Theodoret, in observing the 14th of the moon the Quartodecimans fail to wait—not for the Saturday—but for the Sunday. The Quartodeciman 14th corresponds to the Catholic Easter Day.

I have not read more than a fraction of the modern discussions of the Paschal Question: but I gather that most writers have reached a conclusion very different from this. In particular, there seems to be a very general agreement that the Quartodecimans fasted on the 14th day of the moon and celebrated their specific Paschal observance, the Eucharist, on the evening of that day. These writers, that is, accept as true of the original Quartodecimans Epiphanius's statement about his second group, that 'they keep the same one day and fast the same one day and celebrate the Mysteries'. Dr Carl Schmidt, with the help of his new *datum*, the *Epistola Apostolorum*, has elaborated this representation in some respects, and has proposed a very clean-cut reconstruction of the Quartodeciman observance.

His reconstruction, as I understand it, is this. The Asian Quartodecimans began their 'day' abruptly on the 14th of the moon, reckoned apparently as from midnight to midnight. They fasted on the day till 3 o'clock in the afternoon, the time of our Lord's Death, or till 6 o'clock, the hour of His Burial. Then perhaps they broke their fast; and later on they assembled for a vigil which lasted till cockcrow the next morning, being concluded by the Eucharist and the Agape; and with this all was ended. There was no Easter.

This representation includes three main points: (1) The Quartodecimans observed only one day without preface or sequel, without, that is, either preliminary fast or subsequent festal season; (2) This day was mainly a fast; (3) It was followed by a Vigil.

1. (*a*) 'Only one day was observed.' In so far as this is concluded from Epiphanius's 'they keep the Pascha for one day', it is surely a mistake, since, as I have already pointed out, Epiphanius is speaking, not of the Quartodeciman observance as a whole, but only of the *fast* of one day as contrasted with the Catholic six days. But Dr Schmidt (p. 582), if I rightly understand him, finds the 'only one day' also in the words of the letter of Polycrates (Eus. *H.E.* v 24 § 2) *ἡμεῖς οὖν ἀραδιούργητον ἄγομεν τὴν ἡμέραν, μήτε προστιθέντες, μήτε ἀφαιρούμενοι*, apparently understanding the last words to mean 'neither adding other days nor curtailing the observance of the day itself'. But may not the words equally well or better be regarded as a stereotyped conventional phrase meaning something like 'without making any change' and so merely explaining *ἀραδιούργητον* and anticipating *μηδὲν*

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παρεκβαίνοντες below (§ 6): 'We keep the day untampered with, as we always have done, neither more nor less'? Dr Schmidt himself (p. 583) disallows an interpretation proposed by Drews on the ground that the words are 'nothing more than a literary phrase'—a ground which seems equally valid against his own interpretation. In the absence of other evidence for the single-day observance, the three words of Polycrates, of doubtful interpretation, are scarcely sufficient to outweigh what Eusebius implies to the contrary. For (*b*) that the Quartodecimans observed a preliminary fast, before the 14th, is, as we have seen, implied in Eusebius's statement that they 'brought their fasts to an end' on that day (pp. 260 sq. above). (*c*) Those who hold that the Asian '14th day' corresponded to the Catholic Good Friday, assumed to be primitive, differ among themselves as to when the Quartodecimans kept their Easter, or else give it up as an insoluble question: e. g. Duchesne says 'Comment, après cela, les Asiates s'arrangeaient-ils pour fêter la Résurrection? Lui consacraient-ils le surlendemain du 14 ou le dimanche suivant? en faisaient-ils même une commémoration spéciale? Nous n'en savons rien' (*Hist. anc. de l'église* i p. 287). Dr Schmidt maintains boldly that they did not keep an Easter at all. But, as we have seen, according to Eusebius the Councils all alike decreed that 'the mystery of the Lord's Resurrection should never be kept on any day but the Sunday'. They countered the Quartodeciman practice, that is, by decreeing, not that Easter should be kept, but that it should not be kept otherwise than on Sunday. The celebration of the Resurrection is taken for granted; the only question is as to the date of it.

2. The view that the 14th day was fasted until the afternoon or the evening results from the combination of the *a priori* assumption that the day, being historically that of the Lord's Passion, could not be a feast (of which something will be said below) and of Epiphanius's assertion that it was a fast (which we have seen reason to believe to be a mistake) with Eusebius's assurance that the Quartodecimans 'brought their fast to an end' on the 14th, understood, mistakenly, to mean that they ended the fast late *in the course* of the 14th day.

3. 'The day was concluded by a vigil.' But this would mean a very curious day, and one quite unexampled, so far as I know. For the Vigil, as we know it, is always the beginning, not the end, of a day or a period; and it may be supposed that the vigil-system is founded on the conception of the day as beginning at sunset, and presupposes it. The ancient great Catholic Vigils, of Epiphany, Easter, Pentecost, however in current language they may be spoken of as occurring on the night of the previous day, belong to, and are the inauguration of, the feasts themselves. When Athanasius's church was attacked by Syrianus and his

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Arians on the February night of 356, he was keeping vigil with his people because there was to be a synaxis on the morrow (*Hist. Ar.* 81; *Apol. ad Const.* 25; *de Fuga* 24). The Μεσονυκτικόν, *Vigiliae nocturnae*, of Divine Service represents the ascetic and monastic daily vigil, and is not the last, but the first of the Canonical Hours, or rather the third, since the day begins with Vespers followed by Compline. But it is unnecessary to labour this point.[1] It seems to me that the very existence of the Vigil shews that the Quartodeciman 'day' cannot have been such as Dr Schmidt describes it to have been.

III

What did the Quartodecimans mean by their observance? What did their 'day' commemorate?

For it is quite commonly contended or assumed by modern writers that the Quartodeciman Pascha meant something different from the Catholic Pascha. It was a mere heritage from Judaism, a continuation of the Passover, without any definite Christian meaning; or it was a commemoration of the Last Supper and the Institution of the Eucharist; and so on[2]: but most generally it is represented, as Mgr Batiffol, e.g., conceives it: 'Pour les Asiates, la fête de Pâques était l'anniversaire de la mort du Christ; pour les autres, l'anniversaire de sa résurrection' (*L'Église naissante* p. 267). Dr Schmidt accepts this view in its most definite and exclusive shape. For him the Quartodeciman 14th day was the commemoration of the Death of the Lord and of Redemption therein completed (described as the Pauline and Johannine doctrine), without regard to the Resurrection.[3]

Apart from any *a priori* assumption which may influence his view, Dr Schmidt rests his conclusion chiefly on two passages from ancient authors, by which he illustrates the language of the *Epistola Apostolorum* in order to shew that it implies the Quartodeciman usage.

The passages in question are these.

1. In a fragment of his *de Pascha* preserved in the preface to the *Paschal Chronicle*, St Peter I of Alexandria reports one Tricentius (who appears to be identical with the Crescentius of Epiph. lxx 9) as saying: 'Whether the Jews, mistaken as they are as to the course of the moon, keep their Passover' in one month or another 'is a matter of indifference to us. For what we are concerned with is nothing else, than to keep the commemoration of His Passion, and at this time, *as they delivered* it *to us who from the beginning were eyewitnesses*, before ever Egyptians

[1] Cp. St Augustine's remarks in one of his Paschal Vigil sermons (*Serm.* ccxxi), which by their very fancifulness shew how clear and fixed was the conception of a vigil as a beginning, not an end.

[2] See Dr Schmidt's summary of various views, pp. 597 sqq. [3] *Ibid.* p. 74.

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became Christians.' For the Jewish error of calculation is no new thing: 'for it is clear that from the first and before the Coming of Christ, they have always done as they do now. And hence it is that God said, charging them by the Prophet, *And I said, They do alway err in their hearts.*' In other words the contention of Tricentius is: 'It does not matter to me and my fellows whether the Jews are right or wrong in their calculation as to which is the true Paschal moon in any year. They are, in fact and of course, wrong: but then, they always were wrong—before the Advent and long before there were any Alexandrine Christians to put them right in their astronomy. But it remains that our Lord suffered at the *Jewish* Passover, at the time at which it *was* kept, not at that at which it *ought to have been* kept. We keep it in relation to its actual historical circumstances, not to its ideal circumstances.' Now Dr Schmidt argues that his allusion to 'Egyptians' shews that Tricentius was not himself an Egyptian, and concludes, not very convincingly, that he was an Asian Quartodeciman. What is plain is that, whether an Egyptian or not, he was one of those who followed the Jewish and Antiochene computation of the date of the Paschal moon, and rejected the Alexandrine. But in the Quartodeciman dispute there was no question of astronomical computations: the question was only between the 14th of the moon, however computed, and the following Sunday. There is therefore no reason whatsoever to suppose that Tricentius was a Quartodeciman: he merely represents the difficulty which was discussed by the Nicene Council. Consequently his words are irrelevant to Dr Schmidt's purpose.

2. The second of the passages on which Dr Schmidt chiefly relies is that already quoted from Theodoret: *Φασὶ τὸν εὐαγγελιστὴν Ἰωάννην ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ κηρύξαντα διδάξαι αὐτοὺς ἐν τῇ ιδ΄ τῆς σελήνης ἐπιτελέσαι τοῦ Πάσχα τὴν ἑορτήν· κακῶς δὲ τὴν ἀποστολικὴν νενοηκότες παράδοσιν τὴν τῆς Κυριακῆς Ἀναστάσεως οὐκ ἀναμένουσιν ἡμέραν ἀλλὰ ποτὲ μὲν τρίτῃ, ποτὲ δὲ πέμπτῃ, ποτὲ δὲ σαββάτῳ ἢ ὅπως ἂν τύχῃ πανηγυρίζουσι τοῦ Πάθους τὴν μνήμην*: where Dr Schmidt understands that the last words indicate that the Quartodeciman Pascha commemorated the Passion as contrasted with the commemoration of the Resurrection in the Catholic observance. But it seems to me that these last words merely repeat in different language the *ἐπιτελέσαι τοῦ Πάσχα τὴν ἑορτήν* a few lines above; and that the rhythm of the concluding sentence does not for a moment suggest that Theodoret is laying any stress on *πανηγυρίζουσι τοῦ Πάθους τὴν μνήμην*, as he would do if he were contrasting the significance of the Quartodeciman celebration with another and a different one.

But that neither the expression of Tricentius (*τὴν ἀνάμνησιν τοῦ Πάθους αὐτοῦ ποιεῖσθαι*) nor that of Theodoret (*πανηγυρίζουσι τοῦ Πάθους τὴν μνήμην*) has any peculiar appropriateness as applied to the Quarto-

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decimans is evident from the fact that it is the customary language of the Church at large; and in fact for the ante-Nicene period I do not recall any instance of any other way of defining the Paschal commemoration.[1] Tertullian *de Baptismo* 19 'diem baptismo sollemniorem Pascha praestat, cum et Passio Domini, in quam tinguimur, adimpleta est': ps.-Cyprian *de Paschae computo* 2 'in commemorationem Passionis Filii Dei Pascha celebramus: Eusebius *H. E.* ii 17, describing the Paschal Vigil, ἃς [ἀσκήσεις] διαφερόντως κατὰ τὴν τοῦ σωτηρίου Πάθους ἑορτὴν ἐν ἀσιτίαις καὶ διανυκτερεύσεσιν προσοχαῖς τε τῶν θείων λόγων ἐκτελεῖν εἰώθαμεν: *Vita Constantini* iii 18 (ep. Constantini) μίαν γὰρ ἑορτὴν τὴν τῆς ἡμετέρας ἐλευθερίας ἡμέραν, τουτέστι τὴν τοῦ ἁγιωτάτου Πάθους, ὁ ἡμέτερος παρέδωκε Σωτήρ: S. Chrysostom *de s. Pentecoste* i 1 τοῦ Πάσχα ἡ ἑορτὴ τί βούλεται; τίς ἡ ὑπόθεσις αὐτῆς; τὸν Θάνατον τοῦ Κυρίου καταγγέλλομεν τότε· καὶ τοῦτό ἐστι τὸ Πάσχα: *de B. Philogonio* 3 εἰ γὰρ μὴ ἐτέχθη κατὰ σάρκα ὁ Χριστὸς οὐκ ἂν ἐβαπτίσθη, ὅπερ ἐστὶ τὰ Θεοφάνια· οὐκ ἂν ἐσταυρώθη, ὅπερ ἐστὶ τὸ Πάσχα· οὐκ ἂν τὸ Πνεῦμα κατέπεμψεν, ὅπερ ἐστὶν ἡ Πεντηκοστή: S. Augustine *Ep.* lv *ad Ianuarium* 1 'quaeris quae causa sit cur anniversarius dies celebrandae Dominicae Passionis non ad eandem redeat anni diem sicut dies qua traditur natus'; and Augustine answers by expounding the significance of the Pascha: Socrates *H. E.* v 22, speculating on the origin of festivals in general and of the Pascha in particular, ὅθεν ἐπειδὴ φιλοῦσι τὰς ἑορτὰς οἱ ἄνθρωποι διὰ τὸ ἀνίεσθαι τῶν πόνων ἐν αὐταῖς, ἕκαστοι κατὰ χώρας ὡς ἐβουλήθησαν τὴν μνήμην τοῦ σωτηριώδους Πάθους ἐξ ἔθους τινὸς ἐπετέλεσαν: and the Preface of the Roman Paschal Vigil mass (*Sacr. Gelas.* I xlv) 'Vere dignum et iustum est . . . te quidem omni tempore sed in hac potissimum nocte gloriosius praedicare quum Pascha nostrum immolatus est Christus'.

The Catholic Pascha then is the commemoration of the Passion. But not only that; it includes also that of the Resurrection; the one commemoration passes over into the other. It is the commemoration neither of the Passion nor of the Resurrection, but of both: of 'Christ Who died, yea rather is risen again', Who 'laid down His life in order that He might take it again', Who 'died for our sins, and was raised for our justification'. In short, it is the commemoration of the Redemption. Consequently it can be spoken of in three several ways. (*a*) As the celebration of the Passion, as we have just seen: and at Antioch in the 4th cent., 'in the public festival when men and women, and just everybody, are present in all their multitude at the Great Evening of the Pascha', the Passion according to St Matthew xxvii 'is read' (S. Chrys. *Hom.* lxxxvii [lxxxviii] *in Matt.* 1). Or (*b*) as the celebration of the Resurrection, 'the Sacred Night in which the yearly festival in commemoration of the Resurrection of Christ is celebrated' (Sozomen

[1] Except in what is implied in 'the celebration of the mystery of the Lord's Resurrection', p. 260 above.

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H.E. viii 21); and in Egypt in the 4th cent. the Gospel of the Resurrection was read; 'for on the evening of that Saturday we hear the angel's message *Why seek ye the Living among the dead? He is risen*' (S. Ath. *Festal Ep.* iii 6). Or again (*c*) as the commemoration of both the Passion and the Resurrection. In the West St Leo begins one of his Vigil sermons: 'The lesson from the Gospel, dearly beloved, has set before us the whole Paschal Mystery . . . since the text of the divinely inspired history has shewn us with what impiety the Lord Jesus Christ was betrayed, with what judgement He was doomed, with what savagery He was crucified, and with what glory He was raised'; and he proceeds to preach on the Passion and the Resurrection (*Serm.* lxx 1). In the East, Theodore of Petra in his *Life of St Theodosius*, in describing a certain incident which happened on Holy Saturday, says: 'it was a feast, and a feast which is the acropolis of all feasts, I mean the Pascha, in which the whole Christian world is used to celebrate the Death by the Cross and the Burial and also the saving Resurrection of the true Resurrection: so, when the Sacred Night was now at the doors, I mean, to use the words of the Gospel, *late on the sabbath as it began to dawn toward the first day of the week*' and so on (*Vita S. Theodosii*, ed. Usener, p. 24). And between East and West, Maximinus the Goth in his sermon *In Pentecoste* (*J. T. S.* xvi p. 174) has 'tertiaque [sc. after Christmas and Pentecost] et magna celebratur solemnitas Passionis et Resurrectionis eiusdem Domini Salvatoris: hoc sanctum Pascha nominatur'. See also St Augustine's exposition alluded to above (*Ep.* lv *ad Ianuar.* 1).

All this of course is of later date than the Quartodeciman controversy. But it is all we have to go upon. Nor is there any reason to suppose that any change had come about in the conception of the Paschal celebration; or rather, in so far as any change had happened, it was in a direction away from what is implied in these passages. The growth of realism represented by the developement of Good Friday and Maundy Thursday tended to eliminate the Passion from the commemorations of the Paschal Vigil, so that already in the earliest extant Latin ritual books it has but little place, if any at all; and it is the same with the printed Greek books.

And it is the same growth of realism, I suppose, which makes it difficult for the modern to adjust his mind to the thought of the historical day of the Passion being kept as a festival, as I conceive it was by the Asian Quartodecimans. But—'Christ our Passover was sacrificed for us: therefore let us keep festival.' And this was the ancient feeling about the celebration of the Passion, even during the fast. 'Let us therefore keep festival, my brethren, keeping it not at all as an occasion of distress and mourning . . . For we do not

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bring in days of mourning and sorrow, as some consider these of the Pascha to be, but we keep festival, being filled with joy and gladness' (S. Ath. *Festal Ep.* xi 13: cp. xiii 7, xx 1, S. Chrys. *adv. Iud.* iii 4, *de Cruce et Latrone* i 1, ii 1). For St Leo the Holy Week is the *festivitas dominicae passionis* (*Serm.* lx 1); and he says 'But now that by the acceptance of weakness His power has been glorified, the Paschal solemnity must not be darkened by any grief on the part of the faithful, nor must the order of events be recalled with sorrow, since the Lord has so used the malice of the Jews that by their criminal purpose has been fulfilled the will of the Pitier. And if, *when Israel came out of Egypt*, the blood of the lamb was the restoration of liberty, and a most sacred festivity was held, which by the offering of a beast turned away the wrath of the destroyer: how great joys ought to be felt by the Christian peoples for whom the Father Almighty *spared not His only-begotten Son*' (*Serm.* lviii 2).

I have tried, however lamely, to put the case for the older interpretation—at any rate Tillemont's—of the Quartodeciman position. The three points in which Dr Schmidt regards the *Epistola Apostolorum* as supporting his thesis are, I suppose, (1) that the Vigil is on the night of the Jewish Passover (14th–15th of the moon): (2) that it is described as a commemoration of the Lord's Death: (3) that the Apostle's return to prison after the Vigil suggests that all was over. The second point has been, I think, sufficiently disposed of above; the third is scarcely serious. The question that remains, therefore, is whether the apparent dating of the Vigil on the night of the 14th–15th in such a document as the *Epistola*—even if we assume that the writer had any polemical purpose, and was thinking of the Jewish Passover and not really all the while of the Christian Pascha—is sufficient to outweigh all that can be said for the night of the 13th–14th as that of the Quartodeciman Vigil.

F. E. BRIGHTMAN.

THE CODEX BEZAE AND LYONS.

THE origin of the Codex Bezae remains one of the outstanding problems of biblical criticism. We are little nearer a definite solution to-day than we were ten years ago, when the present writer ventured—perhaps a little more boldly than he would to-day—the theory 'that the Codex Bezae was a provincial product, that it originated in a non-Italian centre, that Greek tradition prevailed in that centre, that from the time of its execution to about A. D. 800 the Codex was preserved in a centre (or centres) where Greek was the literary and ecclesiastical language; and that from about 800 onwards it existed in some western

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or Latin-writing centre', &c.[1] While much of this must remain mere theory, and some of it seems as reasonable to-day as it did when it was written, it must be confessed that the objections raised by Mgr Mercati against the theory that the MS originated in a Greek-writing centre are so weighty and convincing as to render that hypothesis untenable. For it is perfectly true, as Mgr Mercati points out,[2] that the ornamentation of the Codex Bezae, the wording of the colophons, the manner of abbreviating the running titles, and the position of the quire-marks, are in keeping with Latin and not with Greek scribal tradition. But to infer from this that the Codex Bezae was written in a Latin centre, say in South Italy, would be to ignore all the non-Latin features of the manuscript. Perhaps the truth lies elsewhere.

But the present note is concerned not with the origin but with the provenance of the manuscript.

In his letter of presentation to the University of Cambridge, dated December 6, 1581, Theodore Beza states that the manuscript came from the monastery of St Irenaeus at Lyons. From his note prefixed to the manuscript we learn that it had been found there in 1562.[3] As there is no reason whatever for doubting this statement, it may be taken to represent a fact. If so, the first fact we have to deal with takes us to Lyons. There are some other crumbs of circumstantial evidence which go to confirm the Lyonese provenance of the manuscript. This evidence has been dealt with in lucid and, to me, convincing fashion, by the learned Benedictine scholar, Henri Quentin, in an article entitled, 'Le codex Bezae à Lyon au IXe siècle.—Les citations du Nouveau Testament dans le Martyrologe d'Adon'.[4] In an appendix to this article, Dom Quentin shews that Mariano Vittori[5] in the notes to his edition of *St Jerome*, cites certain interesting biblical readings from a Greek manuscript, variously designated thus:[6]

1. antiquissimus quidam graecus codex, quem Tridentum attulit Claremontanensis episcopus anno domini 1546: this is apropos of the reading in Jn. xxi 22 ἐὰν αὐτὸν θέλω μένειν οὕτως.

[1] *Journal of Theological Studies*, xiv (1913), 385.

[2] *J. T. S.* xv (1914), 448 sqq.

[3] The letter and the note are given in the complete facsimile edition published by the University of Cambridge, in two volumes, in 1899. The text is printed in F. H. Scrivener, *Bezae Codex Cantabrigiensis*, Cambridge 1864, pp. vi and viii.

[4] Revue Bénédictine xxxiii (1906), 1–25. Allusion to this article is found in Sir Frederic Kenyon's *Handbook to the Textual Criticism of the New Testament*[2] (1912) p. 89, n. 1; and in Prof. A. Souter's *The Text and Canon of the New Testament* (1913) p. 25, n. 2.

[5] Bishop of Rieti from June 2 to June 29, 1572.

[6] I have not verified these readings. Dom Quentin cites from the Antwerp edition of 1578 (T. i, p. 570, col. 1 and 2; p. 631, col. 1). Prof. Souter cites from the Paris edition of 1609 (T. i, pp. 509, 510) and states that its first edition appeared in Rome in 1566.

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2. et ita etiam scriptum est in antiquissimo codice Lugdunensi: this apropos of the reading in Matt. i 23 καὶ καλέσεις.
3. Desunt etiam (scilicet Matt. ix 13 εἰς μετάνοιαν) apud graecum codicem Vaticanum qui scriptus est iam sunt mille anni et ultra, et apud alterum antiquissimum librum graecum Claremontanensem.

The three citations obviously refer to one and the same manuscript. The two readings and one omission in question are characteristic of Codex Bezae. The 'codex antiquissimus' of Vittori is, it would seem, no other than the Codex Bezae itself. The first citation, though lacking a reference to the home of the manuscript, tells the interesting fact that it had been brought to the Council of Trent by the bishop of Clermont.[1] The second reference shews that Vittori, or his authorities, knew that the manuscript belonged to Lyons. The last reference betrays a confusion arising from the circumstance that the manuscript had been used on a public occasion by a bishop of Clermont. The 'Codex Lugdunensis' quite naturally became a 'Codex Claremontanensis'.

Whereas it can surprise no one to learn that the Codex Bezae was known as a Lyons manuscript some two decades before it was discovered at St Irenaeus, it is highly interesting to learn that there is good ground for believing that the manuscript existed in Lyons fully seven centuries earlier. This contention Dom Quentin makes highly probable by analysing the biblical citations of Adon's Martyrology, which, according to the best authorities, was composed at Lyons between 850 and 860, and depends in parts on Florus Diaconus, Adon's celebrated contemporary at Lyons. Dom Quentin points out that a number of citations shew great affinity with the Codex Bezae, and concludes that the Codex Bezae is the most probable source of these readings. Considering that Adon's Martyrology was doubtless written at Lyons, it seems reasonable to suppose that its citations, which recall the unique and peculiar readings of Codex Bezae, are direct borrowings from that codex. The fact that the manuscript was, in modern times, discovered at Lyons, would seem to lend further support to Dom Quentin's theory.

To these fragments of literary evidence it is possible to add two palaeographical items which point quite conclusively in the same direction. I refer to the use, in the added portion of the Codex Bezae, of blue ink, and of a peculiar three-shaped form of interrogation-mark (see accompanying plate).

The use of blue ink in Latin manuscripts is extremely rare. When, therefore, I came upon blue ink in the added 9th-century portion of the Codex Bezae—it occurs in the colophon at the end of St Mark on

[1] Guillaume III Duprat, bishop of Clermont, 1528–1560, founder of the Clermont College of Paris.

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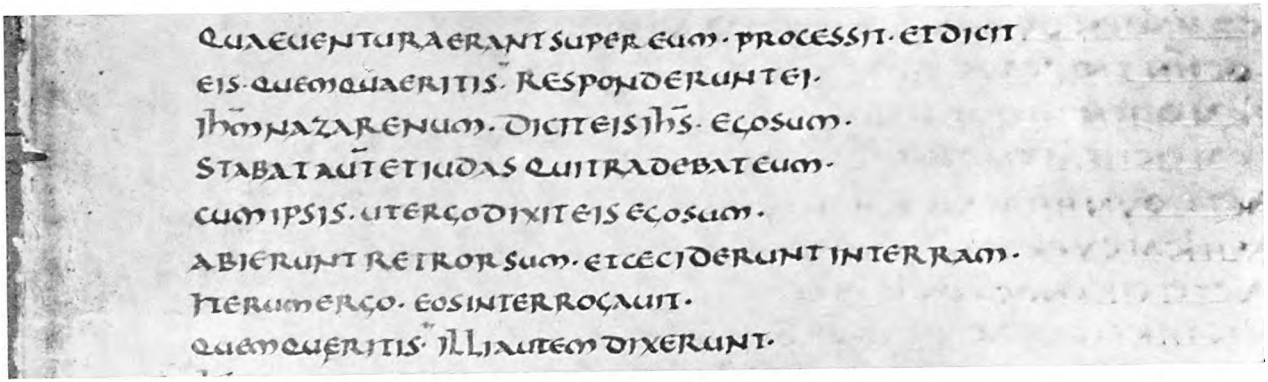
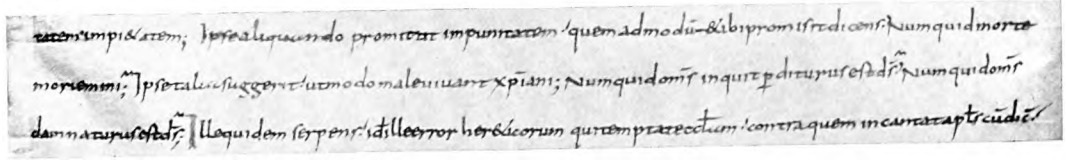
(*a*)



QUAE EVENTURA ERANT SUPER EUM · PROCESSIT · ET DIXIT
EIS · QUEM QUAERITIS · RESPONDERUNT EI ·
IHM NAZARENUM · DICIT EIS IHS · EGO SUM ·
STABAT AUT ET IUDAS QUI TRADEBAT EUM ·
CUM IPSIS · UT ERGO DIXIT EIS EGO SUM ·
ABIERUNT RETRORSUM · ET CECIDERUNT IN TERRAM ·
IT ERUM ERGO · EOS INTERROGAVIT ·
QUEM QUERITIS · ILLI AUTEM DIXERUNT ·

Codex Bezae, fol. 169*. Addition saec. IX

(*b*)



Lyons MS. 484 (414) fol. 28 v. Florus's Excerp. ex S. Augustino

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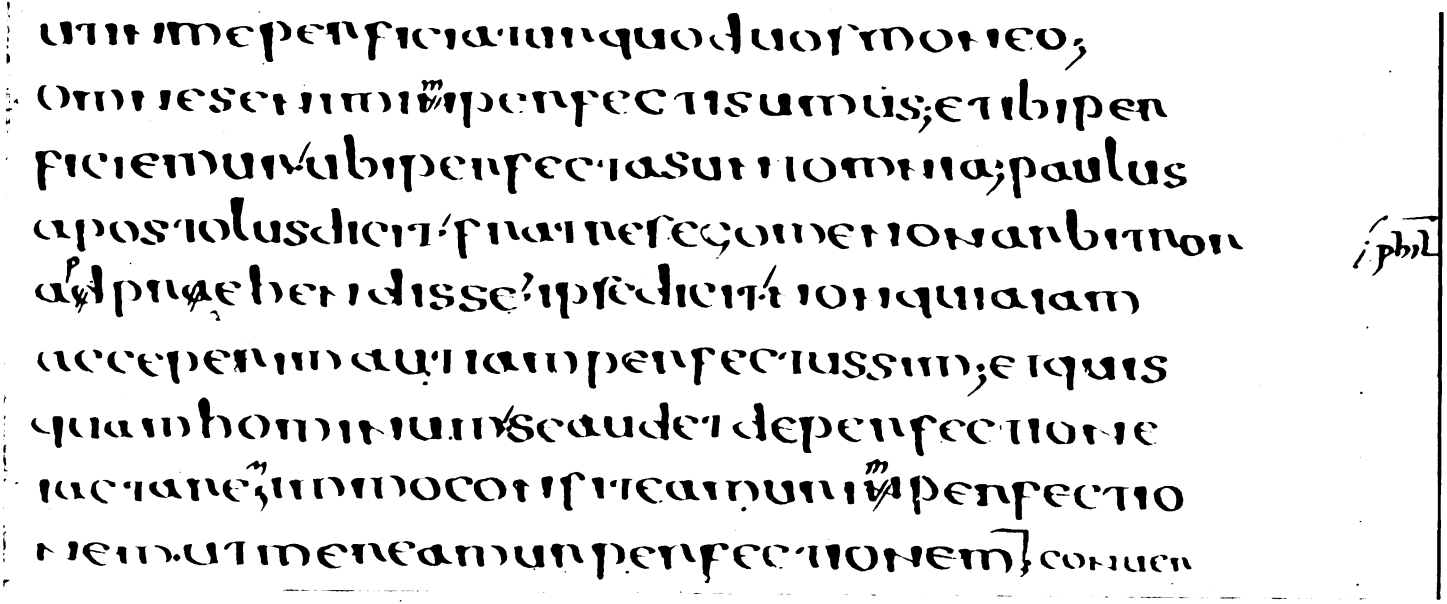

Lyons MS. 604 (521) fol. 74. Augustinus. Corrector saec. ix

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the Greek side of the text, folio 348v—I knew I was in possession of a clue which might prove useful in throwing light on the provenance or later history of the manuscript It was from Delisle's careful description of the important 9th-century manuscript Lyons 484 (414) that I learned of my second example of blue ink.[1] This manuscript contains Commentaries on the Pauline Epistles, taken from the works of St Augustine. The excerpts were made by Florus Diaconus, a well-known literary and ecclesiastical figure of Lyons in the middle of the 9th century—the very Florus on whom Adon depended for parts of his Martyrology, mentioned above. An inspection of the manuscript amply bore out the observations made by Delisle. Blue ink is used on nearly every page where normally red would be used, that is, in the marginal rubrics, at the beginning of sections, and especially in the citations from St Paul. This manuscript was regarded by Delisle as Florus's autograph. And for part of it at least this may very easily be true. In any case, there can be no dispute as to its origin. It is a pure Lyons product. There is one other Lyons manuscript in which blue is used, alternately with red, to set off the first word of sections. I refer to the MS of Jerome, Lyons 600 (517), in uncial writing of the early 8th century, which is probably a local product, though there is no positive proof of it.[2] Part of this manuscript is now at Paris (Nouv. Acq. lat. 446).

The one other case of blue ink known to me—here again alternating with red—is likewise in a French manuscript, Rom. Vatic. Regin. 317, the famous Missale Gothicum, which seems to have been written for Autun, but has every mark of being a Luxeuil product.[3] These three instances may seem very meagre data from which to draw definite conclusions. But proper weight must be given to the fact that the usage in question is exceptional in Latin manuscripts, and that these three exceptions are all French, and two of them are Lyonese.

Experience with Beneventan manuscripts has shewn that the sign of interrogation, if at all characteristic, can be useful in disclosing unexpected relationships.[4] I have for years been on the look-out for other instances of the peculiar question-mark which is characteristic of the Codex Bezae. Though many manuscripts have been inspected in the meantime, very few examples have come to light. Enquiries among scholars in the same field have not raised by one my number

[1] L. Delisle, 'Notices sur plusieurs anciens manuscrits de la bibliothèque de Lyon', in *Notices et Extraits des manuscrits*, xxix, part 2 (1880), p. 402.

[2] Facsimiles of this and other Lyons manuscripts in uncial and half-uncial script are given in the third issue of the Lyons publication entitled *Documents paléographiques, typographiques, iconographiques* (Lyons 1924).

[3] See H. M. Bannister's Introduction to his edition of the Missale Gothicum in vol. lii of the *Henry Bradshaw Society* (London 1917).

[4] *The Beneventan Script* p. 258 sqq. (Oxford 1914).

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of instances. It may, then, fairly be considered as exceptional a feature of Latin manuscripts as is the blue ink.

This peculiar sign of interrogation has come to my notice in the following five manuscripts:[1]

1. Lyons 484 (414). Florus's excerpts from St Augustine, minusc. saec. ix. By original hand, probably that of Florus (*passim*).
2. Lyons 478 (408). St Augustine, uncial, saec. vi. By the scribe of the added first quire in 9th-century uncials (fol. 6^{v}).
3. Lyons 604 (521). St Augustine, half-uncial, saec. vii. Added by the 9th-century corrector, who made the annotations supposed to come from Florus himself[2] (e. g. fol. 74). Part of this manuscript is in Paris (N.A. 1594).
4. Paris 9550. Eucherius of Lyons, uncial, saec. vii. Added by a 9th-century corrector, who made other annotations supposed to come from Florus himself (e. g. fol. 67).
5. Lyons 431 (357). Evangeliary, minusc. saec. ix. Added by a 9th-century corrector (e. g. foll. 64^{v}, 97, 97^{v} *et passim*).

All these five manuscripts are connected with Lyons. The last came to Lyons from Venissie,[3] a locality near by. The fourth contains the work of a Lyons bishop and has the annotations which, whether Florus's own work or not, are in any case from the hand of a Lyonese scholar. The same annotator worked over Lyons 604, 478, and 484, the remaining three examples. Lyons 484 has the important distinction of containing both the peculiar question-mark and the blue ink for rubrics —the very two palaeographical features for which the Codex Bezae is remarkable. In view of this palaeographical evidence, it seems highly probable that the Codex Bezae was in Lyons when the added pages were written (perhaps by Florus himself, who may very easily have brought the book with him from afar). Taken in connexion with the literary evidence given above, this seems to make probability touch certainty.

E. A. Lowe.

[1] Of course this sign may exist in several other 9th-century Lyons MSS unexamined by me, but it is only its presence in MSS unconnected with Lyons that would weaken the force of the argument.

[2] The theory that these annotations are by Florus Diaconus originates, I believe, with the late Dr S. Tafel who planned an extensive study of the School of Lyons. I find these annotations attributed to Florus in Dr Zimmerman's *Vorkarolingische Miniaturen* p. 167 (Berlin 1916). The work of this annotator may be seen on plates ii, viii, ix, xvi, xxxiii, xxxiv in the collection of Lyons facsimiles mentioned in note 2 of the preceding page. Pl. xxxvii reproduces a page from the Codex Bezae shewing the interrogation-sign under discussion.

[3] According to an entry in the manuscript which is printed in full in *Catalogue général des manuscrits etc.* vol. xxx part 1 p. 110.

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THE IDEA OF THE HOLY.

THIS paper is mainly an exposition and criticism of Prof. Rudolf Otto's book.[1] But it is necessary at the outset to say that the subject itself is central for all study of religion and remains so whether Prof. Otto has presented it adequately or not. This has appeared to me plain ever since an essay of Windelband drew my attention to the matter many years ago, and personally I remain very much more indebted to Windelband's clear and calm exposition than to Otto's fervour, which often produces more heat than light. But this fervour and the response to it is itself of interest. The first edition of this book appeared in 1917. The translation is from the tenth, and already there is an eleventh. This remarkable success of a serious work on religion in a distracted and impoverished country at least shews that it has made a great appeal. What it appeals to is not difficult to say, because it is a mood which has appeared again and again in history in times of economic distress and political despair, and the movement known as 'okkultismus' is an even more certain evidence of its existence in Germany. The book, therefore, is an important document on the effect of the War in Germany.

The first to distinguish clearly the rational and non-rational in religion was David Hume. In accordance with the spirit of his age, he explains the non-rational as superstition springing from the frailty of human reason and the irresistible contagion of opinion, resulting from man's passions, desires, and fears. But he speaks also of a universal propensity to believe in an invisible, intelligent power as a general attendant of human nature, which may be considered as a kind of mark or stamp which the divine workman has set on his work, an impression of the Universal Creator, than which nothing could more dignify mankind; and adds that, with all its queer accompaniments, without religion, a race would scarcely be human. But practically nothing has been done in England to continue Hume's beginning. In Germany, however, it has led to a consideration of the 'holy' as the characteristic mark of religion, more especially by Windelband. And the problem has been further dealt with by Soderblöm. But among English-speaking writers so little attention has been drawn to the subject that, even in treatises on the Psychology of Religion, both in this country and in America, either it is not mentioned at all or it is dismissed as of no importance. Therefore, even if Prof. Otto's book had no other merit than to be the first systematic treatise on the subject, it would deserve, particularly from English readers, serious consideration.

[1] *The Idea of the Holy: An Inquiry into the Non-rational Factors in the Idea of the Divine and its Relation to the Rational*, by Rudolf Otto. Translated by John W. Harvey: Oxford, University Press, 1923.

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Apart from these extraneous reasons, moreover, the book is a valuable contribution to an important aspect of religious enquiry; and it is all the more certain of success that the translation is good and readable English. Fortunately most of the technical terms are Latin and only need a slight change of termination: and, where there is dubiety about the equivalent for German terms, the translator has on the whole chosen well. Sometimes he adds a synonym, which is usually not necessary, because the English is at least as precise as the German. If one were to offer any criticism, in face of the fact that Prof. Otto has himself revised the translation and is satisfied with the rendering of his thought, it arises from a singularity in the original. Prof. Otto writes in the usual long and rather involved German sentence, but he has a habit of breaking it up in appearance by inserting periods: and occasionally the translator seems to have been deceived by this device. But perhaps this would be hypercriticism, when the work as a whole has been so admirably done.

In order that the reader may obtain some general view of Prof. Otto's teaching, I shall attempt to give a summary before entering on any criticism I have to offer. Where the translation is my own, it is not due to any assumption that my rendering is better than Mr Harvey's, but merely to my use of the text before reading the English version.

The non-rational Element in Religion.

In every theistic idea of God, and pre-eminently in the Christian, there are intellectual concepts which can be called rational, because they correspond to what is rational and personal—being the same, except for our limitation, in ourselves as in God—and can be distinguished, analysed, and defined. But while this is a superiority in a religion, it does not exhaust the being of the Godhead. Rather they are predicates of a Being not to be so comprehended. This non-rational element is the peculiar quality of the religious experience, though it may be as absent from Orthodoxy as from Rationalism; and the ignoring of it has been disastrous in all research on the origin and developement of religion.

This element is the 'holy', a category of interpretation and valuation peculiar to the sphere of religion. It is not primarily an ethical idea, but is a unique feeling-response to an external reality, while the ethical holy is only a transference, a schematization. In itself it is unique and irreducible, only to be experienced and impossible to define. For the external reality Prof. Otto adopts the name 'numen' and for the state of mind which responds to it the 'numinous'.

The numinous is first of all the 'creature-feeling', the sense of self-abasement into nothingness before an overpowering, absolute might of some kind. Schleiermacher recognized it, but made two mistakes

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about it. First he only distinguished it as absolute, making the difference a mere matter of degree, whereas it is a unique datum of consciousness; and, second, he made the fact of God a mere inference from it as its cause, whereas the sense of God is itself a primary and immediate sense of a *numen praesens*, with all inferences about Him depending on that experience.

The numen is *mysterium tremendum et fascinans*; and the numinous includes all the range of emotion from the tranquil mood of worship to frenzy, ecstasy, and grisly horror.

As *tremendum* the numen imposes 'awe', dominates by 'majesty', and controls by 'energy'.

Awe is not fear, but, even in its most primitive form of a sense of the eerie, it is a response of its own kind to the mysterious. It is the 'holy dread' of the Old Testament and the Greek 'panic fear'.

This is the starting-point of religion, the source of ideas of daemons and gods, and is the basic impulse underlying the entire process of religious evolution. To seek the origin of religion in animism, magic, or folk-psychology, is to seek it in secondary things, which are only intellectual interpretations of the original experience. Even in the 'daemonic dread' of primitive man the feeling has a quality all its own, a character, moreover, which does not wholly disappear even at the highest level of the purest worship of God. It is the source of the idea of the 'wrath of God', which, in passages of the Old Testament, has nothing to do with moral qualities, but is incalculable and arbitrary. Wrath is a human analogy for the *tremendum*, but it is so fitting an expression that it remains an element in religious emotion, and the expression by ideas of moral requital is merely a rationalizing of it. And 'jealousy' is similarly a 'numinous' idea.

As the awesome is absolute unapproachableness, the other element of the *tremendum*, 'majesty', is absolute overpoweringness. The sense of it is the raw material for religious humility. Schleiermacher makes dependence a condition of the rational idea of God as Creator, whereas it is a direct sense of being a creature, powerlessness over against the overpowering, a sense of one's own nothingness, of being dust and ashes in face of utter majesty. Even when speculated on, this leads to a quite different series of ideas from creation and preservation, even to annihilation of self in face of the sole and entire reality of the transcendent, so that mysticism is merely the over-pressing of this non-rational element.

The third element in the *tremendum* is 'energy'. This is a sense of vital emotional driving activity, and it appears in religious history from the daemonic level up to the idea of the living God who is a 'consuming fire', and the 'consuming love' of the mystics.

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Analysis of Mysterium. Awfulness and mystery easily approach each other in feeling, but they are so distinct that one may dominate almost to the disappearance of the other. The religious sense of mystery is stupor before the 'quite apart', and is an original experience, not to be resolved into any other. It may attach itself to the extraordinary, yet it is no mere enhancement of ordinary feelings of wonder or fear. Its object is not the wholly unknown, but the 'wholly apart', the wholly incommensurable with human nature, before which, therefore, man recoils in benumbed amazement. The fear of ghosts is a tawdry caricature of it, the ghost making us shudder, not because it is long and white, but because it does not belong to our sphere of reality. Animism is a mere rationalizing of it. The true quality of mystery appears most plainly in the demonic, which is the original of the fear of ghosts. But its fullest form is what mysticism describes only in negatives, a transcendent that has reality for feeling, though it is a mere negative for thought.

Fascination. The numinous attracts as well as dismays, and this double character is the most important fact in the history of religion. On the one hand, this fascinating element can be intoxicating, Dionysiac, and, on the other, it can be rationalized as love and mercy. But bliss is more than a rational idea, and depends on a non-rational element which is the source of rapture, desire for communion, mystical identification, possession by ecstasy. Fascination begins with magic, which would appropriate the force of the numen, but it leads on to possession by the numen as an end in itself; and by this road we arrive at the noblest mysticism. It is the peace which passes understanding, what eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, and the source of all the superlatives used about the experience of salvation. Objectively it proves God to be something for Himself and in Himself, as well as the ground and pinnacle of all that is thinkable.

This mystery which manifests itself to feeling as the awesome and the marvellous is not explicable by anything else. Yet feelings as well as ideas have associations, so that one may stir the other and pass over into it. 'Passing over', however, does not mean that the new feeling is simply a modification of the old, but the old merely introduces the new, and, as it comes forward, retreats into the background. However much prepared for by other feeling, the new is there for the sole reason that the spirit has capacity for it. By neglecting this fact evolution is often very cheaply explained, as though, because tribal custom may introduce it, morals were not different, and, by itself, or, because sex is the basis of the family, love were not wholly different from sex-instinct. In strict terminology, it is 'transformation' not 'evolution'. The idea of duty is not 'evolved', but is 'awaked' because the potentiality is

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already in the human spirit. So the feeling of the 'numinous' cannot be 'evolved', being of distinctive quality; but it has relations with all kinds of feelings, and their action in stirring the sense of the 'numinous' is the 'evolution' of religion. The most akin to it is the sense of the 'sublime'. This has more probably been awaked by religion than religion by it, but they have inner and lasting bonds. When the union of feelings depends on essential relation and no longer on mere accidental similarity, its necessity is 'rational'; and, on the ground of it, what is itself only a direct experience, to be felt and not proved, is schematized. This schematization is the rational in the idea of the holy and gives us its full content.

Genuine schematizing distinguishes itself from accidental association by shewing itself firmer and more definite as the religious sense of truth progresses. Thus the sublime has proved to be a genuine scheme of the holy. Again, while the animal instincts are below reason as the numinous is above, as the numinous comes down into reason the instincts push up into it, and sex especially is transformed into the whole realm of love in all its fullness of friendship and poetic exaltation. The sequence here is difficult to follow, but the idea seems to be that every new form of love is with a difference, and the love of God with the greatest difference of all, which only the pious know. Thus we schematize the numinous genuinely as 'love'.

Music is given as a third example, but it seems to be merely an illustration of the last point, the exaltation of a natural feeling, the music giving to the expression of natural feelings in the words of the song an exaltation incapable of any rational form of expression. Yet, while this is the nearest of all experiences to the experience of the non-rational numinous, it only corresponds and is in no way the same.

As the holy is 'numinous worth', sin is 'numinous unworth'. It is not originally a moral judgement passed upon character, but is a feeling of the absolute profaneness of the creature before the supreme. Alongside of it appreciation of moral obligation as a claim of the Deity developes. But the original is not a moral category, and apparently, though it is the sense of sin as moral delinquency which creates the need of redemption, the need of 'covering' and 'propitiation' is due to the numinous holy as awe-inspiring, fascinating mystery, and we are not to attempt to interpret it by rational moral concepts, as, for example, Ritschl's 'annulment of distrust'. It has to do with the profane which would contaminate the holy itself. This numinous sense the excessive rationalism of our age suppresses; but it is there always ready to be evoked. Many things evoke it in those endowed for it—the rational phraseology of religion, portents, miracles, traditional language of devotion, liturgy, sacrament, the solemn and spacious in art, dark-

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ness, silence, emptiness. Everything apparently only capable of being half understood, is suggestive of the numinous.

It is this, and not ideas which can be moralized and theorized, which sees in the person of Christ the divinely appointed means of salvation whereby man is deprofaned and can approach the Holy.

The Old Testament is a record of the rationalizing and moralizing of the numinous till it becomes the 'holy' in the fullest sense. And in this consists the superiority of Prophetic Judaism over, for example, Islam, in which Allah is merely the numinous on a large scale. Yet the numinous continues even in Christianity to be the basis. The capacity for it first appears in the evident fear of demons, but all its exaltation does not alter its essential quality. In Jahweh the numinous preponderates and in Elohim the rational, and it is Jahweh who continues to be the Holy One of Israel, a terrible, active, mysterious potency. We have 'an intrinsic value in the incomprehensible', as when Job humbles himself before God because of the bizarre things in nature which are a defiance to common sense.

Similarly in the New Testament the Kingdom of God has rational concepts attached to it, but the power is in being wholly apart, heavenly, mysterious, awe-compelling, all attractive. Its members are 'saints', holy ones. Though the Heavenly Father is now the benignant will, He is more mysteriously numinous than ever, so that the agony in the Garden and on the Cross was not fear of death, but 'the shuddering of the creature before the *mysterium tremendum*', 'that riddle full of horror'. In Paul we have almost every phase of it. We have appalling Old Testament ideas of wrath—such as the idea that the commission of sin is God's punishment for sin. Also we have predestination, resting on the creature-feeling and the denial of all reality to anything but God, and finally spirit as numinous and flesh as profane.

There is progress in the feeling of the numen from daemonic dread to worship and holy awe of God, but it is the same feeling. Its holiness is expanded by attracting and appropriating meanings from social and individual ideas of obligation, justice, and goodness, so that the Holy becomes the 'Good' and the numen its source and guardian, yet not as good, but as sacrosanct.

Under the title 'The Holy as a category *a priori*', we have an account of the evolution of the holy both as deeper feeling and as rational schematization.

A priori is distinguished from 'innate'. Life-impulses, for example, which come into operation on their own are 'innate', but what is *a priori* needs experience to evoke it, though it is the nature of the spirit and not of perceived things which determines it. This nature of spirit we can only accept, and as in the region of intellect we interpret

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earlier potentialities of mind as predestinating man to reason, so in the region of the numinous, we must accept them as predestinating man to religion.

All primitive forms are haunted by the numinous feeling—in magic as an uncanny power, in worship of the dead as a shuddery awed feeling about death, in ideas of souls as a queer feeling about spectres, in *mana* as a kind of spell. Sacred objects, fairy stories, myths, all have their quality as numinous. But only with the 'daemon' have we a definite beginning, and with his 'kāhin' his prophet, the numinous person. Clean and unclean, which start with mere instinctive repulsions, become numinous ideas and develope into a transcendent something. Here we have the basis of the high gods in primitive faith, and an anticipation of higher religion. Yet daemonic dread is still dominant—the devil in a sense being more ancient than God. Moreover, the feeling is abrupt and desultory, attached to places and things, and is not yet schematized either rationally or ethically.

Reason and ethics are its true schema, having a connexion which is also *a priori*. This does not mean that we cannot have an idea of the Divine which is not rational and moral, but that when we see our material fully and come to ourselves, we cannot help being convinced by rational and ethical interpretations. Yet the non-rational elements remain, and a rationalized religion is not religion. The holy in its manifestations is divined not deduced. This divination is intuition in feeling—not in reflexion—of the Eternal shining through the temporal, a prophetic sense of the religious meaning of this seeming muddle of our experience as an ultimate mysterious world-purposefulness. This is the *testimonium spiritus sancti internum* of which the notion of pure supernatural inspiration is a fossilizing and rationalizing. What is thus seen may claim to be universally and necessarily objective, and deepening of insight and communication regarding what is seen play the same part in bringing about agreement on the reality as reasoning does in the logical sphere. This prophetic insight is a special gift of the few; yet it is only the fullest manifestation of the rational spirit, and can be personally appropriated by the many.

In Primitive Christianity Christ is the proper object of divination and not merely Himself a person of supreme prophetic gift. The source of Christianity is not what He said, not even what He proclaimed Himself to be, but what men felt in Him. In Him as a mysterious wonderful being the holy was experienced in time, and the society arose because men came around Him awed and fascinated.

Christianity is still creaturehood, distance from God, enmity against him, redemption from the slavery and guilt of sin, reconciliation, atonement, grace, communication of the Spirit, new birth, a new creature;

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and all this still depends on recognizing in Christ 'the portrayal and presentment of God', 'the fully empowered with Deity'. He is the covering and propitiating Mediator, who at once widens and bridges the gulf between Creator and creature. Above all the Cross is of all manifestations of the holy the greatest. It is the absolute 'mirror of the Eternal Father', wherein we see the problem of the guiltless suffering of the righteous solved, as in Job, in the 'non-rational aspect of the Deity', his transcendent mysteriousness and beyondness, so that in the Cross commingle the most exalted love and the most awe-inspiring wrath of the *numen*.

Every religion involves something capable of unfolding and a something capable of response to it, a response which must be receptivity and recognition. Of this the prophet has been the vehicle. But the highest is the Son—Himself the complete object of divination.

Criticism. I have not interrupted Prof. Otto, though the method involves some repetition which might have been avoided had exposition and criticism gone together, because it is important to see his conception as a whole, and the criticism which should carry most weight should be of the complete scheme and not of mere details in it.

The first question concerns what he calls the Numinous. In identifying it with religion and maintaining it, in spite of all he says about the rational, to be the essential in religion throughout, is he not making the very mistake he condemns, of treating as mere evolution what really is transmutation? The sense of the numinous, which etymologically is 'what nods', may stir and pass over into the sense that the ultimate reality is personal, but is it the same? The higher animals have it, possibly in a higher degree than man. Prof. Otto tells a story of his horse, but I have one of mine much more relevant. When a boy of fourteen or thereabouts, I was riding through the Standing Stones of Stenness on a winter afternoon when dusk was settling into darkness. They stand on the top of a lone narrow neck of land between two lochs. The close-cropped heather crackled under my horse's feet, the loch on the right was still shining under the glow of sunset and the loch on the left was dark almost to blackness, and across a bay the gravestones in the churchyard stood white and clear over it. The circle of stones had a look of ancient giants against the grey sky, and the gaping mounds which had been opened stood shadowy and apart. A more numinous scene, at a more numinous hour, could not be found on earth. And the feeling which suddenly struck me is not inaptly described as the *mysterium tremendum et fascinans*. But at the same moment it struck my old horse at least as vehemently as myself. He threw up his head, snorted, set his feet, trembled, and finally bolted at a rate I should have thought impossible for his old bones. Now there is little doubt

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that Prof. Otto is right in finding the reason why the early Briton erected this circle of stones on that particular spot in the peculiar eerie feeling it created rather than in merely intellectual ideas ; but, as the feeling had probably not yet arrived at being religious for my horse and had ceased to be religious for me, it would be necessary to ask, what was the peculiarity which, without disrespect to his intelligence, I may assume my horse not to have attained and which, without excessive pride in my state of civilization, I may assume I had passed beyond, which made it for primitive man religious ? In spite of the mechanical ideas imposed upon me by a scientific age, I persist in thinking that the feelings aroused by nature which gave rise to animism have more to say for themselves than the people whose acquaintance with nature is chiefly in laboratories and tourist resorts admit ; and it is easier to have a religious sense of a living world than of a dead one. But are these feelings in themselves religious ? They may stir and pass over into the holy, to use Prof. Otto's own correct description, but are we not then in a new order ? And is not the essence of it that it is an order of absolute value which, when it escapes from its material form, is just the ethical sacred, the sense of the requirements of a Spirit in the world which is absolute and of a spirit in ourselves in its image which has its worth in accepting as its own these absolute requirements and refusing to bring them down to the level of our temporal convenience ? It may only appear in an irrational material taboo, but, if man has said, 'This is sacred, and I would rather die than disregard it', he is not only religious, but, by his religion, he has won a footing amid the sands of changing impulse and association. My horse, we may assume, had not reached this valuation, and I was at least learning to make it by less material ways.

This element of valuation will appear more plainly if we turn to the description of the holy as *mysterium tremendum et fascinans.*

The first question is whether this is confined to the sphere of religion, or, in other words, evoked only by the holy.—Is it not rather the impression made by any environment sufficiently great and strange ? Some dim sense of it may go down as low as the first living creature that ventured, in any conscious way, upon the unknown—the reptile, let us say, that ventured out upon the land, a creature of enormous significance for all higher evolution. Would it not be with a sense of a tremendous, mysterious 'quite other', in which yet the creature hoped to find its own ? But, if fear and fascination together is not confined to man, it is the nerve and sinew of man's whole spirit of adventure. Why is he so forcibly drawn by forbidding regions like the Arctic Circle or the Sahara ? Is it not because there is mystery in the vast naked spaces, and because he is fascinated by feeling himself so small as he is shaken

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by awe, overshadowed by majesty and reduced to nothing before the resistless energy of the powers of nature, yet feels himself so great as he dares to face them? Even if our author knows it from another source, is he not finding readers who know it from a raid in No Man's Land in the peril and mystery of the dark? In that case, is the religious element in the feeling due to anything psychological, or only to the peculiar quality of the environment into which man ventures in religion? And what is that, if awesomeness itself is not distinctive, except absolute value? No doubt we have this first in the sense of the awesome holy, that which strikes the person dead who touches the ark. But why is even it religious? And how do we proceed from this material embodiment to the fear of the Lord which is the beginning of wisdom? Is it by schematizing by other ideas derived from other spheres, or is there already in it a valuation which only needs to be better understood to be ethical? It is attached to the ark because the primitive mind can only think in material forms and because, lacking free ideas, it must keep its sense of reverence attached to the particular object which first stirred it. But is there not already a sense of a reality which has absolute worth above life itself, which will emancipate itself as the ethical sacred; and, if it is not tending in this direction, is it religion or merely superstition? And is it never to have a love which casts out fear?

In that case, Schleiermacher would be right in making the quality of the dependence absoluteness, and Prof. Otto wrong in making absoluteness a mere matter of degree. It would, on the contrary, mark man's entrance upon another order of reality from mere comparative natural values. Schleiermacher finds the source of this to be an intuition of the universe, which, he thinks, comes in with all experience, and which would naturally develope into religion were it not suppressed by worldliness and false prudence. It is not quite so easy, as it requires loyalty to our own place in this world of higher values, but Schleiermacher is at least as much on the right lines as Prof. Otto. Schleiermacher is in danger of ending in an artistic mystical feeling, and Prof. Otto of a superstitious mystical awe; and which is worse?

We now turn to the interpretation of the Old Testament.

The political and economic situation in the days of the prophets was even more hopeless than it has ever been in any European country in our time. It so shook the souls of men by the awesome holy that they gave the fruit of their body for the sin of their souls. But the prophets turned to the ethical sacred and said, 'What doth the Lord require of thee, but to do justly, and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God?' One has an uncomfortable feeling that, with his views, Prof. Otto, had he lived then, might not have had his present enlightened views about sacrifice, and that he would have regarded Micah as little better than a rationalist.

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His supreme example of a sense of the holy is the vision of Isaiah. The sense of impurity, we are told, is a numinous feeling of creaturehood, not a sense of moral contamination. All one can say is that everything Isaiah says about washing and making clean, without which trampling God's courts is profanity, is very concretely explained as having to do with actual sins. The one supreme example of the numinous, which, curiously, our author omits, is the vision of Eliphaz in Job iv. There it all is in perfection of understanding and expression—heartshaking fear, mystery, a silence speaking of mortal man as a profane creature before God, and impure simply as such. Yet Job persists in sticking to ethical ideas and in maintaining his right to argue rationally with God as well as man. Therefore, it is very unlikely that what made him abhor himself and repent in dust and ashes was merely the irrational in creation.

As there is plenty of the awesome holy in the Old Testament, if we interpret by it and not by the general attitude of the prophets, there is much even in their writings to be read in that way. But when it comes to the New Testament, the task is more difficult and nowhere more so than in the Gospels. The whole material here consists of the few sayings, 'I am not worthy that thou shouldest come under my roof', 'Thou art the Christ, the son of the living God', 'Depart from me for I am a sinful man', 'He was going up to Jerusalem, and they that followed him were afraid'; and a numinous interpretation of the agony in the garden, and the cry 'My God, my God, why hast Thou forsaken me?' The centurion no doubt knew that Jesus was regarded as a holy man, and he was a polite person; the Messiahship was not a numinous idea to Peter, and the Son of the living God had a definite meaning and, moreover, the phrase is not in Mark; the going up to Jerusalem explains the fear; everything which removes Jesus from our suffering humanity weakens the significance of the Cross. Nor is there much greater success with Paul. Sin with Paul is 'resisting the truth in unrighteousness'; and the extension of it to mind and conscience and body is the natural evolution when God does not restrain, and the wrath is its natural consequences, and certainly seems to be interpreted in terms of ethics. The rest would lead us too deep into the Pauline theology, but at least Prof. Otto's is not the only possible interpretation. Kattenbusch argues that the essential change from the New Testament religion to the Gentile was the replacing of the ethical holy of the Old Testament by the awesome holy of the pagan cults. In any case we need not follow the matter further, because the essential thing in the New Testament, and above all in the teaching of Jesus, is that the religious is always the ethical and the ethical always the religious, so that the one is never a schematization of the other.

The attempt to relate the rational to the non-rational is the weakest part of the whole book, because what God has joined, being divided, is

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hard to put together again. The ethical sacred is itself rational, though it cannot be rationalized and remain either ethical or religious. All values of truth and beauty and goodness are sacred, and that depends on religion as the manifestation of a reality in which we live, and whereby we also have sacred worth. Given that, and logic and aesthetics and ethics can carry on independently their own business, but they cannot do without the sacredness of the true, the beautiful, and the good as absolute reality, or without an estimate of man based on it and responsive to it, and that is the sphere of religion, in accordance with which we can interpret all lower forms as the groping of the creature, hedged in by material conditions and without free ideas, after this higher reality. But Prof. Otto, having once separated the rational from the religious, can do no more than say that they are connected *a priori*, which is not very convincing, if they can be separated in thought and are merely added historically by reflexion on religion and by transference of ideas from other spheres. Nor is it very satisfactory to have to wait for progress in the general sense of truth before we can distinguish between true schematization and false, seeing that no schematization of the holy has been so persistent as the legal idea of reward and punishment. Yet if we are to believe Jesus, the supreme perfection of the Holy One is in sending His rain upon the just and the unjust and our supreme accord with Him in being, like Him, kind to the unthankful and evil. Without emancipation from mere holy awe, should we ever get beyond the idea of the awful judge? Eliphaz was so sure of it that he thought he could argue from his vision of dread backward from Job's suffering to Job's iniquity. Are not what have been called the heroes of religion heroic precisely in being emancipated from mere awe before the tremendous and mysterious, and in entering upon the glorious liberty of God's children?

Yet if this book is not exactly a revelation, most of what it says about primitive religion is right, and it indicates important matters in the history of religion which have been overlooked. Finally, if it does little to satisfy thought, it does a great deal to stimulate inquiry and reflexion.

JOHN OMAN.

THE AORIST PARTICIPLE FOR PURPOSE IN THE *Κοινή*.

I HAVE been much interested in the examples of the aorist participle produced in *The Journal of Theological Studies* for January 1923 by Prof. C. D. Chambers, and in the July issue by Prof. W. F. Howard.

Prof. Chambers cites 2 Macc. xi 36 and 4 Macc. iii 13 as examples

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of the aorist participle in the sense of purpose like the future participle and as throwing light on the similar idiom in Acts xii 25 (with the reading εἰς); Acts xxv 13 (reading ἀσπασάμενοι); Heb. ix 13. He mentions the fact also that there is manuscript authority for the future rather than the aorist participle in several other passages in 1 and 2 Maccabees. Prof. Howard cites two further examples furnished by Prof. Chambers from the Apocryphal Acts, and also five examples from the papyri which seem to shew the futuristic use of the aorist participle.

The presentation of these examples calls for a fresh study of the subject in the light of the data and the real meaning of the aorist participle. Both Prof. Chambers and Prof. Howard disclaim the advocacy of the so-called subsequent use of the aorist participle.

It should be borne in mind that time in the Greek participle is only relative and is a secondary developement. Coincident or simultaneous action was apparently the original use of the participle in Greek. Antecedent action can be suggested even by the present participle, as with τυφλὸς ὤν in contrast with ἄρτι βλέπω (Jn. ix 25). So also the present participle, while usually coincident in time with the principal verb, may suggest purpose as in Acts iii 26 ἀπέστειλεν αὐτὸν εὐλογοῦντα ὑμᾶς. The antecedent use of the present participle may be articular as in ὁ διώκων in Gal. i 23, and the same thing is true of the futuristic present participle as in ὁ καταλύων καὶ—οἰκοδομῶν, σῶσον in Matt. xxvii 40.

The articular aorist participle is used with much freedom in the New Testament. Here the absolute timelessness of the aorist participle appears with clearness. So in Matt. x 39 ὁ εὑρὼν ἀπολέσει, the principal verb is in the future indicative while the aorist participle is simply punctiliar action coincident with the verb or possibly antecedent by suggestion. In Jn. xi 2 ἦν δὲ Μαριὰμ ἡ ἀλείψασα τὸν Κύριον we are not to understand that Mary had previously anointed Jesus before the death of Lazarus, but simply that her act was so well known that she was later known as the one who did this wondrous deed, though at a later time. So also with ὁ παραδούς, applied to Judas at the time of his appointment as apostle (Matt. x 4).

Hence it is plain that there is nothing in the nature of the aorist participle itself to prevent its use for the idea of purpose, as occasionally is seen in the case of the present participle. It would be merely a developement of the simultaneous or coincident use of the aorist participle. The future participle, like the future infinitive, is rare in the New Testament as in the Κοινή on the whole. It seems to be a mark of the literary style, as in the Acts of the Apostles.

The examples adduced by Prof. Chambers and Prof. Howard do not make it clear that there was a conscious use of the aorist participle in

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the sense of purpose on a par with the future participle. If in the Κοινή the use of the future participle for purpose was a literary survival that was disappearing, the writer or speaker in the vernacular would naturally not think of purpose in connexion with it. The notion of purpose would normally be expressed in the vernacular by the infinitive (usually with τοῦ) or with ἵνα (or ὅπως). If the participle is so employed, there is then the simultaneous use of the present participle besides the rare future participle (and the still rarer aorist participle in this sense). The use of the aorist participle in two instances (one articular, one non-articular) in the papyri parallel with the future participle is certainly interesting. The question remains whether the change to the aorist participle is due to a lapse of co-ordination, or to the conscious feeling that the aorist participle carried the same idea as the future. The lack of co-ordination may be due to the vague feeling that one future participle was enough and the others would be coincident with it. The form ἐποίσαντες reminds one of the hybrid infinitive ἐπελεύσασθαι in the papyri as already τεύξασθαι in 2 Macc. xv 7, and ἐκφεύξασθαι in 2 Macc. ix 22.

The sporadic examples of the aorist participle in a possible future sense thus far adduced do not quite justify a formal syntactical regimen. All the alternatives need to be duly weighed in the light of all the known data.

Least of all do these examples call for any revolutionary interpretation of Acts xxv 13 (ἀσπασάμενοι) which makes perfectly good sense as coincident or simultaneous action. As to Acts xii 25, the context forbids the reading εἰς. There is an evident allusion to Acts xi 30, and the mention of Mark points to Jerusalem as the place of departure, not of arrival, as is shewn in Acts xiii. So in Heb. ix 12 εὑράμενος is apparently not even coincident action with εἰσῆλθεν, but antecedent action, referring to Calvary.

The position of the participle after the verb determines nothing as to whether a participle is coincident or antecedent, as I have shewn in my *Grammar of the Greek New Testament in the Light of Historical Research* pp. 861, 1113. In Lk. ii 16 ἦλθαν σπεύσαντες we have coincident action in the participle following the verb, while in Acts x 29 ἦλθον μεταπεμφθείς the action in the participle is antecedent.

Nothing certain can be made out of the fact that the tense of the principal verb is not always aorist. In Acts vii 26 συνήλλασσεν εἰπών, the action is coincident though the verb is imperfect indicative. In Mk. viii 29 ἀποκριθεὶς λέγει the main verb is present indicative.

It should be borne in mind also that the aorist participle itself may imply either constative, ingressive, or effective action, as shewn by the meaning of the verb or the context. The effective use of the participle may modify the effective use of the main verb if in the aorist.

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For the present the interpreter of the New Testament will be wise not to be too confident that he may accept εἰς in Acts xii 25, or find purpose in ἀσπασάμενοι in Acts xxv 13. It is precisely Luke who alone in the New Testament shews any familiarity with the future participle in the sense of purpose.

A. T. ROBERTSON.

THE DEATH OF JUDAS.

ACTS i 18 οὗτος (Judas Iscariot) μὲν οὖν ἐκτήσατο χωρίον ἐκ μισθοῦ τῆς ἀδικίας, καὶ πρηνὴς γενόμενος ἐλάκησεν μέσος, καὶ ἐξεχύθη πάντα τὰ σπλάγχνα αὐτοῦ.

The difficulties of this passage are (i) its divergence from other accounts: this we cannot hope to remove. (ii) The asyndeton of sense —we expect καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ πρηνὴς γενόμενος. (iii) The phrase πρηνὴς γενόμενος which, if anything, should be passive—'thrown on his face', since one does not 'become headlong'. (iv) The precise meaning of ἐλάκησεν μέσος. (v) The miraculous story that he should have fallen so that 'all his bowels gushed out'—a possible effect of a sword thrust but not of a fall, or the equally miraculous story that he burst, if this be the meaning of ἐλάκησε μέσος.

To take these points in another order. (v) Papias has, in his totally different account, τὰ ἔγκατα αὐτοῦ ἐκκενωθῆναι, an *evacuatio viscerum*, common in violent deaths, whether the hanging of Matthew (xxvii 5) or the fall of Luke. (vi) ἐλάκησεν means 'burst' in two accounts quoted by Blass (see Milligan's *Dictionary* s.v.). But these are possibly derivative. However, Luke may have used ἐλάκησεν μέσος = διελάκησεν, as he has elsewhere (for διεσχίσθη) ἐσχίσθη τὸ καταπέτασμα . . . μέσον— where Mark has a longer phrase. διαλᾱκέω is good Greek for 'burst', but λᾱκέω is very doubtful as such. A further passage is quoted in *lexica* for the meaning, *Geopon.* xiii 15; but if the chapter be read it will be seen that it only means, apparently, 'come to a violent end'. How, is uncertain.

Oddly enough no one appears to have noticed a use of ἐλάκησεν, whose appositeness at once leaps to the eye. In Hierocles's *Philogelos*[1] the book of all others whose vocabulary most closely resembles that of the New Testament, the grumpy man (δύσκολος) in joke number 194 falls downstairs. Some one shouts 'Who 's in there?', and he answers ἐγὼ ⟨ἐντὸς⟩ τοῦ ἐνοικίου μου ἐλάκησα· τί πρὸς σέ; (so the best MS, corrected, as shewn, by Eberhard). Here the sense is clearly 'have fallen', or, in modern parlance, 'have crashed', 'come a cropper'.

[1] The meaning 'burst' occurs in Joke 176.

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It leaps at once to the eye that all difficulties but (i) can be solved if we read *καὶ μέσος γενόμενος ἐλάκησε πρηνής*—'and when he arrived in the midst of it he fell headlong'—*καὶ ἐξεκενώθη τὰ σπλάγχα*. Of course we cannot call this—at least not the last four words—a probable correction: but I maintain that it is quite likely to have been very nearly what Luke found *in his source*. For all the difficulties are removed, and we have a perfectly straightforward account in Greek of the kind Luke's authority may have used. Luke's failure to realize the sense of the vulgarism *ἐλάκησε* thus produced his very strange account.

As to the idioms assumed (i) *γενέσθαι* of place is quite common: e. g. Lk. xxii 40 *γενόμενος δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ τόπου*; (ii) *μέσος εἶναι* of place appears in one recension of Mt. xiv 24 *τὸ δὲ πλοῖον ἤδη μέσον τῆς θαλάσσης ἦν*—or the source may have had *ἐν μέσῳ*, the common idiom; (iii) *πρηνὴς ἔπεσε* (or *κατέπεσε*) is attested by a whole row of Greek writers down from Homer.

I suggest, therefore, that the transposition of *μέσος* and *πρηνής* in the account, whether we choose to consider the error that of Luke or of his scribes, solves at once almost all linguistic difficulties. The accident, I suppose, is considered to have taken place in a pit in Judas's new purchase, which may, in Luke's source, have been a potter's field; for, as may be seen from Matthew's account, such a field was expected to be the scene of his death.

A. D. KNOX.

Τὸ *μηδένα σαίνεσθαι ἐν ταῖς θλίψεσιν ταύταις* (1 THESS. iii 3).

IN general the vocabulary of Paul is not markedly different from the current prose of his period, however much his style and ideas approach the Hebraistic. Nor, in any case, do I know that this remarkable phrase—*τὸ μηδένα σαίνεσθαι ἐν ταῖς θλίψεσιν ταύταις*—has been explained as a Hebraism. Greek it certainly is not: for it can only be taken as a metaphor from the dog that *σαίνει* its tail or its master. No language ever used a word of tail-wagging to mean 'perturb mentally': and the translation 'that none be flattered' (*σαίνεσθαι* = *κολακεύεσθαι*), though legitimate, is wholly inappropriate. The citation of Hesychius, *σαίνεται· κινεῖται, σαλεύεται, ταράττεται* is of no assistance: we do not know its source, and have no right to translate it otherwise than 'is waggled', 'is moved', 'is shaken', 'is stirred'. At a guess I should say that the original refers to a scudding ripple on the sea. Nor do the *variae*

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lectiones help us. The absence of accent in some MSS shews little except that the reading was unintelligible: and the same consideration applies to the *vv. ll.* σενεσθαι and ἀσιενεσθαι. The conjecture σαλεύεσθαι has little palaeographical probability.

Now Timothy is sent εἰς τὸ στηρίξαι ὑμᾶς καὶ παρακαλέσαι ὑπὲρ τῆς πίστεως ὑμῶν . . ., and this is the exhortation 'that none be waggled in these afflictions'—not 'by' as the A.V. has it. At least this translation shews that if you translate 'moved' you must omit ἐν.

Let us try to see what advice Paul might send. May we not suppose that it would be something like that in 1 Cor. xvi 13, στήκετε ἐν τῇ πίστει, ἀνδρίζεσθε, κραταιοῦσθε—'that ye play the man in these afflictions', or, negatively, 'that none play the woman'.

Palaeographically γυναικίζεσθαι and θηλύνεσθαι are less probable than σαλεύεσθαι: but there is another word, differing little in sense, which would easily explain the corruption. I take it that the meaning of ἀνδρίζεσθαι is to preserve a calm demeanour, to hold up—as opposed to breaking down, bursting into tears and pleadings—οἰκτίζεσθαι, πληκτίζεσθαι, ὀδύρεσθαι—those will not do. But there is one word of this nature—see the note which I have written from Walter Headlam's materials on Herodas v 29—which is extremely like σαίνεσθαι. Until any plausible explanation of this monstrosity is given I would read τὸ μηδένα ⟨πα⟩θαίνεσθαι. Compare Cleopatra's behaviour in Dio Cass. li 12 quoted by Headlam,[1] and especially Porphyry *ap. Stob.* ed. i 446 θηλυνθείσῃ καὶ παθαινομένῃ (τῇ ψυχῇ). I confess I find translation difficult: perhaps 'that none *break down* in these afflictions' would give the sense, if this is not a vulgarism.

Anyhow it is easy to see why Paul wrote μηδένα and ἐν: with the sense ταράττεσθαι you would expect τὸ μὴ σαλεύεσθαι ὑμᾶς ταῖς θλ. τ. But if the sense is 'descend to womanly appeals', μηδένα is good, since if *A* were to be persecuted, *B* might παθαίνεσθαι on his behalf: and with an active sense (or middle) ἐν, wholly superfluous with the passive, is necessary. And there are plenty of contemporary hands in which ν and π are more or less alike. Once leave out πα after να and σαίνεσθαι is the only word you get at all like θαίνεσθαι.

A. D. KNOX.

[1] Ὁ οὖν Καῖσαρ συνίει μὲν αὐτῆς καὶ παθαινομένης καὶ πληκτιζομένης. She acted so hoping to be pitied (ch. lii). The appeal of Sophrone the nurse in Menand. *Epitr.* (described as παθαινομένη *v.* 587) is to the famous lines of Euripides' Augé (*fr.* 920): ἡ φύσις ἐβούλετ' ᾧ νόμων οὐδὲν μέλει. The idea that women normally play on lower, passionate, emotions gives these words a feminine character. The appeal in Lucian ii 429 is very low indeed.

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THE 'ACTA PAULI' ETC. IN TERTULLIAN.

THE reference to the 'Acta Pauli' in Tertullian *De Baptismo c.* 17 is of course well known. In the latest edition of that work (Lupton, Cambridge, 1908) the passage reads:—

> quodsi quae Pauli perperam inscripta sunt exemplum Theclae ad licentiam mulierum docendi tinguendique defendunt, sciant in Asia presbyterum . . . decessisse.

Zahn *Kanonsgesch.* ii 892 (approved by Harnack *S-B preuss. Akad.*, 1914, p. 315) emended *quae* to *qui*, and *sunt* to *legunt*.

Until Dom Wilmart's notable discovery of 1916 was made known, it was believed that no manuscript of the *De Baptismo* survived; but the Troyes (Clairvaux) MS 523 (*saec.* xii) contains it, or rather most of it,[1] along with four other treatises of Tertullian. All of these I collated in 1920, with Dom Wilmart's full approval, by the aid of a grant from the Hort Fund. I found that the MS reads the above passage thus:—

> quodsi que **acta pauli** quę perperam scripta sunt exemplum tecle ad licentiam mulierum docendi tingendi quę (*eras.*) defendunt sciant (ant *m* 2 *in ras.*) in asia presbites . . . decessit.

Whatever may be thought of some of the readings of the MS, the recovery of the real title *Acta Pauli* is an improvement, and we can see why the original editor expunged it. Lupton, as a matter of fact, suggested in his note that perhaps *Acta* has dropped out after *inscripta*.

By Mr Lupton's kind permission I am enabled to call attention to the solution of another interesting point with regard to this treatise. There is a well-known *crux* in ch. v:—

> nam et †esietos et lymphaticos et hydrophobos uocant quos aquae necauerunt aut amentia uel formidine exercuerunt.

Here our MS reads *soetos* (or perhaps *scetos*), which does not help us. But M. Isidore Lévy pointed out in 1922 that the Egyptians used ἐσίης in the sense of 'a happy soul', and that death by water was considered by them as the path to happy immortality (cf. the case of Antinous, who is several times mentioned or hinted at by Tertullian). All that we require to do is therefore to alter *esietos* to *esietas*. With D'Alès and Lupton I should regard the difficulty as now solved.

[1] Details of this MS are probably most accessible to English readers in the Appendix to my translation of Tertullian *Concerning the Resurrection of the Flesh* (S.P.C.K. 1922).

A. SOUTER.

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REVIEWS

Aramaic Papyri of the Fifth Century B.C., edited, with translation and notes, by A. COWLEY. (Clarendon Press, Oxford.)

IN this scholarly edition of the Aramaic Papyri belonging to the period of the Persian rule in Egypt, where they were found, Dr Cowley has presented us with texts and translations of all the papyri hitherto known, together with an admirable introduction and very full notes. The majority deals with the private affairs of a Jewish military colony stationed at Elephantine; one long and important Document gives the earliest known version of the story of Aḥiqar and shews that, 'though it bears a Persian colouring over its Aramaic dress, its body is clearly Babylonian' (*op. cit.*, p. 206); the last in the book contains an Aramaic version of Darius's famous inscription on the rock of Behistun. This, as Dr Cowley rightly observes, has a threefold importance: it is the earliest example that we possess (other than in cuneiform) of a Semitic translation of any text, it confirms the decipherment of the cuneiform language which was originally made from this very inscription at Behistun, and it explains Darius's statement that 'by the grace of Auramazda I made inscriptions in another manner (?) . . . which had not been done before . . . and it was written . . . and I sent those inscriptions into all lands, and the people [read them]'; for here is a copy of that sent into Egypt, since the 'inscriptions in another manner' can only refer to papyri as distinct from those written on clay-tablets or on stone (*op. cit.*, pp. 248–250).

Most interesting, moreover, are the religious questions raised by these documents: the status of the 'Temple' at Elephantine and its relation to the Temple at Jerusalem; the feast of Unleavened Bread and possibly also the Passover the celebration of which was authorized by Darius; and the five gods, Yahū or Ya'ū, 'Anāth, Bêth'ēl, 'Išum, and Ḥerem.

These divine names have caused some perplexity, and Dr Cowley has reluctantly to admit that the Jews at Elephantine worshipped at least four gods ('Anāth, Bêth'ēl, 'Išum, and Ḥerem) besides Yahū (*op. cit.*, pp. xviii–xxi); to these, on his interpretation of the texts, must be added Ḥerem-bêth'ēl (7, 7), 'Išum-bêth'ēl (22, 124), 'Anāth-bêth'ēl (22, 125), and 'Anāth-Yahū (44, 3). Now it is noticeable that, in taking, oaths, Jews swore by Yahū (2, 15, 6, 4, 6, and 11, 1), while once an Aramaean swore by Yahū (45, 4). There are two exceptions: in the

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first (14, 5) a Jewess swore by Sati, an Egyptian god, but it may be presumed that she had changed her religion at the time of her marriage, her husband being an Egyptian; in the second (44, 3) two Jews swore 'by Yahū the god, by the temple, and by 'Anāth-yahū'. Now 'the god' is added after Yahū to emphasize the fact that what follows is not a divine name; does this extend to the third name? It is difficult not to believe so; further, double god-names like ''Anāth-Yahū' meaning ''Anāth (the wife) of Yahū' are, I believe, unknown outside the papyri, although I am aware that evidence can be adduced that Yahweh was in some places provided with female companions (*Amer. Soc. Theol.* vol. xix pp. 370 ff); this name, however, is conceivable, the first element being feminine, and therefore the name of the god's consort, as is also 'Anāth-bêth'ēl, but names compounded of two male gods, such as Ḥerem-bêth'ēl and 'Išum-bêth'ēl are surely open to suspicion, if Bêth'ēl is a god. Yet there is no doubt that Bêth'ēl is, as Dr Cowley justly observes (p. xix), a god; he is known from other sources to have been a Canaanite deity, and his divinity is confirmed by such proper names as Bethel-taqem (2, 6 and 10), Bethel-'aqab (12, 9), Bethel-nathan (18, 4 and 5), Bethel-nuri (22, 6), Bethel-taddan (42, 8), and Bethel-nadin (55, 7). This, therefore, makes it unlikely that the first elements, Ḥerem and 'Išum and probably also 'Anāth, are divine names; there are other reasons also for supposing that Ḥerem is not a god's name, at any rate in 7, 7 (on which *v. infra*). There Ḥerem must mean 'sanctuary'; in the same way I suggest that 'Anāth means 'dwelling' or 'abode'. The word (א)ענת derived would then be derived from √עון 'to dwell', whence מָעוֹן 'dwelling', especially the 'dwelling' of Yahweh on earth (e.g. Ps. xxvi 8) as well as in heaven (e.g. Deut. xxvi 15), is derived. This suggestion suits both 44, 3 where the person concerned swore by Yahū personally, by the מסגדא 'house of worship' (presumably the local shrine), and by 'the dwelling' or 'abode of Yahū' (i.e. the temple at Jerusalem, which is called Yahweh's מעון in Ps. xxvi 8 and 2 Chron. xxxvi 15); for a similar use of מעון in oaths compare המעון הזה לא אלין הלילה 'by this dwelling I will not sleep to-night' (cited by Buxtorf *Lex. Chald., Talm. et Rabb.* 794 a s.v. מעון). This interpretation is also possible in 22, 125, which must be understood to mean that some of the contributions are ear-marked for the 'dwelling of Bêth'ēl'. It need scarcely be added that in the proper name Ḥerem-nathan (18, 4) Ḥerem, properly 'the sanctuary', like Bêth'ēl 'the house of God' (Gen. xxviii 19 and xxxv 7) and perhaps מותבא 'the (sacred) throne' of the god Dûšarâ (Cooke *N. S. I.* 80, 4, and 94, 3) has been converted into a deity; (see note *infra* on 18, 4).

The case of 'Išum alone remains to be considered. There is an

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obscure Babylonian deity (hardly a dęmon, as Dr Cowley says on p. xix, following Muss-Arnolt *Ass. Hwtb.* 115 b; see the note *infra* on 53, 6), who may well occur in purely Babylonian names like 'Išum-kudurri (53, 6) and 'Išum-ram (53, 9), but is unlikely to be found as a god worshipped by a Judaeo-Aramaean community in Egypt; and there is the further objection, mentioned above, to a divine name composed of the names of two male deities, since he only occurs here once in the compound 'Išum-bêth'ēl (22, 124). May not this passage be read לאשם ביתאל וג׳ and mean certain contributions were to be set apart 'for a guilt-offering unto Bêth'ēl' (the gen. expressing the indirect obj. somewhat as in מנחת יהוה 'the offering unto the Lord' in 1 Sam. ii 17), as others were reserved for his sanctuary?

Whether this explanation of 'Anāth, Ḥerem, and 'Išum is the true one or not, it is at least strange that an alternative interpretation to that usually held can be put forward in all three cases.

There are a few inconsistencies in spelling (e.g. Maḥseh, but Maḥseiah for Maḥseiah, 5, 2 and 12 al.) noticeable here and there, where Dr Cowley has followed the R.V., and occasionally in the rendering of the tenses (e.g. of לבשן הוין in 30, 15 and 31, 14). There is also some variation in the translation of the legal terms: thus רשא = 'claimed' (8, 24 and 26), 'pleaded' (20, 6), and 'sued' (20, 4, 7, 11, 13, 14, and 16; 25, 10, 12, 14; 43, 10 and 44, 5); רשא דין = 'sued' (20, 14) and 'brought a claim' (25, 15); both רשא דינא (28, 9) and רשא דינן (28, 8) = 'moved the court'; and רשא דין ודבב = 'instituted suit or process' (8, 12 and 20; 9, 13; 13, 9 and 43, 4), and 'brought a suit or process' (20, 11). Similarly, קבל is translated 'lodged a complaint' (6, 5; 10, 12 and 18), 'appealed' (8, 13), and 'complained' (47, 7). But, as there seems to be no uniformity or distinction in the documents themselves, the translator cannot be expected to discriminate between the various terms employed; it seems, however, a pity to have used 'appealed' for קבל, since that term usually denotes in English the taking of a case before a higher court, which is certainly not here intended.

Yet these are but small blemishes in an otherwise excellent work, which will remain the standard edition of the Aramaic papyri for many years. Dr Cowley has wisely finished off the work with a full index, while the printing and *format* of the book well maintain the high standard to be expected in the publications of the Clarendon Press.

The following notes are added in the hope that they may contribute something, however small, to the interpretation of these important texts:—

2, 3. On לאמר for למאמר in Aram. documents see Lidzbarski *Altaramäische Urkunden aus Assur* p. 8, ll. 8 and 17, and note on p. 11.

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3, 9. A comparison of Aram. סון and Arab. أُسْوَانُ makes it certain that the Sem. name for Syene (Gk. Συήνη) had no final letter corresponding to the -η of the Gk. termination. The Hebr. form would therefore have been rather סון than סונה; if this was so, the final ה in סונה (Ezek. xxix 10 and xxx 6) *must* be *hē locale*, and the word should be pointed סוֹנָה (not סְוֵנֵה, as MT.), as has been conjectured by several scholars.

18. If לבנן is rightly taken to mean 'bricks' in the sense of 'cuneiform tablets', the בי זי לבנן 'house of bricks' = 'record-office' is a translation of Sum. *E.DUB.BA.*, Ass. *bît ṭuppi* 'house of tablets' = 'registry'.

5, 6 (note). For כְּהֵל read כָּהֵל.

7 (note). For 'p. xxii' read 'pp. xxx–xxxii'.

6, 5. The equation of על דבר 'on account of' with על here and בשם in 8, 12 establishes its use as a compound prep.; cp. Ps. xlv 5 על־דבר־אמת wrongly translated 'because of the word of truth' by the P.V.

12. Render בר לי וג' '(any) son of mine' &c. (indef.) here and elsewhere, in contrast to ll. 4–5: /// אנת ואנתתך וברך כל 'thou and thy wife and thy son, three in all'; in the first case בר לי implies potential and as yet unborn sons against ברך (defin.) the only son then alive. Cp. 20, 12: איש לכם '(any) man of yours' for this method of expressing an indefinite person.

22. This ספר מרחק is compared by Lautner (*Die Richterliche Entscheidung und die Streitbeendigung im Altbabylonischen Prozessrechte*, pp. 2, n. 5, and 5, n. 13) with the Bab. *ṭuppi lâ ragâmim*, a document deposited by the defendant (and very rarely by the plaintiff) to the effect that he would not reopen the case, i.e. an undertaking to abide by the decision of the court; he compares also the συγχώρησις of the demotic papyri and the *securitas* of Frankish law.

7, 7. The translation 'by Ḥerem-bethel' for על חרם ביתאל cannot, I think, be correct for the following reasons:—(*a*) it is doubtful whether there was such a god as Ḥerem-bethel, in view of the form of the name (*v. supra*); (*b*) 'swore by (a god)' is always ימא ב' (e.g. 6, 4 and 11; 14, 5; 44, 3 and 45, 5), as in Hebr., Syr., and the Targûmîm, whereas על usually connotes the subject of the oath (e.g. 14, 8), which is here out of the question; (*c*) there is no word in the sentence to indicate that an oath was taken. Is it not to be translated 'at the sanctuary of (the god) Bêth'ēl' just as Babylonian judges imposed oaths to be taken at the temple of Šamaš (Schorr *Altbabylonische Rechtsurkunden* 257, 6–7) or of Marduk (*ibid.*, 276, 9)? Compare Sab. חרמת 'sanctuary', Arab. حَرَمٌ 'sacred enclosure', and the place-name חרם in Jos. xix 38 for the early use of the word to denote a 'place set apart' to a god (see Cooke *N. S. I.* p. 220).

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In the note on p. 21, *ad locum*, read 'pp. xviii–xix' for 'p. x'.

8, 20. The use of רשה דין ודבב 'to raise a claim' is parallel to the Neobab. *paqra rašû* in the same sense; cp. *rašûtu* (= Aram. רשות 'loan', &c.) 'credit' and then 'claim'.

8, 22. With הלך בדין compare Bab. *ana dayânê alâku* (e.g. Schorr, *op. cit.*, 259, 4, al.).

9, 2. The pron. זכם 'that very', 'the same', is interesting, for hitherto, outside these papyri, where זך and זכם are in regular use, forms with ד (e.g. Bibl. Aram. דְּךָ) have almost, if not quite, exclusively occurred; cp. Eth. *zĕkû* 'this' (and 'this very' when combined with the pron. of the 3rd pers.). The afformative *m*, which is found in several adverbs in these papyri, is connected with the Ass. dem. pron. *ammû* 'that', just as the afformative *n* in such forms as B. A. דְּכֵן is cognate with Ass. *annû* 'this'. As *m* expresses the more remote, *n* the near object, זכם denotes more precisely 'that very' than 'the same'; cp. Mehri *dāk* and *dākame* (masc.), *dīk* and *dīkeme* (fem.) 'that' (Brockelmann *V. G.* i § 107 p. 320).

The origin of the use of שנא 'hated' as a t.t. for 'divorced' can be traced back to the Code of Ḫammurabi, vii b 60–63 (§ 142): *šumma sinništum muza izîr-ma úl taḫḫazanni iqtabi* 'if a woman has hated her husband' and has refused him his marital rights, she may, under certain circumstances, be divorced.

13. By translating אחריך (sing.) 'after you' instead of 'after thee' Dr Cowley obscures the point; here 'after thee' i.e. after thy death (the wife being divorced) is in direct contrast with אחריכם (plur.) in l. 8, which connotes 'after the death of you both' (i.e. husband and wife). It would perhaps have been clearer to have preserved the distinction between the sing. and the plur. of the 2nd pers. throughout, at any rate, the legal documents.

11. Edited by Professor G. A. Cooke *North Semitic Inscriptions* pp. 404–407.

11, 2. With the אבני פתח cp. Bab. *aban* (*il*) *Šamaš* and *še'at* (*il*) *Šamaš* (Schorr *Altbabylonische Rechtsurkunden* pp. 506 and 554); it is clear, both from Babylonian and from Jewish practice (cp. 2 Sam. xiv 26) that different standards were current simultaneously.

6 (note). The Ass. *nibzu*, cited by Dr Johns, is now well attested; cp. the phrase *ina libbi IM. ni-ib-zi annâ šaṭru*, an alternative for *ina libbi niyâri annâ šaṭru*, since *niyâru* is a well-known word for 'document' (*Babyloniaca* iv. 92, 93). See also Klauber *Politisch-Religiöse Texte* pp. xxvii–xxviii and 164 b, and Bezold *Catalogue* vol. v p. xxix. The vb. *nabâzu*, 'to enter in a document', seems to occur in Schorr *Altbabylonische Rechtsurkunden* 270, 4 (Walther in *Z.D.M.G.* lxix. 431).

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13. 4. If אכלת is the true reading, אכל may here be used like Bab. *akâlu* 'to enjoy the use' of property; it may then be translated 'I enjoyed the use of them', not necessarily 'I consumed them'.

14, 5. The fem. אלהתה, which is not cited by the lexx. for Aram. (as distinct from Syr.) occurs, outside these papyri, also in Nabataean inscriptions, in *C. I. S.* ii, 182, 1 and 336, 3.

15, 25 (note). On the phrase מן חם עד חוט commentators suggest something of little value for חם; but the analogy of Bab. *ištu bê adi ḫurâṣim* 'from straw to gold', i.e. things both valueless and valuable, suggests that, as חוט 'thread' is something of little value, חם may perhaps signify the reverse.

18, 3. For the use of הם to express the dir. obj. compare Lidzbarski *op. cit.* p. 8, l. 17: אשה אכלתהם and n. on p. 13. Both examples may be due to *scriptio defectiva*.

4. That Ḥerem, at least in the name Ḥerem-nathan, is a god is proved by the analogy of such names as Bêth'ēl-nathan (*ibid.*), Yahū-nathan (18, 5), Nabû-nathan (14, 11 al.), &c.

P. 61, l. 6. For 'p. xvi+' read 'p. xxiv+'.

22, 123 (note). For 'p. x' read 'p. xix'.

24, 14. Restore שׁ[וש]גרי rather than שׁ[מש]גרי; cp. נורשוש in l. 13.

25. For פטותן the translation has PṬNTU, apparently an error for PṬNTN.

26, 11. With חנן compare also Arab. خُنَّ ٱلْمَرْكَبِ 'the hold of the ship'.

17 (note). For זז read זר.

28, 4. Cp. Lidzbarski *op. cit.* p. 8, l. 12, and n. on p. 12.

4 and 5. The two slaves were here marked with their owner's name, as camels were marked with the tribal mark in Arabia (Robertson Smith *Kinship and Marriage* pp. 247–251). In this connexion Sir John Miles has called my attention to the Greek κοππατίας, 'a horse branded with a *koppa*' (ϙ), the initial of Corinth, and σαμφόρας 'a horse marked with *san*', the initial of Sicyon or Sparta, in the old alphabet; Professor Hunt also compares the marking of camels with letters in *Berl. Gr. Urk.*, 153, 15–17 and 34–35, and a curious passage in *Ox. Pap.*, 1680, 11–12. Is it not likely, therefore, that the mark of the individual owner למבטחיה in the case also of these slaves followed the initial of the locality, i. e. י (*yôdh*), the initial of יב (*Yeb*), to indicate the district in which they were registered and to which, if they fled, they were to be restored? The Bab. *abbuttum* on slaves may have been a mark of a similar kind.

8. The phrase רשׁה דינן 'obtained judges' is analogous to Bab. *kašâdu daiânê* 'to obtain judges', i.e. to obtain a hearing.

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30, 5. Dr Cowley has asked me to draw attention to the misprint אהלא, which should be corrected to אלהא.

The word המונית has not yet been explained, though 'in league', 'in agreement', or the like, is required by the context. Is it possible that it is an Aram. adv. formed from הֲמוֹנָיָה = Gk. ὁμόνοια 'agreement' (Dalman *Aram.-Neuh. Wtb.* 108 b)? Another Gk. word in these papyri is סחתרי = Gk. στατήρ; and it is at least conceivable that הֲמוֹנָיָה = ὁμόνοια also may have become current in Egypt as a technical term in business.

7. With לחיא cp. Arab. لحا I. 'covered (a person) with shame', 'reviled'; IV. 'committed a blameworthy action'; مَلْحِيٌّ 'accursed'.

15. On the construction of לבשן הוין see the note on 41, 3.

16. The translation 'the dogs tore off the anklet from his legs' for כלביא הנפקו כבלא מן רגלוהי hardly yields a satisfactory sense; and perhaps כָּלְבַיָּא (not כַּלְבַיָּא) from כָּלְבָא (cp. מָכְסָא 'tax-collector', יְנָקָא 'child', &c., for similar participial formations) means 'fetterers', 'shacklers', from √כלב, whence Arab. مُكَلَّبٌ 'fettered' (Freytag *Lex. Arab.-Lat.* iv. 52 b) is derived. Then there will be a play on כלביא and כבלא: the fetterers robbed him of his anklet (and doubtless put fetters on his feet in its place), while the rest of his possessions were destroyed.

35, 3. The phrase איתי לבי עלי כסף 'thou hast a claim on me for silver' is another example of Bab. legal terminology; cp. Ungnad *Babylonische Briefe* 125, 22: *kaspam elišu išu* 'he has a claim on him for silver'.

38, 3. Dr Cowley translates אבן צריף 'a precious (?) stone'; but no such term for 'precious stone' is known. May it not rather mean 'a lump of alum'? This was among the ancients a substance of some value, of which the best kind was found in Egypt; (see Plin. *Nat. Hist.* 35, 184: *laudatissimum in Aegypto, proximum in Melo; huius quoque duae species, liquidum spissumque*). Cp. Aram. צָרִיף and צְרִיפְתָּא (Levy *Neuh. u. Chald. Wtb.* iv. 222–223) and Syr. ܨܪܦܐ (Payne-Smith *Thes. Syr.* ii. 3447–3448) 'alum'. The √צרף, whence צריף 'alum' is derived, is of some interest; Ass. *ṣarâpu* means not only, like Hebr. צרף, 'to refine' metals, but also 'to dye' (Muss-Arnolt *A. W. B.* 893–894, where it is wrongly separated from *ṣarâpu* 'to refine'); cp. Arab. صَرِيفٌ (1) 'pure (silver)' and (2) 'of two colours' (Dozy *Suppl.* i. 829 b). Now alum was used by the ancients both in refining metals and in dyeing (von Lippmann *Entstehung u. Ausbreitung der Alchemie* pp. 4–10); this use, then, constitutes the connecting link between the two uses of *ṣarâpu*, צרף, both processes being regarded as forms of 'change'; cp. Arab صرف I. 'exchanged', II. 'changed'. Hence the

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town of Sarepta, Hebr. צָרְפַת, was not so called from smelting works (as the *Oxford Hebrew Lexicon*, 864 b), but from the dye there obtained; for it lay on the Phoenician coast, between Tyre and Sidon, the two centres of the ancient dye-extracting industry.

39, 3. With הושרתי 'thou hast settled [the affair]' compare Bab. *wašâru* 'to settle' (a claim); e.g. Lutz *Early Babylonian Letters* 26, 9–13: *mimma eli* (*ilat*) *Ištar-šumu ûlâ išû nipušû wašir* 'they have no claim whatsoever against I.; we have arranged it (?); it is settled'. Cp. Lidzbarski *op. cit.* p. 8, l. 14.

41, 3. These papyri afford interesting proof of the early tendency among the Semites to form those compound tenses, which were fully developed in the post-Bibl. Sem. languages. Three types here occur:—

(i) הֲוָה יְעַבַּד 'he used to send'; e.g. הוית אשלח 'I used to send' and הוה יאתה 'he used to come' (41, 3). This construction, of which there are only these two examples, is also rare in Syr., occurring occasionally in conditional clauses and more frequently in dependent clauses after a pf. (Nöldeke *Syr. Gr.* § 268); in Arab. كان followed by the impf. meaning 'used to' is a regular construction (Wright *Arab. Gr.* ii. § 9).

(ii) עֲבַד הֲוָה 'he had done'; e.g. בנה הוה 'had been built' (30, 25 and 32, 4–5). The same construction is found also in Syr. (Nöldeke *op. cit.* § 263) and is analogous to the Arab. use of كان followed by the pf. to express the plup. (Wright *op. cit.* § 3 c); the latter is found as early as B.C. 254 in a Phoenician inscription, in which כן נדר bears precisely the same force as Arab. كان نذر 'had vowed' (Cooke *N. S. I.* 27, 5).

(iii) (*a*) In *past* time: הֲוָה עָבֵד 'he was wont to do', 'continued to do', or 'kept on doing'; e.g. לבשׁן הוין 'we continued to wear' (30, 15 and 31, 14); הוה מתעבד 'was wont to be done' (32, 11); הוו שׁלחן 'kept on sending' (17, 3) month by month, as in 11, 7; הוה and הוית מסבל 'he' and 'I kept on supporting' (Aḥ. 48 and 72).

(*b*) In *present* time: יְהֲוֶה עָבֵד 'he is wont to do' or 'keeps on doing'; e.g. יהוה מסמה 'is wont to devour (?)' (Aḥ. 88); אהוה משׁלם 'I keep on paying' (11, 7) month by month, as in 17, 3; יהוון שׁתין (27, 7–8) '(if it has been supervised,) they will keep on drinking'.

Both these forms occur in Bibl. Aram. (e.g. (*a*) in Dan. v 19; (*b*) in Dan. ii 43); they became the normal construction in Mishn. Hebr. (Albrecht *Neuh. Gr.* § 107 i) and are used occasionally in Syr. (Nöldeke *op. cit.* § 277). They occur too in a Palmyrene inscription of A.D. 137 (Cooke *N. S. I.* 147, i. 5, 6, and 10); the first only is found also in Mandaic, but only very rarely with הוה inflected (Nöldeke *Mand. Gr.* § 264).

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Occasionally the main vb. precedes the ptcp., apparently to give it special emphasis; e.g. Beh. 59: הוו . . . קמן 'kept on standing' or 'continued to stand'. This occurs not infrequently in Bibl. Aram. (e.g. Dan. iv 7, 10, 26; vii 6, 8, 13); it is rare in Mishn. Hebr. (Albrecht *op. cit.* § 107 k) but is the regular practice in Syr. (Nöldeke *loc. cit.*).

47, 3 and 7. Elsewhere סגן is better translated 'governor' (8, 13 and 10, 13 and 18), not 'magistrate' (as here), except in 26, 9 and 21 'head of the carpenters'.

48, 3. In למלקחה לאנתו 'to take her for (*Angl.* in) marriage' there is yet another echo of Babylonian legal phraseology; cp. Bab. *ana aššûtim aḫâzu* 'to take for (*Angl.* in) marriage'.

53, 6. The name אשמכדרי is compounded of Išum, the Bab. god of fire, who with his consort belonged to the family of Nergal (Deimel *Pantheon Babylonicum* 141–142) and *kudurru* 'boundary'. With the name Išum-kudurri compare (*il*) *I-šum-mu-ša-lim* on a text in the Ashmolean Museum (1923, no. 352, O.[5]) and, for the second element, Nabû-kudurri (5, 18; 29, 2 and 35, 2).

54, 15. More idiomatically: 'send (word) to Nabû-nathan to give up', the conj. 'and' followed by the impf. serving to express the ultimate issue, as in Hebr. (e.g. 1 Chron. xiii 2: נשלחה על־אחינו . . . ויקבצו אלינו 'let us send . . . unto our brethren . . . to gather themselves unto us').

71. Edited by Prof. Cooke *North Semitic Inscriptions* No. 77.

72. Edited *ibid.*, No. 76.

AḤIQAR 29. Translate הוה על 'leaned upon' rather than 'was guided by'.

29. Preferably 'enraged', as in the note. The following שמע Dr Cowley seems to take as the ptcp.; is it not rather the pf.: 'Then E. will be greatly enraged, having heard . . .'? Cp. Lev. xiii 23, Num. xxx 12, and Deut. xxi 1 (pf. in a circumstantial clause following impf.).

62 and 69. Not 'between these two mountains', as Dr Cowley translates בין טוריא אלה תרין, but 'between these two rocks'. The intention of the conspirators is to crush the unfortunate slave to death so that his body may be unrecognizable; the officers whom the king is expected to send (ll. 62–63) will then mistake the body of the slave for that of Aḥiqar. Consequently טור must mean 'rock'; cp. Hebr. צור 'cliff,' and 'rock', 'boulder'.

53. The rendering of רחמן הו כמנדע 'he is kind as any man (?), is hardly possible. May not כמנדע mean 'like something'='somehow', 'somehow or other', or 'peradventure', and introduce what follows? If so, translate l. 53: 'King Esarhaddon is kind; somehow or other hereafter he will remember me'.

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51–59. It is hardly necessary to assume the mng. 'think' for אמר in l. 59; translate זי אנת אמר . . . אמר 'say what thou sayest'—i.e. say thy say. Cp. l. 121: שׂא לך זי תנשׂא 'take for thyself what thou wilt take'.

74. The words יהב לי 'he gave me' are accidentally omitted in the translation.

92. Probably 'a' (or 'the) third' rather than 'of three'; for a gen. preceding its *nomen regens* is awkward. Cp. Syr. ܬܠܝܬ ܕܥܡܐ for ܬܠܝܬ ܥܡܐ (Nöldeke *Syr. Gr.* § 239).

104. Perhaps 'logs' rather than 'wood' gives due force to the plur. עקן.

107. Can זי אל עמה mean 'with whom there is strength'? Cp. Hebr. אל in the phrase יֵשׁ לְאֵל יָדִי. The occurrence of Hebr. אל only in one stereotyped phrase makes it likely that it is a survival from the earliest period, nor, in view of Hebr. אל = 'God', is it likely to have been a neologism in that language; consequently, it is not improbable that it may have survived sporadically in the other Sem. languages. (In l. 161 לה is redundant, if עמה is a prep.)

127. Is it possible to translate הכצר כל כציר 'who takest care of (thy) possessions', i.e. art thrifty? Cp. Ass. *kaṣâru* 'to keep, retain, preserve' and *kiṣru* 'possessions'. To take כצר = קצר is difficult, as this branch of Aram. does not object to two emphatic consonants in succession (e.g. קטל, קצר in 66, 9, and קצת).

137. Can 'lead astray' be attested for השגי in Aram.? The Pesh. renders Hebr. השגה by ܠܐ ܢܣܒ, and the only instance of השגי with a trans. mng. in the Targûmîm cited by the lexx. is in Prov. xxviii 10. Translate אל תהשׂגא לבבא 'magnify not (thy) heart' (from שׂגא = סגא, not שׂגא); thus riches and pride balance one another.

162. Is not עממא a resolved sing. for עמא, as מדרה = מדה in l. 159, rather than an irregular plur.? If so, it is used collectively with a plur. vb.; cp. Jos. iii 16: והעם עברו (Pesh. ܘܥܒܪ ܥܡܐ); *Beh.* 5: חילא זילי למרדיא קטלו.

174. The inverted form סאנא, ܣܐܢ (= שׂאנא) for ܫܢܐ is not infrequent in Syr.; see Payne-Smith *Thes. Syr.* ii 2670. Possibly, however, Syr. ܣܐܢ is cognate with Arab. شَانَ(ى) 'dishonoured', 'defamed', and means 'reviler', and is therefore not connected with √סנא 'hated' by metathesis.

191. The connotation of הרכב is probably 'aimed' (lit. 'rested' the arrow in position) rather than 'shot' (cp. 2 Kings xiii 16).

218. Dr Cowley translates לא ב[ע]ולה 'either a married woman', but it is strange advice to a man not to buy (as wife?) a married woman

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(in spite of Mr Thomas Hardy's *Mayor of Casterbridge*)! Read לא בו[ת]ולא and translate the sentence: 'Let not a man buy (as wife?) one that is not a virgin'; cp. Lev. xxi 7: אשה זנה וחללה לא יקחו. In view of Ass. *batultu*, Hebr. בתולה, and Syr. ܒܬܘܠܬܐ there is no reason why בתולה, which occurs in late Aram., should not be found here also.

BEHISTUN 2. It is interesting to notice that Aram. עבד קרב corresponds both to Bab. *epêšu taḫâza* and to Bab. *itepšû ṣaltum*; ancient translators did not aim at accuracy in their work.

4. On the √ערק see Lidzbarski *op. cit.* pp. 11, 12.

35. The phrase שמת . . . קטיליא 'I put . . . to death' is apparently without parallel in the Sem. languages.

P. 310, col. a. Under מרחק '15, 20' should be '25, 20'.

G. R. DRIVER.

THE APOCALYPSE.

L'Apocalypse de Jean, by ALFRED LOISY. (E. Nourry, Paris, 1923.)

Book of Revelation: theory of the text, re-arranged text and translation, commentary, by JOHN OMAN, Principal, Westminster College, Cambridge. (University Press, Cambridge, 1923.)

New Light on the Revelation of St John the Divine, by C. E. DOUGLAS. (The Faith Press, 1923.)

The Apocalypse of St John, by Canon M. G. GLAZEBROOK. (Murray, 1923.)

Visions of Hope and Fear, by GEORGE W. THORN. (Student Christian Movement, 32 Russell Square.)

M. LOISY's latest addition to his New Testament studies displays all the qualities which we have learned to expect in his work, full knowledge of all the work of his predecessors in the critical field, or at least of their theories, acute insight, trenchant criticism, and clear interpretation. Perhaps in this case we may add more sympathetic treatment and kindlier toleration of an early Christian document. We do not here feel so acutely the impossibility of the 'final editor' ever having done anything right, which some of us find so depressing in M. Loisy's criticism of the writer who is responsible for the Acts in its present form. This difference of attitude, more easily felt than defined, would seem to be due to his recognition of the historical value of the work as evidence of the type of Christianity to be found in Asia at the end of the first century, and its power to assimilate elements so diverse as the mental and spiritual outlook of the Fourth Gospel, and the popular

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eschatology of the Apocalypse, which found expression in these two books, belonging to the same district and period. 'Le fait montre que le Christianisme a été capable d'absorber des éléments fort disparates, et de les digérer tant bien que mal sans en être sérieusement incommodé' (p. 54).

Astral origins, mythological traditions and Jewish Apocalyptic, traditional and written, are the sources used by the author, who collects, arranges, and interprets all this material, and uses it to explain past history as the revelation of God's purpose, to encourage the Christian Churches of the present under actual and imminent suffering, and to disclose the course of future history and the vindication of God's justice and purpose. The regular plan of the book, as it stands, is fully recognized. The seven letters, seals, trumpets, and bowls are the stages, or scenes, of an eschatological drama, from the present conditions of the Churches to the end of the world and the establishment of a new order. But while the general frame is clear the scenes are not always well connected and arranged. There are doublets, insertions, anticipations. The 'artifice' by which the seventh of each series developes into and covers the next betrays redactional combination rather than the connexion of events. The 'unity' of the Apocalypse is 'superficial and chaotic'.

The first part of the book M. Loisy finds in the first three chapters, the address to the churches, the inaugural vision (i 9–20), and the seven letters (ii, iii). The second contains the seven seals with their introductory vision of the throne of God, the seven spirits, the twenty-four Elders, and four Cherubin, then the book with seven seals, the book of destiny which the Lamb alone can carry out. The description of the throne is inspired by Ezekiel. The twenty-four Elders are astral personifications, 'but they come too late in the description' and are really a doublet of the four Cherubin. The seven lamps are a gloss, and in themselves a doublet of the crystal sea. The four cherubin are originally the principal constellations of the zodiac. Astrological tradition, not Ezekiel, has supplied this feature of the vision. Very ancient mythological tradition gave the essential elements, especially the Divine Being, alone qualified to carry the plan into execution. But the writer found his material, thence derived, already shaped by Jewish hope. Originally the seven seals contained a complete eschatology. The author has used it for but a part of his whole scheme, and has modified it in consequence.

This summary of one section must suffice to indicate M. Loisy's method, his insight and ingenuity, not always free from dogmatism and arbitrary conjecture. In view of Dr Charles's rearrangements it may however be interesting to note M. Loisy's explanation of the last

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two chapters. The double presentation of the city (xxi 1–8 and xxi 9–xxii 5) has come about 'probably because the Christian author, before introducing the grand description with which one of his sources furnished him, judged it apposite to make a general statement of the happiness of the Saints, and final warning to sinners who will be excluded'. In any case the first part (? xxi 1–8) is redactional *remplissage*. M. Loisy has hardly seen the value of the description of the future life which is begun in xxi 1–8, and surely is continued in xxii 3–5 (if not 1–5). But the theory of a general statement, followed by mere detailed description, drawn at least in substance from another source, is to some of us more convincing than Dr Charles's many fragments jumbled together by incredibly stupid editing.

In M. Loisy's judgement the Apocalypse shews regularity of plan, unity of frame and of dominant thought. But that does not exclude compilation *assez indigeste*, incoherences, contradictions. A principal author, who has not succeeded in making a homogeneous work out of his borrowings, and a redactor whose retouching is strictly limited, but who is always present, and has always in view his object, of introducing to the whole Church as an Apostolic work a book which had been addressed to the Churches of Asia, by a prophet of the district, who certainly was *not* the Apostle John, the son of Zebedee.

The introduction contains, as we should expect, short and lucid sections on the Apocalypse in Christian tradition (5–10) and Critical work on the Apocalypse (10–21). M. Loisy is always at his best in his short and critical summaries of more recent criticism. We naturally look with special interest for his judgement on Dr Charles's work, for the book has clearly had a considerable influence on his own. 'The most recent and in some respects the most complete commentary on the Apocalypse, that of Charles (1920), while resting on a profound knowledge of Apocalyptic tradition, has carried on the method of literary analysis, which it has pushed to its extreme limits.' A short and lucid summary of Dr Charles's position is then given, which need not be repeated here, and the different sources, Greek and Hebrew, which form the raw material of Dr Charles's elaborate reconstruction. He then sums up, 'This distinction of Hebrew and Greek sources, based (*uniquement fondée*) on peculiarities of language, leaves a somewhat confused impression. Charles has studied, more profoundly than any one else, the language of the Apocalypse, but he has perhaps introduced into this discussion of sources *quelque subtilité*. One may also suspect that he has treated more roughly than reason demands the Editor of the Apocalypse, and that his reconstruction of the last chapters is somewhat rash.' This is just criticism, but we should have welcomed some word of recognition of the fundamental rightness of Dr Charles's

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method of explaining and interpreting the Book. The wood is there, even if at times the trees obscure its excellence.

Unfortunately Principal Oman's book appeared too late to be included in M. Loisy's criticisms. Possibly even had he known it, 'il l'aurait malmené plus que de raison', for brilliant and suggestive as it is, it is not always convincing. But we are all grateful to Prof. Burkitt's Seminaar and its deliberations, at which Dr Oman was present, in search of 'knowledge about the documents of religion'. If 'in the alembic of its learning', especially its 'Semitic erudition, ideas evaporated and only mere negations seemed to be left', the leisure of the next Christmas vacation soon brought back ideas, and convictions were formed which find expression in a most stimulating, if provocative, treatise. First came the conviction that the book is one, that its literary sources are almost entirely the Prophets, and that the Visions are 'transparencies' of realities, concrete if ideal to the ancient world, though for us abstractions, a 'view of the world' that it might be possible to reconstruct by rearrangement. Then the attempt, which led to the discovery of the uniform length of the sections which most needed moving. Hence a definite standard, by the aid of which 'the sections rearranged themselves so simply and naturally that in the first rapid ordering of them a fuller consideration has only led to altering the position of one'. Like Dr Charles, Principal Oman finds the traces of disorder in the present book plainest towards the end, but he considers the Archdeacon's rearrangement too complex and elaborate: while the transposition of sections of the same length is simple, and offers a natural explanation of the present state of the book. The discovery that the Women of xii 6 and xvii 1 are parallel conceptions started Dr Oman on his way. Babylon the great is the Rule of the World, the other woman is the Rule of God and His Christ. But the Rule of the World must be distinguished from the World-Empire, of which Rome is the last great embodiment. Therefore the fall of Rome must precede the description of the end of the worldly civilization which embodies the Rule of the World. 'This involves the transposition of xix 11–21 and xvi 7–19.' Some of us may have to add that it involves for us the rejection of the theory. If anything in the whole Apocalypse seems plain and certain, it is that ch. xvii refers to Rome, the city of the seven hills (xvii 9), not seven waters as Dr Oman emends the text into conformity with *vv.* 1–15. We are not satisfied that 'the fall of Rome, even if that event were not already past, in no way meets the requirements of ch. xvii'. To find in xix 11–21, made up to the right length of a section by the insertion of xiv 19, 20 after xix 15, one of the passages which describe the fall of Rome seems equally unsatisfactory (see Oman, pp. 6, 61, 131, &c.). So however the theory grew. If the

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Trumpets are reduced to three, 'as Dr Charles argues', then, we are told, they are merely a form of the last trump, and must be towards the end of the book: and ch. x, 'being the call to write the book' (we must ask, what book?) 'must be near the beginning'. In the case of the transpositions, about which the reader must judge whether the reasons given for them are satisfactory, it was observed that the length of the Greek text of each was a little more than a page of Gebhardt's edition, or a multiple of this constant unit. So, when 'glosses' were cut out, the rest of the book appeared in the shape of disarranged leaves, each page containing thirty-three lines of Gebhardt's text, or sections that could be written on multiples of this unit. And they can be rearranged to give a consistent and intelligible whole. First the introduction (except i 1–8) and the letters to the Churches: then the Prophetic Call (ch. x, helped out with xxii 6–8 after x 10): then the main part of the book in two almost equal parts. (i) The Rule of the World and its Fall, which may be subdivided into (*a*) the Forces in conflict, xi 1–13, xii, xiii 1–xiv 5; (*b*) the fall of the World Empires and of the World Rule, xv 5–xvi 16 (the gathering together to Armageddon), followed by xix 11–16, xiv 19, 20 (wine-press), xix 17–21, vi 2–17 (plagues of the seals, cutting out the references to the opening of each seal; for reasons see pp. 6, 12), xvi 17–xix 9 (end of the World-rule, the story of Rome having ended before this section). (ii) The Rule of Christ and the Final Order, divided into (*a*) the Millennial Kingdom, xxi 9–xxii 17, xvi 15, xix 9, 10, xx 10; (*b*) the Last Things, xx 10 b, iv 1–vi 1 (when the Lamb had opened *one* of the Seals), vii 1–17 (sealing of the Tribes, and the Great Multitude, &c.), viii 1–ix 21 (omitting viii 7–12 the first four trumpets), xi 14–19, xiv 6–19, xv 1–4, xx 11–xxi 8.

So, when the editor's Introduction (i 1–8) and his Epilogue (*vv.* 18–21), and the 'glosses' have been purged away, a book is restored of which it is claimed that we get now a consistent whole, 'a book of prophecy in the Old Testament sense of shewing the Divine aspect of events, the principles of the things that are as well as the things that shall be'. A 'book of prophecy', not an Apocalypse. Is that the original form of the writing presented to the Christian Churches of Asia at the end of the First Century? The restored 'prophecy', which is not an Apocalypse, may give us a philosophy, or should we say a *politik* of Religion, which commends itself to the thought of our generation as more 'possible' than the document known to us as the Revelation of St John the Divine. But is it a work of the first century, and not of the twentieth?

One sentence in the Commentary on § XIII (xvi 17–xvii 9) of the restored order may be quoted as suggesting that something has perhaps

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been expected in the Apocalypse which does not belong to its time or thought. 'She (the woman of ch. xvii) is described as the source of all idolatries, which is to say that all idolatry is atheistic materialism.' What does this mean in connexion with a document of the first century?

And a protest must be made against the translation of x 6 *χρόνος οὐκέτι ἔσται* 'not yet is the time' (cf. xxi 1, 4, xviii 11, 14). Even Semitic Greek cannot manage that, in spite of Elliott's *Horae Apocalypticae!* It was a relief, after seeing this translation, to find in Dr Charles 'there shall be time no longer', and still further to read in his Commentary 'the clause means that there will be no delay'.

But these, and others like them which might be quoted, are small points. The conclusion of the matter is that our thanks are due to Dr Oman for a most stimulating and suggestive book, even if we cannot agree with its thesis, and must look elsewhere for the solution of the mystery of the Apocalypse.

Mr C. E. Douglas, who has amassed more knowledge of oriental cults than he has apparently digested, has discovered that 'the Revelation of St John the Divine is the unique example of that higher mysticism to which the adepts attain only after years of discipline and trial, and which, under ordinary circumstances, they will die rather than reveal. St John's purpose in publication is two-fold, (*a*) to kill the claims of 'false prophecy' by letting the world into its secrets, (*b*) to demonstrate that the ancient searching after God was a foreshadowing of the Word-made-flesh' (p. 132). He has reached the conviction that it 'was written somewhere about A.D. 50 by a Jewish Christian of the inner knowledge, that the purpose was positive rather than negative, to shew the Kingdom of God as present here and now, an actual eternal fact not a dream of the future, and that the old order has passed away—the new Jerusalem, the new Israel of the *ecclesia* of Christ being the leaven of the new creation in the eternal Light and Life of God'. So the whole book is searched with candles to find traces of 'the Kabeiritic Triad', the occult meaning of the planets, the mystical uses of numbers, 3, 7, 12. Let us take one example. 'Kabir' means the Strong one. Kabirin are called *ἰσχυροί*. Now three *strong* angels are mentioned (x 1, v 1, xviii 21). So the author would teach that 'speculations like those connected with the Kabiritic traditions have a certain core of truth'. On such lines much 'new light' can be thrown on the Apocalypse, and if students of the book do not find it illuminating Mr Douglas will feel but little surprise. 'Modern scholars (including Dr Charles) have made such nonsense of one of the most remarkable books ever written, that little attention need be paid to their explanations of its symbolism' (p. 3). Cf. p. 31: 'The textual

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critic simply rejects all difficulties as "glossess", copyists' errors if small, additions by an Imbecile Editor if considerable. He is, in fact, deliberately (though unconsciously) dishonest.'

Two other books on the Apocalypse, published this year, deserve mention here. Their more popular character hardly justifies more than a short notice in this JOURNAL, though their real merit deserves fuller treatment. than the inconsequent ramblings of Mr C. E. Douglas. Canon Glazebrook has added another volume to the modern Churchman's Library in which he has 'attempted to set forth the main results which Dr Charles has attained and to shew what follows from them'. He has not followed Dr Charles at all slavishly and does not accept all his conclusions. But he has given us an admirably clear and lucid account of the meaning and context of the Apocalypse, and the methods of interpretation which should be applied to it.

Mr G. W. Thorn's *Visions of Hope and Fear* is written for the Student Christian Movement, 'for those who desire to know something of what may be claimed, in the light of modern scholarship, as to the abiding spiritual worth of the most perplexing part of the New Testament'.

The aim of both books is to popularize the results of recent study and investigation. But they do not clash. Canon Glazebrook's primary aim is instruction, that of Mr Thorn edification. Both have produced sound and good work on their own lines. Mr Thorn's book is the more popular, his generalizations perhaps somewhat rough and ready. But his work, if not scholarly in the strict sense of the word, is sound and sensible. And by emphasizing the part played by Vision in the moulding of the ideas and material of which the author of the Apocalypse makes use in his book, he has perhaps made a real contribution to our knowledge of the book and the true story of its making.

A. E. BROOKE.

Mysterium fidei: de augustissimo corporis et sanguinis Christi sacrificio atque sacramento elucidationes L in tres libros distinctae. Auctore MAURITIO DE LA TAILLE, S.J. (Parisiis apud Gabriel Beauchesne, 1921, pp. xvi, 666, 50 francs.)

THIS is a very remarkable book. In a terse and systematic way Father de la Taille deals with the theology of the Eucharist as sacrifice and as sacrament. Following the main lines of the traditional Western theology he discusses the many technical questions which have gathered round it. In the course of his work he shews great learning, and is

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evidently at home with the fathers, the schoolmen, the post-Tridentine Latin divines, and with many modern writers including some belonging to the English Church.

Father de la Taille's real knowledge, his frank and independent judgement, his clearness of thought and accuracy of expression, make the whole book valuable. But the part of it which is in some respects the most interesting and important is that in which he sets out his own belief concerning the sacrifice of the mass. He distinguishes sharply between the actual immolation of Christ made by Christ Himself on Calvary and the offering constantly recurring in the mass. The offering in the mass contains two elements. By virtue of the consecration of the bread and wine to be the body and blood of our Lord, the offering in the mass is a representation and commemoration of our Lord's passion and death, and it is also a real oblation of the sacrifice offered on the cross. In thus following and limiting himself to the main lines of the mediaeval and Tridentine theology Father de la Taille avoids the many and manifold difficulties which have been brought in through the supposed need of asserting some form of destruction in the mass if it is to be a sacrifice, and the subtleties which hence became necessary for many of the post-Tridentine Latin divines. In his judgement the theories according to which there is a real exinanition of Christ in the mass, or according to which there is a symbolic destruction by the separate consecration of the two species are alike to be rejected. He is content to affirm representation and oblation, and thus, while guarding the sacrificial character of the mass, he is free from much which in time past has confused and embarrassed the assertion of the sacrifice. This feature of his work will have to be reckoned with by theologians both in the Church of Rome and elsewhere.

Concerning the relation of the sacrifice of the mass to our Lord's priestly work in heaven, Father de la Taille takes up an intermediate position between those who exclude or ignore any heavenly sacrifice and those who assert a sacrificial action of Christ continued in heaven. He maintains a virtual continuance in heaven of our Lord's sacrifice of Himself, so that, through the eternal validity of His one offering in time, He remains continually a priest. Thus, Father de la Taille differs from writers like de Lugo on the one side and like Thomassinus on the other, and approximates very closely to the opinion expressed, among more recent writers, by Scheeben.

The book is finely printed and contains reproductions of interesting pictures relating to the Eucharist.

DARWELL STONE.

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Anglican Essays: a collective review of the principles and special opportunities of the Anglican Communion as Catholic and Reformed, by the ARCHBISHOP OF ARMAGH, the Rev. R. H. MURRAY, G. G. COULTON, the ARCHDEACON OF CHESTER (Editor), the ARCHDEACON OF MACCLESFIELD, the Rev. CHARLES E. RAVEN, ARCHBISHOP LOWTHER CLARKE; with extracts from the Pastorals of the late Bishop Jayne. (Macmillan, 1923.)

CLASSICAL Anglican Theology grounded itself upon the authority of Holy Scripture. Not indeed that it was held necessary to adduce scriptural precedent for every practice and custom of the Church, but every practice must be shewn to be in general conformity with Scripture, nor should any doctrine be held necessary to salvation unless it may be proved by the authority of Scripture. From this point of view Anglican theologians criticized the ecclesiastical and doctrinal systems of the Middle Age and of post-Tridentine Roman Catholicism. During the last generation there has been a remarkable change in the theological atmosphere of Anglicanism. The strongly anti-Roman character, common to Anglican theologians of all schools until the period of the Reform Bill and of the Oxford Movement, has weakened all along the line, and to-day within the Church of England there is an insistent attempt to assimilate teaching and practice to mediaeval and even to modern Roman standards. The contributors to this volume desire to reassert what they conceive to be the historical position of Anglicanism. 'All along, till within the last thirty years or so, it has been customary for teaching to be given, in accordance with the 66th Canon, on the points of difference between the Church of England and the Church of Rome. That teaching has practically ceased, and it has therefore seemed that it might be timely and useful if a volume of essays were issued setting forth historically and otherwise the principles which formed the basis of the Reformation Settlement in England, and the opportunities of extended influence which lie before the Anglican Communion as Catholic and Reformed' (Preface p. vii). Two circumstances may be mentioned which have facilitated these recent developements within Anglicanism. In the first place political hostility to the Papacy has cooled. Hostility to Romanism there is, and is likely to be. For example, Mr Coulton's Essay in this volume on 'Rome as unreformed' brings a grave indictment against the methods and results of the Roman Censorship, and argues the incompatibility of the Roman Catholic system with the standards of modern civilization. But politically the issues have changed. So long as Roman Catholicism threatened the political achievements of the Reformation and of the Revolution, national sentiment continued strongly and avowedly

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Protestant, but now that the political menace of the Papacy has become remote, political Protestantism has likewise decayed. Secondly, the application of Historical Criticism to Biblical and Ecclesiastical literature has seriously modified the presuppositions of the old Anglican Theology. I am not sure whether all of the contributors to this volume are sufficiently alive to these elements in the situation.

The Archdeacon of Macclesfield contributes an Essay on the Cultus of St Mary the Virgin, in which he first collects from the Missal and the Breviary, and from authoritative Roman Catholic devotional writers, extracts which illustrate the character of Roman Catholic devotion to the Virgin; then he examines the place of the Virgin in Holy Scripture, where he fails to find authority for the cultus; lastly, he rejects the alleged historical and doctrinal foundations for the Assumption, the Immaculate Conception, and the legend of the Holy House of Loretto. This is very much to the point, but one cannot escape the suspicion that the Archdeacon himself still uses categories which for many minds will lessen the effect, not indeed of his criticism of Romanism, but of his own interpretation of Scripture. The Holy Scriptures are to him 'the only inspired sources of information on the subject'. An 'inspired source of information' is a difficult idea to a historical enquirer, and when the reader finds the Archdeacon elsewhere assuming the Petrine authorship of both 1 and 2 Peter (p. 222), he is likely to wonder whether the Essayist realises the present condition of New Testament study.

At no point did the Anglican Reformers more decisively criticize mediaeval doctrine and practice than in the matter of the Eucharist. The Archdeacon of Chester, the editor of the volume, contributes an Essay, 'Communion or Mass', in which he carefully examines the Eucharistic teaching of the Anglican Prayer Book and formularies, and concludes that 'any corporal presence in the Sacrament is denied by the Church of England'. Further, he argues that the doctrine of the Mass is a departure from the belief of the early Church and is inconsistent with the teaching of the Epistle to the Hebrews on the Sacrifice of Christ. He welcomes the emphasis on the Eucharist which High Churchmen have secured, but he desires to see the sacrament developed in closer relationship to Communion, which, as in the early Church, should be an essential element in the service for all worshippers.

Perhaps the most interesting Essay in the volume is that by Dr Murray on 'Aspects of the English Reformation'. Dr Murray is deeply read in the literature of the sixteenth century, and he contrives to present a rich picture of the movements of the Renaissance and the Reformation. The Essay, however, is somewhat amorphous, and the connexion

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is not always easy to grasp. The discussion of the Patristic theory of the State is scarcely relevant; moreover, Dr Murray seems to be less at home with the Fathers than with the Humanists and the Reformers. On pp. 83, 84 he appears to date Optatus of Milevis *De schismate Donatistarum* prior to Constantine.

The opening Essay by the Archbishop of Armagh deals with the thorny problem of authority in religion. Dr D'Arcy finely vindicates the spiritual character of original Christianity, and he sees in Luther's *Freedom of a Christian Man* a reaffirmation of fundamental principles. Yet how is freedom to be secured against licence? The analogy of science will help us. Here we have complete freedom, but licence does not ensue because a spiritual principle—Reason—is in control. In Religion, Christ, the Word of God, is the harmonizing principle. Dr D'Arcy urges the claim of the primitive *regula fidei*, and he maintains that the Lambeth Proposals open the way to a new order, in which Liberty and Authority may be reconciled. The Lambeth Conference is again the theme of the last Essay by Archbishop Lowther Clarke, who gives a valuable survey of the present position in regard to Reunion. The book concludes with a collection of extracts from the charges of the late Bishop Jayne of Chester, in which he maintains that recent revivals in such matters as Auricular Confession and Reservation are incompatible with Anglican principles.

In their criticism of Anglo-Catholicism from the point of view of historical Anglicanism, the contributors to this volume seem to me to make good their contention; it is another question how far they take us in meeting the religious problem of the present day. A severe critic of the Anglican Church, Mr Graham Wallas, has recently expressed the opinion that one cause of present ineffectiveness in the Church of England is 'the absence of a consistent and helpful metaphysical "world-outlook"' (*Our Social Heritage* p. 259), and he contrasts the conventional theodicies of contemporary Church leaders with the articulated theologies of the great divines of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Mr Graham Wallas would not, I think, find much ground in this volume for modifying his unfavourable verdict on current theology. Schemes for ecclesiastical reunion are no substitute for a reasoned view of the world. Mr Raven's Essay on 'The New Reformation' does indeed analyse the present condition of affairs. He is severely critical of the superficialities of ecclesiastics, of public schoolmasters, and of Divinity Professors. He believes moreover that the last decade has already given birth to a new type of Anglican by whose help the situation may yet be saved. 'At present, it is true, numbers of them refuse to enter [the Church's] ministry or even to take an active part in her life, not so much for financial reasons or even through

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disgust at her scandals and ineffectiveness, as because they do not see in her the devotion to Jesus which is central to their own conception of Christianity, or any marked evidence of the fruits of His Spirit. To put first things first would have an immediate effect upon them. Most of those who now stand aloof would be won to membership, and with them the movements towards evangelism, towards reunion, and towards reform would be immensely strengthened' (p. 266). But does this quite do justice to the difficulties in which we are all involved? We may agree wholeheartedly with Mr Raven as to the importance and value of recent study of the Gospels, but the rediscovery of the historical Jesus will not alone and in itself, as we think Mr Raven will agree, solve all our problems. Is there not a real danger that Mr Raven's eloquent words will be used by others as a convenient pretext for evading the deep problems which religion must always raise, and in relation to which the words and work of Jesus Christ must always be interpreted?

There are some slips. P. 163 l. 21 for *Pascharius* read *Paschasius*. P. 195 l. 25 for *are* read *is*. P. 197 l. 32 for *occupies* read *occupy*. P. 212 l. 11 for *like we* read *like us*. On p. 157 n. 1 Hooker has wandered into the seventeenth century.

J. M. CREED.

The Christian Hypothesis, by the late EDWARD CAMPBELL TAINSH. (Longmans, Green & Co., London, 1922.)

The Presence of God: A Study in Divine Immanence and Transcendence, by W. H. G. HOLMES, M.A. (Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, London, 1923.)

The Idea of God: Historical, Critical, Constructive, by CLARENCE AUGUSTINE BECKWITH. (Macmillan & Co., London, 1923.)

The Creative Christ: a Study of the Incarnation in Terms of Modern Thought, by EDWARD S. DROWN, D.D. (Hodder & Stoughton, London, 1922.)

As a study of some of the fundamental affirmations to which the religious consciousness, and more especially the Christian consciousness, gives expression, of the effect upon them of modern modes of thought, and of the consequent reaction upon both apologetics and dogmatics, these books may be grouped together, though no one common outlook binds together the writers. Mr Tainsh and Canon Holmes are in agreement in so far as their thoughts move within the framework of the traditional Christian theology, but the former is on the whole more concerned with pre-suppositions, the latter with con-

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clusions. Professors Beckwith and Drown occupy a much more modernist position; but whereas Professor Drown devotes his attention to the meaning of the doctrine of the Person of Christ, and seeks a statement of that doctrine which will avoid what seem to him the grave difficulties confronting both a Chalcedonian and a Kenotic Christology, without special reference to theistic questions as a whole, Professor Beckwith displays a radical dissatisfaction with many of the most famous constructions of the idea of God and gives a re-statement which deprives of importance many of the conceptions most familiar to philosophers and theologians.

Mr Tainsh's work, of which the last part was unrevised at the time of the author's death, moves from point to point in a manner which reveals the mental processes at work. It possesses the interest which belongs to an attempt to think out, first of all for oneself, what faith means, towards what it is directed, and what answer may be given to some of the commonest objections. Philosophically, Mr Tainsh is inclined to be a Kantian, but not a consistent one. Absolute knowledge he confines to the contents of our consciousness, faith he defines as 'belief on moral (spiritual) grounds, to moral (spiritual) ends, and is itself a moral (spiritual) act', and he uses with perfect confidence the argument from conscience to immortality and God; 'the sense of responsibility is the practical demonstration of God and of immortality'. But when he deals with cosmology he becomes a pre-Kantian, and from antecedents and consequents in the Universe infers a Cause of the Universe without any thorough-going examination of the validity of this deduction. Perhaps the best section of the book is that entitled 'Grave Hindrances'. What he has to say about miracle is not new, but it is well and cogently stated, especially as to the interpretation of the idea of law by the ideas of personality and will, while the argument against the truth of Christianity drawn from the present condition of the world is candidly faced, and its limitations made clear.

The special value of Canon Holmes's work is to be associated with the author's knowledge of India. He is one to whom the immanental and mystical aspect of religion makes a strong appeal, but his experience of eastern thought safeguards him against any danger of forgetfulness of the necessity of the transcendental side. Quotations which he supplies from Indian teachers are startling in their revelation of the ethical consequences of a creed of sheer immanence. Canon Holmes conceives of God as immanent only where His thought and will are, and so as not immanent in anything that is evil. While this is religiously satisfying it does not avoid all difficulties, especially when evil is extended to forms of existence which we do not regard as morally responsible. The cobra in act to strike gives us, so Canon Holmes

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declares, the consciousness of the presence not of God's thought but of a devil's thought. Yet except on the hypothesis of some real independence of God in the evolution of certain sections of the natural world, some relation between the cobra and God must be found. The dualist or the Christian scientist is relieved at this point of perplexities which Canon Holmes reveals but does not solve; for it is less than a solution to say that the kind of thought present where the cobra is present, is allowed by God an entrance into His Universe, 'but not willed by Him as [its] constant efficient cause'. The latter part of the book, in which the implications of the Incarnation, as the new mode of God's presence among men, are expressed, is strong both in devotional feeling and in moral stimulus. To the need for such a presentation of Christianity as may attract Indians for whom past history is of small relevance to the religion of the present may be traced in part the emphasis on the facts of the Gospel as symbols of eternal verities, present now. Canon Holmes does not undervalue in any way the importance of the Christ of History; but all that He did and meant is given and used in the living experience of the Church. The rich values present in the doctrine of the Incarnation, the deep consciousness of the reality of God which may be won by those who walk in the Christian way, find in Canon Holmes a wise and well-balanced interpreter.

To pass to Professor Beckwith's book is to pass into a wholly different atmosphere. A reader of Canon Holmes's work might entirely disagree with it, but he would feel that here was a quite positive and, granted its primary assumptions, intelligible view of religion and doctrine of God. But the same reader might rise from the study of Professor Beckwith, even from his most constructive pages, and still feel in considerable doubt as to what 'God' really meant, and what his relations with God should and could be. This is not to overlook the merits of the work, which is full of interesting material presented in an interesting way by a widely-read scholar who marshals practically all the great historic arguments used in connexion with the idea of God and allows no defective piece of logic, no substitution of sham for real values, to pass unnoticed and unrebuked. There is indeed a store of information to be gained from it. But its defects are serious and lead up to such a final perplexity as I have suggested. In the first place, Professor Beckwith makes a good deal too much of the divergences in the great metaphysical and theological systems in respect of the idea of God. It is true that Spinoza, Spencer, and others to whom he refers represent a deep variation from that theism which rejects the identification of God with the Universe; but as to this latter theism there is a greater harmony of thought than Professor Beckwith suggests.

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Doubtless God as conceived by Aristotle differs from God as conceived by Athanasius or Augustine or such a modern theistic philosopher as Professor Webb; but that does not mean that to think of God as Augustine did or as Professor Webb does would involve anything like an entire rejection of Aristotle's notion of what God is in Himself. One may say that Aristotle's refusal to bring God into any such relations with the universe as a Christian thinker assumes is quite unsatisfactory, and yet continue to find the highest value in his idea of God as the perfect self-conscious Being. This brings me to my second main criticism, that Professor Beckwith is far too unsympathetic to metaphysics as regards both their methods and their conclusions. He does indeed affirm the infinitude of God, but even this is bound up with the belief that the universe is infinite, both in extent and in duration, while he refuses to leave any place for a life of God in and for Himself, apart from His relations to the universe. His lack of sympathy is to be seen in his chapter on 'The Absolute and the Idea of God'. His dissent from the whole notion of static perfection emerges in his criticism of those philosophical theories which attribute to God absolute fullness of knowledge or find in Him the absolute moral ideal. Especially unconvincing do I find him in his examination of Dr Rashdall's ethical argument, and here too he is handicapped by the stress which he lays on this-world experience and its changing standards and values. It does not seem to follow that our ignorance of what is included in a perfect ethical ideal, an ignorance, after all, only partial, precludes us from affirming the existence of such an ideal 'in any mind, however great'; and when he says that the only perfect idea which any one would assume as existing in the mind of the Absolute and as the end after which creation strives is that of ethical perfection, which thus falls under suspicion because of its solitariness, he rejects not only the idea of intellectual completeness, to which he has devoted attention, but also that of aesthetic perfection, of which he has said nothing. Yet one of the most famous passages in Plato is that in which he describes the ascent of man towards absolute beauty.

Thirdly, despite Professor Beckwith's emphasis on experience there is little appreciation of the place of distinctively Christian experience as bearing on the doctrine of God. At the beginning of his book he rules out the regulative value of Christian doctrine by the assertion that 'the simple fact is that the Nicene idea of God does not interpret the world to the modern man; between that idea and the world of to-day is an impassable gulf'. Accordingly, what he recognizes as the doctrine of God held at the present time by the vast majority of Christian believers is allowed no weight in the construction of a true doctrine.

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And when he affirms that 'one might indeed say that among Christian theologians before Augustine there had never been any immediate experience of God', the width of the gulf which opens up between Christian doctrine and religious experience is obvious. But I do not see that he has provided proof either from the past or the present adequate to sustain such a conclusion. Religious experience is a phrase of wide meaning, but if it includes the conviction of God's reality and of His concern with human affairs, a strong case could be stated in defence of the argument that it is just where the historic Christian doctrine of God is found that this conviction exists. If, in respect of the idea of God, to remain on the Nicene foundation would be 'suicidal', it is not a sure deduction from such experience of results as we possess that its abandonment means the revitalizing of the idea.

Professor Beckwith's own conception of God as 'Purposive Good Will' is, in itself, a noble conception, but its value is seriously lessened by the constant negatives which appear even in the constructive part of the work. We are to think of will not of substance, of the dynamic not of the static, when we think of God. Our whole interest is to be centred in God as we become conscious of Him in this world of our actual experience; 'with a world which transcends experience and a conception of God which alleges something in him which is other than what is manifest in our world we can have no concern'. So far does Professor Beckwith press this distinction that the apocalyptic promise of the vanishing of tears and sorrow from the New Jerusalem is described as 'spoken of a dream-world which when we waken to reality vanishes like the phantasms of our sleep when the day dawns'. Rarely can a professor of Christian theology have committed himself so fully to the permanence of the conditions of this 'the only world that we know'. Like much else in the book, this concentration upon present existence and experience bears witness to the boldness and sincerity of the writer, but again, like much else, it hardly provides a place where philosophy or theology or—and especially—religion could feel at home.

Neither the idea of divine transcendence nor that of divine personality presents in Professor Beckwith's treatise an appearance similar to that usually met with it in theistic world-views. The former is interpreted through the ideal which the purposive activity of God is achieving: as transcendent He is 'the God of things as they are to become'. Similarly, the personality of God means that the Power at work in the world, and inseparable from it, is the source and the champion of those moral and religious ends and values which have found their place in the world. Nothing is hereby implied as to the divine consciousness, of which we are not in a position to speak. Professor Drown, while

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also critical of the reaction of Greek metaphysics upon theology, and anxious to substitute 'a moral metaphysics' for the metaphysics of substance, is in essential agreement with classical conceptions of God's personality and His relations with the world. He sets the idea of God as Creator in sharp contrast with pantheistic doctrine, and while warning against the spatial suggestion in the word 'transcendence' finds its meaning in the fact that God is creative love. To express the uniqueness of God he is not afraid of the scholastic notion of the aseity of God. He does indeed allow of only this one difference—of source—as existing ineradicably between God and man; yet in the history of Christian theology this distinction has been vital.

On this foundation Professor Drown builds up his Christology. Rejecting pantheism he rejects any explanation of the unity of God and man in Christ which rests upon an assertion of the identity of God and man. Abandoning the category of substance he abandons the conception of the presence in Christ of divine substance which differentiates Him from other men. The possession by Christ of something to which men could never attain would, he holds, be destructive of that relation of Christ to men expressed by the word 'Example'. That the ancient theology of the Church never intended this result may be regarded as irrelevant in view of the gulf which may divide intention from fact; but the writings of Dr Du Bose would shew how much is to be said on the other side. The difference between Christ and men is as the difference between God and men: 'His Deity is in that creative power which is the essence of Deity', and He is able to create men in His likeness.

Dr Drown's Christology has Ritschlian affinities, but involves a less sharp break with the Christology of the ancient Church. Thus, 'the pre-existence of the Logos . . . is an essential part of the Christian belief in the Incarnation', but it does not seem to carry with it any idea of personal distinctions in the Godhead. The Chalcedonian doctrine of the two natures was the best possible at the time, but has failed to express the true Christian belief because its terminology of substance is non-Christian. The Kenotic theory is definitely rejected, but Dr Drown is curiously in error in supposing that this doctrine confuses the pre-existence of the Logos with that of the divine-human Person, Jesus Christ, and 'thinks of Jesus of Nazareth in His total personality as pre-existing in heaven and then simply coming to earth'. What Kenotic theologian has been guilty of such a blunder? Nor is it less curious that he should think that, given the true doctrine of the pre-existence of the Logos, there 'disappears the entire basis for the doctrine of the Kenosis as a voluntary renunciation on the part of the second Person of the Trinity'. He does not find a place for the

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Kenotic theory because for him personal distinctions do not exist apart from 'the one personality of the Trinitarian God', but upholders of the theory have worked entirely on the basis of a theology of the pre-existent Logos or Son. Dr Drown's approximation to Ritschl's Christology is seen positively in his interpretation of the Incarnation as a moral process extending over the whole of our Lord's life, while since He derives his origin direct from God and cannot be explained as the result of evolutionary processes alone, 'He is in a unique sense the Son of God'.

The student of Christology will gain from Professor Drown's Bohlen lectures insight into the methods and conclusions of one type of modernist thinking. While critical of the forms of orthodoxy it seeks to conserve its religious values and believes that in some respects it can do so more effectually. More reasons than one make me sceptical as to the success of this effort, but this does not debar tribute to the manner of Dr Drown's attempt.

J. K. MOZLEY.

New Testament Teaching in the light of St Paul's, by A. H. MCNEILE, D.D. (Cambridge University Press, 1923.)

DR MCNEILE has already written a book on St Paul, in which he reviews Pauline teaching. The new work is, in a sense, a sequel to that. It undertakes a comparative study of New Testament teaching, using as standard of reference the teaching of St Paul. It covers all the New Testament writings except those which the author accepts as undoubtedly Pauline. Its method is to summarize the teaching of each book, subject by subject, and set it, at each stage, in relation with the corresponding teaching of St Paul. The result hoped for is to set in a fresh light the character and individuality of the book in question.

The Synoptic Gospels are taken together, and treated solely in their aspect of sources for the historic teaching of Jesus. Dr McNeile's first chapter is occupied in constructing a sketch of that teaching. He regards as opposite exaggerations the fanatical visionary depicted by the thoroughgoing eschatological school, and the sane moralist dear to liberal Protestantism. The Christ he pictures is a prophet, in the tradition of Old Testament prophecy, and in closest relation with the thought and life of his age. There is a piquant suggestion of his beginning as a son of the people in revolt against the barriers of privilege by which the working poor were denied profit in the things of God. Dr McNeile thinks that a first result of the teaching of Jesus has been to invest 'the people' with an ideal importance that has

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passed as a characteristic feature into Western civilization. But Jesus was very much more than spokesman of the religious aspirations of the people among whom he was brought up. He was representative of Israel, as the ideal Servant and Son of God. In that sense he recognized in himself the fulfilment of Messiahship, and figured his own destiny in the eschatological conception of 'the Son of Man'.

But what is the relation of such a person to the heavenly Christ of St Paul? Must the foregoing quest be compared to the restoration of a palimpsest which renders comparatively worthless the top-writing, which is Pauline Christology? Dr McNeile thinks not. The Pauline Christ has traits that can only be derived from knowledge of the historic Jesus, and therefore cannot be left out of account as an interpretation of him.

The remaining chapters each review a book. St James is in the manner of diatribe, and exhibits a cosmopolitan mind in contrast with the essentially Jewish outlook of St Paul. Its test question is 'Does your religion work?' None of these features fits an early date or the authorship of the bishop of the Jerusalem church.

The author of Acts is another Hellenistic Jew of kindly universalism, to whom St Paul is a hero, without his having any real appreciation of Paulinism. 1 Peter makes a third to these two, and is the nearest to St Paul.

The Apocalypse stands in contrast, by the substitution of an eschatological for a mystical valuation at every point. Its view of society and of the empire, by comparison with St Paul's, reflects a generation of bitter experience. Jude and 2 Peter also imply post-Pauline difficulties.

The Pastorals, on the other hand, are so Pauline as to suggest that they embody fragments of personal letters of the apostle, edited into their present form by a close disciple. But Hebrews bespeaks an outlook very independent of St Paul. It knows nothing whatever of rabbinical Judaism, having only a literary acquaintance with the Levitical ordinance. From this, with the help of the Platonic theory of ideas, it evolves an antithesis of type and reality by which to prove that Christianity is the final spiritual knowledge. In the course of working this out, it throws an emphasis on the manhood of Christ unique in the New Testament.

The Fourth Gospel is even more difficult to bring to measurement by a Pauline standard. Rather it implies the digestion of Pauline theology as its preliminary condition. It seems to try to get on without the eschatological manner of thought, and almost to succeed. In its place it puts the Christian experience of salvation as present and timeless. In the light of that experience the author undertakes to rewrite the story of the Incarnate life. He sees in it a manifesting, rather than

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a kenosis, while he regards the death as liberation to 'ascend to the Father'.

Finally, 1 John puts the 'high philosophy of the gospel' into relation with present and practical affairs.

Dr McNeile's book is a useful aid to the study of the theology of the New Testament, both by what it contains and by the freshness of touch imparted to it.

The Apostle Paul and the Modern World, by F. G. PEABODY. (Macmillan & Co., New York, 1923.)

A READER expecting to find, in this volume, anything about the modern world, would be disappointed. It is about St Paul, and in particular, about his relation to Jesus. And Professor Peabody believes that in spite of belonging to the modern world, one may set a very high value upon them both.

There are two extremes of view with regard to the relations between St Paul and Christ. One is that St Paul was a wholesale innovator, so that we must escape from him before we can learn anything about the real Jesus. The other is that St Paul is the ideal and heaven-sent interpreter of the gospel. Professor Peabody would subscribe to neither. What he would be prepared to say is that St Paul performed the useful office of transposer of the sublime and (to common folk) rather intangible message of Jesus into those dogmatic terms with which ordinary religion is at home.

He has many things to say about St Paul that are very well worth saying, and are the fruit of the best kind of study. But it is difficult to feel that it is quite a spontaneous finding when he declares that 'the religion of St Paul is fundamentally what the modern world so insistently demands, a religion of sanctified sanity and illuminated common-sense'.

In sketching the apostle, Professor Peabody is led to say some excellent things about the Master. For he does not doubt that that is the relationship between them. St Paul, to use his phrase, is the 'lineal heir of the spiritual desire of Jesus'.

The Epistle of St Paul to the Colossians, by MAURICE JONES, D.D. (S.P.C.K., 1923.)

THIS little book consists of four lectures delivered at Oxford in 1921, and now published in the S.P.C.K. Biblical Studies. It does not of

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course attempt completeness as a commentary, but as lectures on a book it gets fairly well over the ground.

The greatest interest attaches to the second lecture, which discusses the nature of the 'Colossian heresy', and St Paul's own point of view with regard to the place of angels and demons in the universe. St Paul's attitude towards angelic powers may be described as slightly hostile. In the belief of rabbinism, the law was mediated by angels. And so the triumph of divine mercy in Christ appeared to be, in some degree, at their expense.

Problems of the New Testament to-day, by R. H. MALDEN, M.A. (Oxford University Press, 1923.)

MR MALDEN writes as a town vicar to whom the results of the critical study of the New Testament are of practical consideration in their bearing upon his work. He finds people unsettled by a vague knowledge of the break-up of old beliefs. A somewhat sounder acquaintance with the facts ought to make for reassurance. So Mr Malden has put together this book, in which he describes very shortly the findings of critical study with regard to the books of the New Testament and touches on some of the problems that arise. It is hardly to be expected that such summaries will always be beyond criticism. But this is of less importance than that the book should deal intelligibly with the points that people, who have no opportunity of more extended study, want to know. By that criterion Mr Malden has probably succeeded very well.

W. TELFER.

La Théosophie bouddhique, by PAUL OLTRAMARE. (Paul Geuthner, Paris, 1923.)

THOUGH this book is a work complete in itself, it is also the second volume of a *Histoire des Idées théosophiques dans l'Inde*, the first volume of which *La Théosophie brahmanique* was published in 1907. Seeing that by theosophy the author does not mean the modern blend of sentimental platitudes and occultism associated with Madame Blavatsky, Mrs Besant, and 'Colonel' Olcott, it is to be regretted that prejudice might be aroused against an excellent piece of work by his introducing the expression in his title. Though it passes without discussion some of the most difficult problems of Buddhist origins, the volume is an accurate and somewhat comprehensive survey of the ideas and practices of Buddhism, and the ways in which they have been modified by and

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have influenced mankind, both socially and individually. M. Oltramare has endeavoured to give a true impression of the spirit of Buddhism.

The author with good grounds rejects the mythological theories of the Buddha, previously urged by Senart and Kern, and outlines a picture of Gautama's personality similar to that given by Oldenberg and Rhys Davids, lending no support to the contention of Prof. A. B. Keith that Gautama regarded himself as superhuman in the way in which the texts (admitted by Prof. Keith as late) describe him. Neither of these writers seems to be aware of the other's recent work. I must confess that I think that M. Oltramare is right in agreeing with Rhys Davids and Oldenberg in a humanistic view, leaving the other traits to be accounted for as later idealizations. M. Oltramare makes the interesting remark, incidentally, that nothing in the life of the Buddha indicates 'holy indignation' such as is seen in the driving of the money-lenders from the temple by Jesus. 'His complete possession of himself has been a primary condition of the power that he has exercised over others' (p. 9). There was nothing esoteric in the teaching of the Buddha. A happy comparison, an allegory, or an analogy is accepted as proof; how often that is the case in Indian thought students of its religious and philosophical literature know. From the fact that the parallels have frequent reference to domestic life, the author even contends that laymen must have formed a large proportion of Buddha's hearers, and he emphasizes the importance of the lay element in the Buddhist community and the provision made for it. But it has generally been supposed that one main reason why Buddhism disappeared so completely from the greater part of India was the lack of adequate attention to the needs of the laity. Surely the archaeological remains (which M. Oltramare does not consider) are overwhelmingly of monastic character and do not tend to confirm the author's view. Further, it would probably be more correct to say that the 'veneration of' rather than 'devotion for' the Buddha developed more among the laity than among the monks and nuns. For the *Therīgātha* and the *Therāgātha* suggest a real devotion for the Buddha, but only little of any cult of him.

The author simply states the traditional beliefs as to the developement of the Canon, without discussing at all the objections urged against the records concerning the three Councils. In Asoka's inscriptions he sees the sign of the developement of a concern for the welfare of others, a feature which became marked in the Mahayana. And he remarks, interestingly, that in the Mahayana the importance was changed from 'Buddha, Dhamma, Sangha' to 'Buddha, Dhamma, Bodhisattvas'. Attention to rules of discipline for monks gave place to the developement of a lay moral teaching, emphasizing benevolence to all creatures, especially charity and compassion, as contrasted with the earlier con-

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centration on the individual attainment of *nirvana*. The contention that Buddhism was ruined in India by its increasing similarity with Hindu cults is certainly to the point, and I would suggest that a comparative study of Brahmanical iconography and that of Chinese and Japanese Buddhism would go far to confirm such similarity.

In view of the not infrequent assertions that oriental religions ignore the ethical, it is salutary to have so able a demonstration as the author gives us here, that morality and knowledge are two primary conditions of holiness and salvation for Buddhism. Neither is an end in itself: what Buddha wished to teach his disciples was not an ethic but 'a therapeutics of the will'; not a science, but 'a therapeutics of the intellect'. The relative emphasis on each of these is suggested by the 35 pages given by the author to the discussion of the former, and the 176 to the latter. These sections comprise a noteworthy detailed analysis of their subjects and constitute the great value of the book for the scholar. They are too elaborate to discuss here. By his later exposition the author modifies the force of his doubtful statement that the Hinayana and the Mahayana seem to be at the two poles of religious thought. His well documented discussion of the doctrine of *Nirvana* shews how uncertain was the meaning of the term, even for Buddhist writers. Indeed, he concludes that the Buddha succeeded in gaining disciples of very different types, 'because his doctrine was plastic enough to furnish all with the nourishment suitable for them'.

M. Oltramare seems to me to have resisted all undue influence from previous students of the subject, and to have avoided the temptation to force the material into a consistent formal scheme. As a general survey it is a valuable contribution to Western literature on Buddhism and deserves close study.

Some Aspects of the Life of Jesus, by GEORGES BERGUER. (Williams & Norgate, 1923.)

THE rapidity with which modes of interpretation of the Gospels and of the life and character of Jesus and His teaching succeed one another must make even the most venturesome of young theologians sympathize and, in a measure, agree with the conservatism which is so marked a trait of most of the older theologians. The sub-title of M. Berguer's book, indicating that the study is from the point of view of psychoanalysis, is likely to suggest another ephemeral method of approach to the subject, and to arouse a certain amount of prejudice. But any who are acquainted with the earlier works, of Rasmüssen, Jules Soury, and Binet-Sanglé, treating Jesus as pathological and a subject for morbid

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psychology, will congratulate M. Berguer on the general sanity of his treatment. It is not the work of a short-sighted enthusiast for contemporary ideas and methods, but of a well-balanced student. His conclusions are in the main constructive. He endeavours with the aid of recent psychology to find an explanation for elements in the Gospels which it is easier to pass over in silence than satisfactorily to account for, as, for example, the stories of the Virgin Birth, of the incidents of the baptism of Jesus, and so on. The life, teaching, death, and the story of the resurrection of Jesus are to be considered as indicating the real sublimation of the 'life urge' in free and full developement in contradistinction to artificial suppression and repression.

Myths are for the race, contends M. Berguer, what dreams are for the individual. 'They reveal to humanity under a symbolic form what life expects of it.' So the legends concerning the birth of Jesus are associated with myths having their true origin in the state of mind represented as the Oedipus complex. In short, the substitution of a divine Father for a human one, in this case as generally in legends concerning the great heroes, is an expression of sublimation. The association with the divine Father involves a love which gives a positive and full scope for life transcending and transforming the opposition to the merely human. I find it difficult to decide whether M. Berguer means that the legend was applied to Jesus by the early Christians partly from influences of pre-Christian myth (see the reference to 'savage peoples in Greek antiquity' p. 112), or that it arose as it were spontaneously among them from the nature of psychological tendencies such as psycho-analysis suggests.

The incident in the Temple at the age of twelve shews Jesus with the forces of adolescence sublimated in being directed entirely to the love and service of God. The baptism and temptation are parts of the movement of 'introversion', 'a return upon the self, which in every consecrated life precedes the productive extra-version, the practical activity in the outer world'. His 'Get thee behind me Satan!' is the rejection of all the obstacles which might hinder his highest realization. From the point of view of psycho-analysis, the author does well to insist on the characteristically affirmative nature of the teaching of Jesus. As such it is the expression of the psychology of His personality, which is the great miracle. The narratives of the resurrection suggest the common transformation of a spiritual into a material fact, 'a course of procedure that has been observed in progress in a great number of neuroses'.

In his Introduction M. Berguer has a useful comparison and contrast of Christianity and the Mystery religions, and a brief but clear statement of the character of psycho-analysis. While the book may not assist us

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much in the problems of exegesis, it ought for contemporary purposes to be distinctly suggestive from a homiletic point of view.

A Psychological and Poetic Approach to the Study of Christ in the Fourth Gospel, by EVA GORE-BOOTH. (Longmans, 1923.)

THE author confesses that at one time she 'was positively convinced that God did not exist and that there was no life after death', a conviction first shaken by a 'vivid presence and message from one who was dead'. Years afterwards, her 'eyes were suddenly and amazingly opened to the strange inner world' (p. 160). The reader who has not been warped by merely academic study will appreciate the tone of personal earnestness of this book, which such a confession itself also suggests. Nevertheless the first part, entitled 'Explanatory Essays', can hardly be described otherwise than as a confused and disjointed collection of dogmatic and pseudo-philosophical and psychological statements concerning the soul and God. The writer would have served religion and theology better by a comparatively unelaborate exposition of the ideas to which she has been led by her individual experience. The Fourth Gospel lends itself to a study with the aid of psychological and philosophical concepts, and this the author undertakes in her second part. Here, with a text upon which to give her comments, she is distinctly more suggestive, and at times her treatment is refreshing, even if somewhat arbitrary as exegesis.

A. G. WIDGERY.

Konstanzer Altlateinische Propheten- und Evangelien-Bruchstücke mit Glossen, nebst zugehörigen Prophetentexten aus Zürich und St Gallen; teils neu teils erstmals herausgegeben und bearbeitet von P. ALBAN DOLD: mit fünf Schriftbildern. (Erzabtei Beuron & Harrassowitz, Leipzig, 1923.)

THE venerable Old-Latin fragments of the Prophets from Weingarten were discovered in 1856 by E. Ranke. Since his day their number has been added to, and Professor Lehmann of Munich has not only traced them from Weingarten to Constance, but has also published a comprehensive photographic facsimile in the Leyden series of S. De Vries, published by A. W. Sijthoff in 1912. The Constance book was broken up in the fifteenth century, and the surviving fragments of it are found as guard-leaves in various MSS now at Darmstadt, Donaueschingen,

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Fulda, St Paul, and Stuttgart. The monks of Beuron have distinguished themselves in recent years by the discovery of a process for photographing the original writing of palimpsests, and one of them, Dom Alban Dold, has been fortunate enough to discover some previously unknown fragments of the Constance Prophets, and now renders valuable service to Biblical students by the publication of all the known fragments, page for page, column for column, and line for line, in a handy edition which will confer lasting credit upon him. The value of his work is increased by a circumstance arising out of the War. The beloved Pfarrer Josef Denk of Munich had completed a new Sabatier,[1] which was intended to appear in 1915 and succeeding years. As its publication has been indefinitely postponed, the complete materials have meantime been deposited in Beuron Abbey, and Father Dold has been privileged to make full use of them to illustrate the textual character of the Constance fragments. And not only this: his book is provided with a moveable table of Latin patristic authorities for the text of the Prophets, which will be of immense use to investigators of other Old-Latin texts as well.

Dold's conclusion is that the type of text in the Constance manuscript is ultimately of African origin, but that the manuscript itself is to be assigned, with Lehmann, to Northern Italy and the fifth century (say about 440). The manuscript is equipped with glosses that appear to have been added at the beginning of the sixth century. The glosses are for the first time edited completely, and reveal themselves as of considerable importance, being for the most part at least pre-hieronymian and shewing knowledge of Origen's Hexapla. The biblical quotations made in these glosses are more closely related to Ambrose's quotations than to those of any other writer, and it does not seem impossible that we have here some notes of Ambrose, based on his own study of Origen, as Corssen suggested.

The second part of the work is devoted to another mutilated Constance book, which contained extracts from the Gospels. The surviving fragments of it, of date about 600–650, have been obtained from the bindings of seven *codices* once in the Constance library. Prof. Paul Lehmann was the first to publish any of these in 1908. In this case we have to deal with a palimpsest, and it is thanks to the new photopraphic process that much has been read which Lehmann found indecipherable. The fragments shew a pre-hieronymian text, and the MS was very likely written either in S.E. Gaul or N. Italy: its text also, carefully compared by Dold with all the other Old-Latin MSS known, seems to belong to the same region.

The third and last part of the book is occupied with an almost entirely unknown Old-Latin text of very considerable parts of Ezekiel,

[1] The present work is fittingly dedicated to Sabatier's memory.

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Daniel, and the Minor Prophets, recovered from MSS at St Gall and Zürich. These were discovered by Dom Germain Morin in the course of cataloguing the Zürich MSS, and from him his confrere received full permission to publish them. The MS from which the fragments come was written, probably in St Gall itself, at the end of the ninth or the beginning of the tenth century, and its text is related to that of the mutilated Constance MS.

Attention may be called to the following points. In dealing with orthography, the editor sometimes takes a really correct spelling as the exception, for example *zmaragdus*, *ingemescent*, *reuiuescere*, *calciamentis*, *euolsit*, *uoluam*, *lucustae*; *humilo* is attested sometimes for St Augustine, and there are parallels for *florio* (cf. *Nouum Testamentum S. Irenaei* [Oxford, 1923] p. lxxxi) (p. 27, see also below); Petschenig's Vienna edition of Ambrose's *Enarrationes in XII Psalmos Dauidicos*, which appeared a year or two ago, might have been used, as also the copy of the Monte Cassino manuscript of Ambrosiaster, published in 1901; Dom Morin's editions of certain sermons of St Caesarius in the *Revue Bénédictine*; Cassiodorus (Pseudo-Primasius in Migne *P.L.* lxviii); Hellmann's edition of the Pseudo-Cyprianic *De duodecim abusiuis saeculi* (if indeed such a late work should be cited at all); Ziegler's edition of Firmicus Maternus's *De errore profanarum religionum*, whose Sicilian origin surely need not be doubted; Turner's edition of Gennadius's *De ecclesiasticis dogmatibus*, Mommsen's edition of Gildas, Feder's edition of certain works of Hilary, Spagnolo and Turner's edition of certain homilies of Maximin, Landgraf and Weyman's edition of Novatian *De Cibis Iudaicis* (pp. 114 ff): *helias*, *profetam*, and *eseia* are correct (p. 202). On the following pages misprints occur: p. 117 'Scheps' for 'Schepss', 'Wissowa, 1898' for 'Wissowa, 1890'; p. 130 *tilulos* for *titulos*; p. 132 *θάσρει* for *θάρσει*; p. 142 'repullerunt' for 'reppulerunt'; p. 180 ἐπιλέμπτικος for ἐπιλεμπτικός.

The editor is a master of the technique of modern editing, and the publication of this work is a notable event for the student of the Old-Latin Bible.

A. SOUTER.

Chu Hsi and his Masters: an Introduction to Chu Hsi and the Sung School of Chinese Philosophy, by J. PERCY BRUCE, M.A., D.Lit. (Probothain & Co., 1923.)

IT is difficult to exaggerate the importance of the subject of this book if one is to study at all the thought of what was for ages the largest and

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most cultivated nation on the earth. For after the great thinkers of the centuries before Christ, Chu Hsi is often reckoned, if not the greatest, certainly the most brilliant and visibly influential intellect that China has produced. Born on October 18, 1130, he was the last and chiefest of a famous school of natural philosophers—himself and his Masters—of that age. It is pleasant to think that the School and their disciples won respect at the time by the purity of their public and private lives not less than by the ingenuity of their arguments. People might laugh at the high hats of these 'Gentlemen of the Way', but they reverenced the loftiness of their characters. One cannot but suspect that in their preaching of righteousness these men were very tolerant of doctrinal heresy, and the dying advice of Shao Yung (the first of the 'Masters'), 'Make the path before you broad, for if you make it narrow there will not be room enough even for yourselves; how then can you help others along the road?' must have encouraged that extraordinary effort at reunion (the *San han chiao*) which for several centuries filled the land with temples in which were images of Buddha, Lao Tzū, and Confucius, ranged in that order of precedence.

Such influence as Chu Hsi has had was conveyed through his edition of the Classics rather than through his writings on philosophy, helped by certain laws which are supposed to have been largely political in intention. The late Father P. Hoang has stated that at the end of the nineteenth century out of every thousand candidates for degrees only four chose Sung dynasty philosophy as a voluntary subject. That is to say that, at least since the brilliant attacks made upon him by Mao Ch'i-ling in the seventeenth century, Chu Hsi has not been much studied by the more advanced scholars. But, on the other hand, the vast majority of the three or four per cent. of the population who are supposed to have gone to school at all read practically no other book but the Confucian classics with Chu's notes. It is the theories underlying those notes which Dr Bruce here sets himself to explain.

Chu Hsi and his Masters is the Introduction to *The Philosophy of Human Nature* in which Dr Bruce translated one of Chu Hsi's philosophical writings. After a few preliminary pages, we have interesting sketches of the lives of his Masters and of Chu himself, and then follow the analysis and discussion of their theories. These valuable chapters, which are intricate and sometimes difficult reading, are distributed over three parts: the Theory of the Universe, the Doctrine of Human Nature, and the Theistic import of Chu Hsi's Philosophy. Chu Hsi wrote in the simplest of styles, often in common colloquial language. But in a philosopher it is not the grammar so much as the technical terms that matter, and in a language so peculiar as Chinese nothing but long familiarity with the author can give any confidence that his meaning is

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really understood. It is fortunately just this qualification of familiarity which Dr Bruce evidently possesses after having made the Sung philosophers his study during a long life in China, and his book is thus a very great contribution to our knowledge of the history of Chinese thought.

The conclusion which will excite most interest, as being in contradiction to the accepted view, is that Chu Hsi believed in and taught a conscious personal God. One had indeed reflected that if Chu was really an atheist he had not much persuaded the masses of his countrymen who have always believed in God, and now Dr Bruce assures us that he was not so. The phrase 'Heaven is law', which occurs often in the school edition of the classics, is no doubt largely responsible for the belief that Chu reduced 'the God of his fathers to an abstraction' (Giles). The Sung school, as Dr Bruce understands them, were combating the materialistic anthropomorphic ideas of their day, and wished to teach an immaterial and spiritual, but not a dead or unconscious God. 'It is said, "King Wên ascended and descended at the right and left hand of God". Now to interpret that statement, as many do in these days, as meaning that King Wên is literally at the right and left hand of God, and that there really is a God like the graven images made by men in the world around us, is clearly incorrect; nevertheless, there is a sense in which what the sacred writer says is true' (p. 295). 'It is wrong to say, as is said in these days, that there is a man in the heavens judging sin, but it is also wrong to say that there is no Ruler at all' (p. 296). 'In the passage which says, "The great God has conferred upon the people below a moral sense", the very words "conferred upon" convey the idea of one who exercises authority' (p. 298).

A. C. MOULE.

Old Babylonian Contracts, by EDWARD CHIERA. (Philadelphia. Published by the University Museum, 1922.)

THE preface informs us that this book completes the publication of the legal documents from Nippur, belonging to the dynasties of Babylon, Larsa, and Isin. They are mostly couched in the difficult Sumerian language, the interpretation of which still leaves a good deal of scope for conjectural ingenuity, much of which here as elsewhere can hardly be called happy. We may, however, be thankful to have the original texts made accessible for further study in these beautiful publications of the University of Pennsylvania. And if I venture on a few friendly criticisms, I do not forget that to identify, copy, and translate these ancient texts for the first time is no slight achievement.

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It is rather bewildering to the reader to find that the numeration which accompanies the Transliterations and Translations does not agree with that of the Description of the Documents, pp. 211–225. Thus the Case-tablet No. 125, temp. Hammurabi, autographed on Plates LXXIII–LXXIV and translated p. 172, is said by the Description to be translated on 'p. 61' and autographed on Plates '83–84' (*sic*!). Moreover in this text *ku* (l. 11) should be *šú* (see the Plate); and šaggâni bibdugêš means, not 'his heart shall be satisfied', but, as the context (apart from the plur. ending of the verb) indicates, 'they satisfied his heart'; i. e. by payment of their debt. The next line, ukuršú lùra inim nu-má-má-a (not Nu-Má-Má-Má-A, as Chiera gives it), says: 'At an after day to a man (the men?) complaint he (Sin-iqîsham, the lender) shall not make'; i. e. he shall make no further claim (= *ul iraggum*).

In Tab. 157 from Nippur (Ur Dyn.) which registers the purchase of a female slave (sag-gême), the line lù lù nu gé-gé-ne should be 'The men shall not turn' (i. e. alter their minds, or repudiate their bargain), rather than 'One shall not turn against the other'. Both noun and verb are plural. And in l. 3 must we not write nig-šám-ma-ni, *her price*, instead of nig-šé-ma-ni (so also in l. 6 in-ši-šám)?

In Tab. 137 (Samsu-ilûna) might not Nudubtum, as a hypocoristic name, designate a man? And the transcription of l. 6 omits the postposition -ŠÚ, which appears on the Plate (LXXXV). I fail to see what light V R 47, 32 b mu(*sic*!)-tu-tam am-ma-šid throws on the meaning of BI at the beginning of this line. It looks like a case of *ignotum per ignotius*.

We have noticed not a few other inaccuracies of transcription and translation: e. g. p. 145 *elḳam* for *eḳlam*, p. 169 *zikun* for *zikum* (twice), and p. 128 supplies gaps with *mu-ti-šú* and *mu-ti* instead of the obviously necessary *aššatišú* and *aššati*. P. 133 transliterates a slave-woman's name šú-gi-at, but p. 134 gives Shugirat, while the Plate (CII) has only Shu-gi. In the same document we find the Proper Name DINGIR-IM-LUGAL-DINGIR-MESH (i. e. Adad'-šar-ilâni) twice transcribed ^{d}IM-šar-ilâni^{meš}; where the superlinear *meš* is, of course, superfluous, since DINGIR-MESH = *ilâni*. Plate LXXX (No. 132^{12}) mu lugal-la-ib-bi in-pad-dè-eš is transcribed (p. 157) mu lugal-bi in-pad-ne-eš, without any remark on the two omitted characters.

P. 164, No. 111 is headed 'Hire of a child from her mother'. But if the child was a girl, how did she manage to change her sex between pp. 164 and 211, where the description of the tablet is 'Contract of hire of a boy from his mother'? And *iḫuza* is 'he took', not 'he will take' (*iḫḫaz*, *iḫaz*, *i'aḫḫaz*). P. 154 describes No. 202 as a 'Receipt for Money', but p. 220 as a 'Receipt for barley'; apparently a con-

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fusion of homophones (SHE, 'grain', and SHE *kaspim*, 'a *she* of silver', SHE *ḫurâzim*, 'a *she* of gold': cf. No. 215).

Translations of these texts should surely be made as literal as possible. Thus No. 215 (Plate CXXXIII), Loan of Gold from a Temple (see pp. 147, 148), stands on the tablet as follows:—

'$^2/_3$ of a shekel and 15 *she* of gold
Of the Sun-god
From the Sun-god
Lamaççi the libation-priestess (?) of the Sun-god
Daughter of Abatum
Has received.
While she lives
And is well
To her Lord
She shall repay.'

Chiera omits the second line *šà* D. UTU in the transcription, and the fifth DUMU-SAL *a-ba-tim* in both transcription and translation; and his punctuation 'from ^{d}Shamash Lamaṣṣi, the devotee of Shamash', suggests that the name of the priestess was Shamash-Lamaṣṣi, which he probably does not intend.

The phrase i-na ba-al-ṭa-at reminds us of Hammurabi's a-di ba-al-ṭa-at 'as long as she lives' (Code XXIV 81 al.). In the similar text (No. 150, Plate XCV), p. 148, NAM-TI-LA-NI-ŠÙ Ù SILIM-MA-NI-ŠÙ ŠÀG D. UTU DÈ-IB-DÚG-GI may mean 'FOR his life and wellbeing (cf. the common formula of votive inscriptions) the heart of the Sun-god he shall satisfy' (not 'the heart of Shamash shall be satisfied'); or perhaps 'During his life and wellbeing', &c. (cf. No. 215). But the note that 'bi is written with the common sign, instead of with the sign NE', is the reverse of the truth, if Plate XCV is correctly copied. And does the sign ▼ before D. UTU (No. 150 Rev. 1) actually occur on the tablet?

The unique Sumerian text which Mr Chiera heads 'Legal Decision concerning Murder' (pp. 172–174, Plate CXI) is considerably damaged, but the general sense of the record is clear enough. Three men, having killed a certain priest named Lu-Ninni, on the day of his death swore an information against Nin-Dada his wife: '"Lu-Ninni, her husband, she has killed!" [they swore]'. I restore in-pad-dè-eš in l. 11. After a long gap their evidence is continued apparently as follows: 'To kill her husband, she took a fish-spear (?) and set upon him in the street. She it was who killed her husband!' Two imperfect lines follow, and then we have mention of 'The Assembly of Nippur', which perhaps questioned the accusers separately, with the result that the three guilty men were sentenced to death.

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While regretting that I cannot do more for the elucidation of this important text, I may at least be permitted to point out that the last line (gaz-dè ba-an-sí-mu-uš) does not mean 'were taken for murder', but 'to be killed they (i. e. the judges) gave them up'. It should also be noticed that Dr Chiera has omitted to translate the term GUDA (Obv. 1. 9; cf. Plate CXVII[1]).

Assyrian Deeds and Documents, by C. H. W. JOHNS, vol. iv. (Deighton, Bell & Co., Cambridge, 1923.)

To those students who are so fortunate as to possess the three previous volumes of this monumental work, the issue of the long-delayed final portion of the series has come as a pleasant surprise. Written as long ago as 1900, and taken up again in 1916, pressure of business, as his widow informs us in a brief preface to the book, compelled the lamented author to lay it aside; and ill health and loss of eyesight prevented any final revision of the MS. Much as we may deplore the fact both for the author's sake and for our own, we must not allow such evidence of it as may appear here and there in the course of the volume itself to exercise a disproportionate influence upon our judgement in seeking to estimate the value of the work as a whole. Dr Johns was one of the few scholars worthy to be recognized as pioneers in this difficult branch of research. Whatever he published was eagerly welcomed all over the world by intelligent workers in the same arduous field; chiefly, perhaps, because it was marked, not only by sound scholarship and keenness of insight, but also and more especially by common sense, a quality indispensable to any convincing results, but in which too many Assyriologists are plentifully lacking. It is, of course, needless to praise Johns at this time of day. His name and fame were long since established on the firm foundation of his many contributions to his favourite science. To those who had the happiness to know him, his charming personality will always remain a rare and cherished memory.

C. J. BALL.

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RECENT PERIODICALS RELATING TO THEOLOGICAL STUDIES

(1) ENGLISH.

The Church Quarterly Review, January 1924 (Vol. xcvii, No. 194: S.P.C.K.). F. E. BARKER Shakespeare's observation of Nature—W. J. FERRAR Psychology and Religion—C. S. CARTER The Anglican *via media*: a study in the Elizabethan religious settlement—H. F. B. COMPSTON Old Testament folk-lore and fact—E. F. JACOB Scholasticism and personality in the thirteenth century—H. M. RELTON The idea of Revelation—H. JOHNSTONE A year in the life of King Henry III—H. B. COLCHESTER Liberal Evangelicanism—H. M. RELTON Anglican and other Essays—Short Notices.

The Hibbert Journal, January 1924 (Vol. xxii, No. 2: Williams & Norgate). L. P. JACKS An alternative to government by talk—J. D. MORGAN The ethics of engineering—C. E. COULING The oldest thought and the newest; or Taoism in modern dress—H. WEINEL The present state of religious life in Germany, and its most important tendencies—A. NEWSHOLME The moral aspects of social hygiene—E. V. and A. D. LINDSAY The conscious limitation of the birth-rate—E. HOLMES Spiritual evolution as a gospel of salvation and a principle of conduct—C. W. and A. W. ELLIS An architectural revival?—A. DUFF The spiritual legacy of Egypt to us—J. COLLIER A Cardinal of the Renaissance—C. W. STANLEY Spiritual conditions in Canada—Discussions, Survey, and Signed Reviews.

The Expositor, January 1924 (Ninth Series, No. 1: Hodder & Stoughton). J. MOFFATT Current issues—T. H. ROBINSON The best ten books on the Psalms—W. W. CANNON The text of Hosea—S. TONKIN The Preacher and the Twelve—A. G. WIDGERY The ethical in Hindu aphorisms—Notes and notices of recent criticism—Reviews.

February 1924 (Ninth Series, No. 2). J. MOFFATT Current issues—H. A. A. KENNEDY The ten best books on the teaching of Jesus—W. W. CANNON The text of Hosea—G. MARGOLIOUTH Ecclesiastes viii 10—S. CAVE Rebirth or Immortality—J. R. HARRIS The Encratites and the Marriage at Cana—R. H. STRACHAN Messenger and Master—Notes and notices of recent criticism—Reviews.

March 1924 (Ninth Series, No. 3). J. MOFFATT Current issues—W. FULTON The best ten books on the Person of Christ—W. W. CANNON The text of Hosea—H. T. ANDREWS Modern New Testament criticism and the evangelical faith—H. R. MACKINTOSH Jesus' forgiveness of the sinful—W. H. RIGG Does the First Epistle of Peter throw any light on the Johannine problem?—Notes and notices of recent criticism.

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(2) AMERICAN.

The Harvard Theological Review, January 1924 (Vol. xvii, No. 1: Harvard University Press). G. KRÜGER Literature on Church History 1914–1920—C. C. MOODY The world enigma—H. P. SMITH Frazer's 'Folk-lore in the Old Testament'—C. C. TORREY Medina and ΠΟΛΙΣ and Luke i 39—J. H. ROPES The new edition by E. Dobschütz of Nestle's Introduction to the textual criticism of the New Testament.

The Princeton Theological Review, January 1924 (Vol. xxii, No. 1: Princeton University Press). R. D. WILSON The background of Daniel—C. M. MACKAY Ezekiel's division of Palestine among the tribes—F. D. JENKINS The problem of mental evolution—C. A. S. DWIGHT The philosophy of substance—C. F. DEININGER The message of the Catacombs—J. R. STEVENSON The Adopting Act of 1729 and the powers of the General Assembly—John De Witt (1842–1923)—Notes and Notices—Reviews of recent literature.

(3) FRENCH AND BELGIAN.

Analecta Bollandiana (Vol. xlii, Nos. 1 and 2: Société des Bollandisles, 24 Boulevard Saint-Michel, Brussels). L. PETIT Saint-Jean Xénos ou l'Ermite d'après son autobiographie—L. VILLECOURT Les collections arabes des Miracles de la Sainte Vierge—J. SIMON Note sur l'original de la Passion de sainte Fébronie—P. PEETERS La date de la fête des SS. Juventin et Maximin—H. DELEHAYE Le calendrier d'Oxyrhynque pour l'année 535–536—P. GROSJEAN Cyngar Sant—D. DE BRUYNE La translation de S. Hadelin—M. COENS L'auteur de la Vita Erkembodonis—Bulletin des publications hagiographiques.

Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique, Jan. 1924 (Vol. xx, No. 1: 40 Rue de Namur, Louvain). J. LEBRETON Le désaccord de la foi populaire et de la théologie savante dans l'Église chrétienne du iiie siècle (*suite et fin*)—R. DRAGUET Un commentaire grec arien sur Job—Mélanges—Comptes rendus—Chronique—Bibliographie.

(4) GERMAN.

Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche (Vol. xxii, Nos. 3 & 4: A. Töpelmann, Giessen). M. WUNDT Augustins Konfessionen—G. KUHN Die Geschlechtsregister Jesu bei Lukas und Matthäus, nach ihrer Herkunft untersucht—J. BOEHMER Tag und Morgenstern? zu 2 Pet. i 19—E. WEIGAND Die Orient-oder-Rom-Frage in der frühchristlichen Kunst—H. LIETZMANN Symbolstudien viii–x—H. LIETZMANN Jüdisch-griechische Inschriften aus Tell el Yehudieh—TH. HERMANN Bemerkungen zu den Regeln des Mar Abraham und Mar Dadischo vom Berge Izla—A. MARMORSTEIN Die Nachrichten über Nekyomanteia in der altrabbinischen Literatur—R. EISLER Jesus und die ungetreue Braut—E. KLOSTERMANN Zum Muratorischen Fragment—E. v. DOBSCHÜTZ Die zweite Neutestamentler-Tagung zu Münster i. W.—Notizen.

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The Journal
of
Theological Studies

JULY, 1924

NOTES AND STUDIES

'THE MEANING OF ἐπίκλησις': A REPLY.

In his article under this title in the JOURNAL for last January Mr J. W. Tyrer has rendered a valuable service by giving us a catena of early passages to illustrate the meaning of the words ἐπίκλησις and *invocatio*. He does not claim that it is exhaustive, but in fact it includes most of the outstanding examples of the use of these words in writers of the second and third centuries, with a number from the fourth. In one respect, however, the list admits of considerable enlargement. Considerations of space determined Mr Tyrer to restrict his quotations mainly to passages in which the substantives occur; yet I am sure he recognizes that much additional light on the meaning and history of the substantives is to be gained by a study of the use of the corresponding verbs ἐπικαλεῖν (especially in the middle voice) and *invocare*.[1] It will be my aim accordingly to supplement Mr Tyrer's list with a further one (still very far from complete), which will have for its object not only to illustrate the use of the words 'invocation', 'invoke', but also to shew them in their characteristic setting in early religious thought. In order to do this it will be necessary to quote some passages which do not contain these particular words at all. These will be for the most part (1) passages from which we can learn something as to the nature of the formulae commonly described as 'invocations', and (2) passages in which other words (for instance, ὀνομάζειν, ὀνομασία) are employed in a manner closely parallel to certain uses of ἐπικαλεῖσθαι and ἐπίκλησις. I shall have to repeat a few of the texts already given by Mr Tyrer; but his collection of early eucharistic and baptismal passages is so nearly complete that in this case it will be enough merely to add a few further examples.

The immediate point at issue between Mr Tyrer and myself is a liturgical one. But it would be a pity if on that account students of religion in the wider sense should be deterred from following the discussion, as

[1] Mr Tyrer has given (pp. 140–141) a number of selected references to the LXX for ἐπικαλεῖσθαι, but he does not illustrate the use of the verb from early Christian or contemporary Gnostic or heathen writings.

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though it were devoid of vital interest. The words under consideration take us back in reality to the centre of a wide circle of ideas which had an important influence on Christian thought and practice. Any one who has read carefully such a book as W. Heitmüller's *Im Namen Jesu* must realize how closely these words are bound up with the early ideas in regard to divine names, and how widespread was the belief in the potency of such names and in the importance attaching to their employment in religious formulae. Heitmüller's book is, of course, in no sense a study of the use of *ἐπικαλεῖσθαι*, *ἐπίκλησις*; but he was inevitably brought across these terms in his investigation of the religious significance of divine names, and in particular of the force and meaning of the expression *ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι* Ἰησοῦ. Though I am not concerned here with his general conclusions, I think it may be instructive to quote at once a couple of passages in which, after a prolonged course of reading, he expresses himself as to the use and meaning of the words we are considering.

'As already pointed out, the characteristic element in healing and the casting out of demons *ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι* Ἰησοῦ consisted, as the expression itself implies, in the employment therein of the Name of Jesus: Acts xix 13 *ὀνομάζειν*—another and more usual term is *ἐπικαλεῖσθαι*. This could be done in various ways: in the form of prayer, of invocation (*anrufen*), of adjuration, or in any other form preferred; only the Name itself must be forthcoming. Indeed we may, and must, conclude, from the expression itself, that it sufficed to name the Name, without adding anything further' (p. 59).

'The current expressions for this use of the names are *ὁρκίζειν* and *ἐξορκίζειν κατὰ τοῦ ὀνόματος*, *ἐπᾴδειν τὰ ὀνόματα*, *λέγειν*, *ἐπιλέγειν*, *ὀνομάζειν*, *καλῄζειν*, *διώκειν τὸ ὄνομα* (*τὰ ὀνόματα*), or *γράφειν* and *ἐπιγράφειν*. But the expression *par excellence* is *ἐπικαλεῖσθαι τὸ ὄνομα*. The same word which otherwise, and even in our papyri, denotes prayer in the proper sense, stands at the same time for the simple recital of the sacred names: it means nothing else than to name, pronounce, the names, and is entirely synonymous with the verbs *λέγειν* and *ὀνομάζειν* already mentioned. And this holds good also for the construction of *ἐπικαλεῖσθαι* with the accusative of the Deity [i. e. when not *ὄνομα* but the proper name itself follows]. The act was denoted correspondingly by the noun *ἐπίκλησις* (rarely *κλῆσις*)' (pp. 212–213; see further pp. 249, 254).

When I wrote my little paper in the *Downside Review*,[1] which forms the subject of Mr Tyrer's criticism, I had not yet read Heitmüller's book, or any modern work dealing with the subject of divine names. But I had read enough early Christian literature to suggest to me that the common factor in most of the religious uses of *ἐπίκλησις*, *ἐπικαλεῖσθαι*, was to be sought in the ever-recurring expressions 'invocation of the Name', 'to invoke the Name'. And so I wrote (p. 30): 'It is my

[1] Jan. 1923, pp. 28–43.

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belief that a very large range of their use will be covered if we recognize that *epiclesis*, *invocatio*, and the corresponding verbs, came into the Christian vocabulary with a strong sense of the power inherent in a divine Name, and of the virtue attaching to the mere pronouncing of the Name in connexion with religious acts'. It was this idea that I tried to develope and illustrate in my paper; and if I might allow myself a general criticism of Mr Tyrer's article, it would be that he has hardly shewn a due recognition of the undeniable association of 'invocation' with 'the Name'. He devotes attention chiefly to a single point, my denial that ἐπίκλησις has any necessary connexion with *petition*, or ἐπικαλεῖσθαι with *asking*. And here I may venture to explain how the word 'petition' came in at all, for it is not one which, left to myself, I should have introduced into the discussion.

In 1917 Mr Tyrer published a little book on *The Eucharistic Epiclesis*, which opens with this definition: 'The Epiclesis (Invocation) ... may generally be defined as a *solemn appeal to God to intervene and make the Sacrament what Christ designed it to be when He instituted it*' (p. 5). Lower down on the page the meaning of the Greek word is defined thus: 'εὐχαριστία definitely signifies a *thanksgiving*; ἐπίκλησις, equally definitely, a solemn *petition*' (the italics are Mr Tyrer's in both passages). In my paper I quoted these definitions, and ventured to take exception to the second of them; I wrote (p. 29): 'I do not know of any passage in an ante-Nicene writer which can be held to justify the statement that *epiclesis* signifies a *petition*. I should prefer to say (though not by way of definition) that invocation is often, but by no means always or necessarily, a *prelude* to a petition. It is certain at least that, both in ante-Nicene times and after, words denoting invocation were freely used with reference to formulae into which petition need not, and often did not, enter at all. We find them applied frequently to the baptismal formula; also to forms of exorcism, which were not couched in terms of petition or prayer, but of adjuration and command; they are applied to heathen or heretical formularies, and sometimes apparently in the special sense of magical incantations; and finally to eucharistic prayers, but in texts in which there is no indication of the character or content of the prayers beyond what the term "invocation" itself may be supposed to imply.' Though some of the passages quoted in illustration were from the post-Nicene period, yet the scope of the paper was confined to an attempt to find out what were the prevailing associations of the words 'invoke', 'invocation', in the second and third centuries. For after the middle of the fourth century the existence of the thing, at least, which we call the liturgical 'Epiclesis' is not in question; but for the second and third centuries its existence is in question, and here the evidence turns on the meaning

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to be attached to ἐπίκλησις or *invocatio* in a very few passages in which these terms are used with reference to the consecration of the Eucharist.[1] Is it legitimate, for this early period, to argue that the word implies the thing? That was the point which I raised. The question seems an obvious one to ask; yet I do not remember ever to have seen it formally put or seriously discussed before.

Now Mr Tyrer's definition of ἐπίκλησις as 'a solemn petition' bears upon just those early eucharistic passages referred to. 'The Epiclesis' is a term that has long been in use in a technical sense to denote a clause within the main eucharistic prayer in the Eastern Liturgies which undoubtedly is 'a solemn petition'—that God would send forth His Holy Spirit to make the bread and wine the Body and Blood of Christ. If then a writer like St Irenaeus can say that the bread, on 'receiving the *epiclesis* of God, is no longer common bread but Eucharist' (IV xxxi 4), does he not mean that it becomes 'Eucharist' in answer to an express petition to God that it may be made so? The inference which we are expected to draw is that that is his meaning; but the justice of the inference depends, *inter alia*, on the correctness of the definition of ἐπίκλησις as 'a petition'.

Mr Tyrer has now given the text of thirty-five passages, including in all fifty-four occurrences of the word ἐπίκλησις or *invocatio*, with the view of supporting his former definition. I think it will help towards clearness if I put off any discussion of these passages until I have first given my supplementary list of passages, which will, I hope, make it easier for the reader to form an independent judgement. But there is one argument of Mr Tyrer's which I must try to meet at once.

On p. 140 Mr Tyrer quotes what he holds to be a formal definition of the meaning and force of *invocare*, 'and therefore also of ἐπικαλεῖσθαι', from Rufinus's version of Origen's commentary on Romans (viii 5): 'et si invocare nomen Domini et orare Dominum unum atque idem est, sicut invocatur Deus, invocandus est Christus; et sicut oratur Deus, ita et orandus est Christus'. 'We note', Mr Tyrer says, 'that the writer here states as an undoubted fact that *invocare nomen Domini* has exactly the same meaning as *orare Dominum*.' As to this I can only say that according to my understanding of the passage, viewed in its context, the equivalence asserted by Origen (or Rufinus) is a theological, not a lexicographical one: if it is right to invoke Christ, even with the title 'Lord' (for which the authority of 1 Cor. i 2 is cited), it is right also to pray to Him. It is not the two verbs *invocare* and *orare* that

[1] These passages are Iren. *Haer.* I vii 2 (Harvey), IV xxxi 4, Hippol. *Philos.* vi 39 (taken from Iren. I vii), Firmilian (*apud* Cypr. *Ep.* lxxv 10), *Didascalia* vi 22. 2. The texts are given by Mr Tyrer in nos. 2–3, 5, 9, 51, and 53 of his list, but of course only quite briefly.

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are equated, but the two acts 'invocare *nomen* Domini' and 'orare Dominum': these, it is argued, come to exactly the same thing—as regards their theological import. Mr Tyrer certainly goes some way beyond his text when he says further: 'Rufinus asserts and Dom Connolly denies that the characteristic use of *invocare* (and therefore also of ἐπικαλεῖσθαι) is, to express the idea of petition'. That *orare* in the passage is used in a wide and inclusive sense, and not in the confined sense of *petere*, is indicated by the context; for the writer goes on to subdivide it, distinguishing (on the basis of 1 Tim. ii 1) various kinds of prayer that may be directed to Christ: one of these is petition (*postulationes*), and another thanksgiving (*gratiarum actiones*); and these are deductions from the same premiss, that it is scriptural to invoke Christ as Lord equally with the Father—'ut omnes honorificent Filium, sicut honorificant Patrem' (Jn. v 23).

I did not suggest in my paper that ἐπίκλησις might not be applied to a *formula* that is a prayer, even a prayer concerned with petition. My point was that it does not denote prayer under the special aspect of petition, which is what Mr Tyrer contends for, and that still less is it apt to describe the actual formulation of the petition as distinguished from other elements in a prayer. What I mean can best be made clear by bringing forward a modern example of the use of the word 'invocation'.

'It is impossible to say confidently whether πατέρα ἐπικαλεῖσθε is a reference to the invocation in the Lord's Prayer, but it is very likely' (Dr Hort on 1 Pet. i 17).

In describing the opening address of the Lord's Prayer as its 'invocation' Dr Hort uses language that we all understand; but I venture to say that it would never have occurred to him to apply that term to the clauses 'Give us this day', &c. Let us now see how two ancient writers have commented on the title 'Father' in the Prayer.

'Dicendo autem patrem, deum quoque cognominamus. Appellatio ista et pietatis et potestatis est. Item in *patre* filius *invocatur*. Ego, inquit, et pater unum sumus' (Tertullian *de Orat.* 2).

Πάτερ ἡμῶν ὁ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς. ὦ τῆς μεγίστης τοῦ θεοῦ φιλανθρωπίας· τοῖς ἀποπηδήσασιν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐν ἐσχάτοις γενομένοις κακοῖς τοσαύτην δεδώρηται κακῶν ἀμνηστίαν καὶ χάριτος μετουσίαν, ὡς καὶ πατέρα ἐπικαλεῖσθαι (Cyril of Jerus. *Cat. Myst.* v 11).

Tertullian and St Cyril are at one with Dr Hort in connecting the idea of invocation with the title 'Father' in the Lord's Prayer. I do not think that they, any more than he, would have associated this idea with the petitions of the Prayer. When Tertullian comes to the words 'panem nostrum', he speaks thus: 'Sed quam eleganter divina sapientia

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ordinem orationis instruxit, ut post caelestia, id est post dei *nomen*, dei voluntatem et dei regnum, terrenis quoque necessitatibus *petitioni* locum faceret' (c. 6).

In a prayer the invocation, as I understand it, consists in the names, epithets, or clauses descriptive of God's attributes and works, with which we address Him and make our appeal to Him. Should the prayer as a whole be referred to as an 'invocation', it would be so naturally in virtue of this address. But apart from prayer in the strict sense, the mere employment of divine names and epithets with a religious purpose falls within the meaning of 'invocation', as we see from the frequent application of the term to the baptismal formula, and to other forms (as of exorcism) in which the emphasis is all upon the names which are—we can only say—invoked.

Early Christian prayers, to speak of these alone, constantly begin with a more or less elaborate address to God in the manner referred to above. And when the verb 'to invoke' occurs in a prayer, it usually appears in close connexion with the address. We may take a couple of examples from the fourth-century 'Prayer Book' of Serapion bishop of Thmuis.[1] The translation given is that of the late Dr John Wordsworth.

No. 15. 'Master, lover of men and lover of souls, compassionate and pitiful, O God of truth, we *invoke* thee following out and obeying the promises of thine only-begotten . . . and we anoint with this anointing oil those who in purpose approach this divine regeneration, *beseeching*', &c.

No. 17. 'We *invoke* thee who hast all authority and power, the Saviour of all men, father of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, *and pray* thee to send healing power of the only-begotten from heaven upon this oil, that it may become to those who are being anointed (with it) . . . for the throwing off of every sickness and infirmity', &c.

In the words 'and pray thee to send', &c., of this second prayer we have a close parallel with the customary formulation of the eucharistic 'Epiclesis'. But it can hardly be said that in this clause we have the invocation of the prayer, and not rather in the words of address introduced by the verb 'we invoke'. Further on in the same prayer we read: 'O Master, let every Satanic energy, every demon . . . fear thy holy *name* which we have now *invoked*, and the *name* of the only-begotten'.

[1] Further examples may be seen in prayers 24 and 25 of the same collection. See also the prayer of St Irenaeus in *Haer.* III vi 3 (Harvey). Tertullian *Apol.* 30 (*init.*) writes: 'Nos enim pro salute imperatorum deum *invocamus* aeternum, deum verum, deum vivum, quem et ipsi imperatores propitium sibi praeter ceteros malunt'; and Irenaeus III xii 6, with direct reference to the prayer of the disciples in Acts iv 24 ff: *αὗται φωναὶ τῶν μαθητῶν τοῦ κυρίου . . . ἐπικαλουμένων τὸν θεὸν τὸν ποιήσαντα τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν καὶ τὴν θάλασσαν, τὸν διὰ τῶν προφητῶν κεκηρυγμένον, καὶ τὸν τούτου παῖδα δὲ ὃν ἔχρισεν ὁ θεός, καὶ ἄλλον οὐκ εἰδότων.*

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It is to be remarked that in both the prayers above the petition is introduced by another verb ('beseeching', 'and pray'). This is natural if ἐπικαλεῖσθαι is not in the proper sense a verb of petition. It is true that 'invoke' may sometimes stand immediately before the petition of a prayer and be followed by ἵνα, ὅπως, or ὥστε, or by a simple infinitive or imperative[1]; but so also may a number of verbs that have nothing to do with petition, for instance ὁρκίζειν and ἐξορκίζειν,[2] and even the phrase λέγειν τὸ ὄνομα.[3] The purpose for which something is done always admits of being expressed. A good example of the distinction between the verb 'to invoke' and verbs of petition is to be found in the so-called *Deprecatio Gelasii*, a litany attributed by Alcuin to Pope Gelasius I (Migne *P.L.* ci 560 f). It begins: 'Dicamus omnes, Domine exaudi et miserere'. The next clause is: 'Patrem unigeniti, et Filium genitoris ingeniti, et sanctum Deum Spiritum, fidelibus animis *invocamus*'. After this there is a long series of petitions for various objects, in which the verb varies between *deprecamur*, *obsecramus*, *supplicamus*, and *imploramus*; but *invocamus* does not appear again: it is used only in the second clause, which contains no petition but merely the divine names.

If, as Mr Tyrer contends, 'the characteristic use of ἐπικαλεῖσθαι and *invocare* is to express the idea of petition' (p. 141), and if ἐπίκλησις had been from early times almost a technical term to denote a special petition for the consecration of the Eucharist, then it must appear somewhat strange that ἐπικαλεῖσθαι is never the verb employed to introduce the 'Epiclesis' of the Holy Spirit in the Eastern Liturgies. St Cyril of Jerusalem (*Cat. Myst.* v 7) writes παρακαλοῦμεν (not ἐπικαλούμεθα) τὸν φιλάνθρωπον θεὸν τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα ἐξαποστεῖλαι κτλ., and the liturgical texts employ only such verbs as παρακαλοῦμεν, ἀξιοῦμεν, δεόμεθα.

In making a rough classification of the passages which here follow I have not attempted to group them under the words which claim special attention. Even if this were possible (and it would have been very difficult), it would not be desirable, for one of the chief lessons which the list has to teach us is to be learnt only by seeing how ἐπίκλησις or ἐπικαλεῖσθαι interchange with other words, often without any perceptible difference in meaning, and this sometimes in extracts from the same writer or even in a single context. For the four items 68–71, from magical papyri, I have referred to Heitmüller's book *Im Namen Jesu*.

[1] In Serapion no. 16 we find ἐπικαλούμεθά σε, ὥστε . . . ἐνεργῆσαι. But this also follows immediately upon the opening address of the prayer.

[2] e.g. ἐξορκίζω ὑμᾶς κατὰ τῶν μεγάλων ὀνομάτων ἵνα καταδήσητε, κτλ., in R. Wünsch *Antike Fluchtafeln* p. 10 (no. 20 of Lietzmann's *Kleine Texte*).

[3] εἶπω σοι καὶ τὸ ἀληθινὸν ὄνομα, ὃ τρέμει Τάρταρα, γῆ, βυθός, οὐρανός, . . . (the name follows)· ἵνα διακονήσῃς μοι κτλ. Wünsch *ibid.* p. 19.

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To him I owe also a certain number of patristic references, but as I am unable now to say with exactness which these are, it may suffice if I make a general acknowledgement to him; this I desire to do in the most liberal manner possible. A fair proportion of the whole list might have been compiled from his book alone, but in fact before reading him I had already got together the majority of the passages which he might have supplied. No general treatment of the use of *ἐπικαλεῖσθαι* in the LXX and the N.T. has been attempted. This would require an article to itself, and it can be done by others, with the aid of the concordances, better than I could do it. I have merely included in the list a few Scripture passages which seemed to me specially significant.

The following items are common to my list and Mr Tyrer's, the figures in brackets representing his numbers: 7 (see 38–50), 17 (see 8), 22 (see 11), 38 (19), 39 (24–25), 53 (4), 54 (6), 55 (7), 56 (8), 57 (2–3).

I. *Power of the Name.*

1. 1 Clem. xlv 7 *τῶν ἐν καθαρᾷ συνειδήσει λατρευόντων τῷ παναρέτῳ ὀνόματι αὐτοῦ.*—lviii 1 *ὑπακούσωμεν οὖν τῷ παναγίῳ καὶ ἐνδόξῳ ὀνόματι αὐτοῦ . . . πεποιθότες ἐπὶ τὸ ὁσιώτατον τῆς μεγαλωσύνης αὐτοῦ ὄνομα.*—lix 3 *ἐλπίζειν ἐπὶ τὸ ἀρχέγονον πάσης κτίσεως ὀνομά σου.*—lx 4 *ὑπηκόους γινομένους τῷ παντοκράτορι καὶ παναρέτῳ ὀνόματί σου.*—lxiv *δῴη πάσῃ ψυχῇ ἐπικεκλημένῃ τὸ μεγαλοπρεπὲς καὶ ἅγιον ὄνομα αὐτοῦ πίστιν, φόβον,* κτλ. ('omni animae *invocanti . . . nomen*' vers. lat.; 'that *calleth* upon His name' vers. syr.).[1]

2. Hermas *Vis.* iii 3. 5 *τεθεμελίωται δὲ ὁ πύργος τῷ ῥήματι τοῦ παντοκράτορος καὶ ἐνδόξου ὀνόματος.*—*Sim.* ix 14. 5 *τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ μέγα ἐστὶ καὶ ἀχώρητον, καὶ τὸν κόσμον ὅλον βαστάζει.*

3. Justin *Dial.* 106 *καὶ τῷ Αὐσῇ ὄνομα Ἰησοῦς ἐπεκλήθη, δι' οὗ ὀνόματος καὶ εἰσήχθη εἰς τὴν ἐπηγγελμένην τοῖς πατριάρχαις γῆν ὁ . . . λαός.*—*Ibid.* 111 (The types of Jesus borne by Moses and Joshua respectively could not both have been borne by either of them singly) *λέγω δὲ τὸν τύπον τοῦ σταυροῦ καὶ τὸν τύπον τῆς τοῦ ὀνόματος ἐπικλήσεως*[2] *. . . οὗ καὶ τὸ ὄνομα πᾶσα ἀρχὴ δέδιεν.* See also *ibid.* 112 and 113.

[1] Lightfoot translates, 'grant unto every soul that *is called after* His excellent and holy Name'. In his note to the text, however, he balances the question, giving first the rendering 'which hath invoked his name', and then adding: 'Or is it rather, as the perfect tense suggests, "which is called by his name"? This latter makes better sense, especially in connexion with *λαὸς περιούσιος*; but with this meaning the common constructions in biblical Greek would be *ἐφ' ἣν* (or *ἐφ' ᾗ*) *ἐπικέκληται τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ . . .* or *τῇ ἐπικεκλημένῃ τῷ ὀνόματι αὐτοῦ*.' My own feeling is that the Latin and Syriac translators were right in regarding the participle as middle, not passive.

[2] *τῆς τοῦ ὀν. ἐπ.* here would seem to mean 'of his being surnamed with the Name'.

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4. Irenaeus *Apostolic Preaching* c. 27 (ed. J. A. Robinson) 'At that time God revealed to him the Name which alone is able to save them that believe thereon; and Moses changed the name of Oshea the son of Nun, one of them that were sent, and named him Jesus: and so he sent them forth with the *power of the Name*, believing that he should receive them back safe and sound through the *guidance of the Name*'.

5. Clement of Alexandria *Excerpt. Theod.* 82 ὁ ἄρτος καὶ τὸ ἔλαιον ἁγιάζεται τῇ δυνάμει τοῦ ὀνόματος.[1]

6. Origen. The classical passages on names and their powers are to be read in the *contra Celsum* i 24–25 and v 45 (brought together in the *Philocalia* c. xvii). There we have a formal discussion of what Origen calls 'the philosophy of names'. Those, he says, who are skilled in incantations tell us that a formula loses its virtue if translated into another language. And he applies this principle to the divine titles Sabaoth and Adonai, as also to other names (as Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, and Israel) which are brought into conjunction with the name of God: ἐὰν μὲν ὁ καλῶν ἢ ὁ ὀρκῶν ὀνομάζῃ θεὸν Ἀβραὰμ καὶ θεὸν Ἰσαὰκ καὶ θεὸν Ἰακώβ, τόδε τι ποιήσαι ἄν, ἤτοι διὰ τὴν τῶν ὀνομάτων φύσιν ἢ καὶ δύναμιν αὐτῶν (v 45). But if you substitute Greek translations of the names of these Patriarchs, οὕτως οὐδὲν ποιεῖ τὸ ὀνομαζόμενον, ὡς οὐδ' ἄλλο τι τῶν μηδεμίαν δύναμιν ἐχόντων. And the word he uses to describe a formula which derives its power from the names which it contains is ἐπίκλησις. If, he says, we translate the name Israel into Greek or any other language, we can do nothing with it; but if we keep it, προσάπτοντες οἷς οἱ περὶ ταῦτα δεινοὶ συμπλέκειν αὐτὸ ᾠήθησαν, τότε γένοιτ' ἄν τι κατὰ τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν τῶν τοιωνδὶ ἐπικλήσεων ἐκ τῆς τοιασδὶ φωνῆς.[2] τὸ δ' ὅμοιον ἐροῦμεν καὶ περὶ τῆς Σαβαὼθ φωνῆς, πολλαχοῦ τῶν ἐπῳδῶν παραλαμβανομένης (*ibid.*).

7. *De Rebaptismate* c. 7 '. . . tamen considerare oportet, quod *invocatio nominis* Iesu non debet a nobis futilis videri propter veneration-em et *virtutem* ipsius *nominis*, in quo nomine virtutes omnes solent fieri, et nonnumquam aliquae etiam ab hominibus extraneis'.—(And again *ibid.*) '. . . nisi ostenderetur nobis nonnumquam etiam ab his qui operarentur iniquitatem posse per *nimiam virtutem nominis* Iesu etiam haec fieri'.

As Mr Tyrer has indicated, 'invocatio nominis Iesu' occurs repeatedly in this treatise with reference to baptism in the name of Jesus.

[1] For a blessing of water and oil 'through the name' of Christ see Serapion 5 (no. 47 below). We may compare the following from a magical papyrus: βάλε εἰς ἀγγεῖον ὑελοῦν μύρου ῥοδίνου καλλίστου ὅσον βούλει . . . καὶ λέγε τὸ ὄνομα ἐπὶ τοῦ ἄγγους ἐπὶ ἡμέρας ἑπτὰ ἡλίου μεσουρανοῦντος. Hereby the contents of the vessel acquire power for magical purposes. See A. Dieterich *Eine Mithrasliturgie* (Leipzig 1903) p. 17 ll. 13–17.

[2] φωνῆς, as in the next clause, being the name in its original language.

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II. *The Name in healing, exorcism, &c.*

8. 4 Reg. v 11 (Naaman) *ἰδοὺ εἶπον· πρός με πάντως ἐξελεύσεται, καὶ ἐπικαλέσεται ἐν ὀνόματι θεοῦ αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐπιθήσει τὴν χεῖρα αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τὸν τόπον, καὶ ἀποσυνάξει τὸ λεπρόν.*

9. Mk. ix 38, 39 *εἴδομέν τινα ἐν τῷ ὀνόματί σου ἐκβάλλοντα δαιμόνια, κτλ.*

10. Lk. x 17 *καὶ τὰ δαιμόνια ὑποτάσσεται ἡμῖν ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι σου.*

11. Acts iii 6 *ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ Ναζωραίου περιπάτει.*

12. Acts xvi 18 *παραγγέλλω σοι ἐν ὀνόματι Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐξελθεῖν ἀπ' αὐτῆς.*

13. Acts xix 13 *ἐπεχείρησαν δέ τινες καὶ τῶν περιερχομένων Ἰουδαίων ἐξορκιστῶν ὀνομάζειν (invocare* Vulg.) *ἐπὶ τοὺς ἔχοντας τὰ πνεύματα τὰ πονηρὰ τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ.*

14. Justin *Dial.* 30 *βοηθὸν γὰρ ἐκεῖνον καὶ λυτρωτὴν καλοῦμεν, οὗ καὶ τὴν τοῦ ὀνόματος ἰσχὺν καὶ τὰ δαιμόνια τρέμει, καὶ σήμερον ἐξορκιζόμενα κατὰ τοῦ ὀνόματος Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ σταυρωθέντος ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου, τοῦ γενομένου ἐπιτρόπου τῆς Ἰουδαίας, ὑποτάσσεται . . . ὥστε καὶ τὰ δαιμόνια ὑποτάσσεσθαι τῷ ὀνόματι αὐτοῦ καὶ τῇ τοῦ γενομένου πάθους αὐτοῦ οἰκονομίᾳ.*[1]

15. *Ibid.* 85 *κατὰ γὰρ τοῦ ὀνόματος αὐτοῦ τούτου τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ πρωτοτόκου πάσης κτίσεως, καὶ διὰ παρθένου γεννηθέντος καὶ παθητοῦ γενομένου ἀνθρώπου, καὶ σταυρωθέντος ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου ὑπὸ τοῦ λαοῦ ὑμῶν καὶ ἀποθανόντος, καὶ ἀναστάντος ἐκ νεκρῶν καὶ ἀναβάντος εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν, πᾶν δαιμόνιον ἐξορκιζόμενον νικᾶται καὶ ὑποτάσσεται. ἐὰν δὲ κατὰ παντὸς ὀνόματος τῶν παρ' ὑμῖν γεγενημένων ἢ βασιλέων ἢ δικαίων ἢ προφητῶν ἢ πατριαρχῶν ἐξορκίζητε ὑμεῖς, οὐχ ὑποταγήσεται οὐδὲν τῶν δαιμονίων. ἀλλ' εἴ ἄρα ἐξορκίζοι τις ὑμῶν κατὰ τοῦ θεοῦ Ἀβραὰμ καὶ θεοῦ Ἰσαὰκ καὶ θεοῦ Ἰακώβ, ἴσως ὑποταγήσεται. ἤδη μέντοι οἱ ἐξ ὑμῶν ἐπορκισταὶ τῇ τέχνῃ, ὥσπερ καὶ τὰ ἔθνη, χρώμενοι ἐξορκίζουσι καὶ θυμιάμασι καὶ καταδέσμοις χρῶνται, εἶπον.*

16. Irenaeus *Haer.* (ed. Harvey) II iv 6 'Et propter hoc Altissimi et Omnipotentis *appellationi* omnia subiecta sunt: et huius *invocatione* etiam ante adventum Domini nostri salvabantur homines et a spiritibus nequissimis et a daemoniis universis et ab apostasia universa: non quasi vidissent eum terreni spiritus aut daemones, sed cum scirent quo-

[1] In these last words we have a statement of the principle underlying Justin's frequent references to exorcism in the name of Jesus Christ 'crucified under Pontius Pilate', and the further creed-like developement in the next passage to be quoted (*Dial.* 85). Origen likewise speaks of the expulsion of demons *τῷ ὀνόματι Ἰησοῦ μετὰ τῆς ἐπαγγελίας τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν ἱστοριῶν* (no. 20 below; see also no. 21). For allusions to the crucifixion in forms of exorcism see further nos. 17, 18 (Irenaeus), 38 (Cyr. Jerus.), 43, 45 (Epiphanius), 47 (Serapion).

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niam est qui est super omnia Deus, cuius et *invocationem* tremebant.... (Can it be that the angels, or the Demiurge, do not know the Almighty, as the Gnostics say,) quando iam et muta animalia tremant et cedant tali *invocationi*? Et utique non viderunt eum, tamen Domini nostri *nomini* subiecta sunt omnia: sic et eius qui omnia fecit et condidit *vocabulo*, cum alter non sit quam ipse qui mundum fecit. Et propter hoc Iudaei usque nunc hac ipsa *affatione* daemonas effugant, quando omnia timeant *invocationem* eius qui fecit ea'.

The various synonyms for *invocatio* in this passage are instructive.[1]

17. *Ibid.* II xlix 3 'Quapropter et *in* illius *nomine* qui vere illius sunt discipuli, ab eo accipientes gratiam, perficiunt ad beneficia reliquorum hominum quemadmodum unusquisque accepit donum ab eo. Alii enim daemones excludunt firmissime et vere ... Alii autem laborantes aliqua infirmitate per manus impositionem curant et sanos restituunt ... Et quid autem? Non est numerum dicere gratiarum quas per universum mundum ecclesia, a Deo accipiens, *in nomine* Christi Iesu crucifixi sub Pontio Pilato[2] per singulos dies in opitulationem gentium perficit ...[3] Nec *invocationibus* angelicis facit aliquid nec *incantationibus* nec reliqua prava curiositate, sed munde et pure et manifeste *orationes dirigens* ad Dominum qui omnia fecit *et nomen* Domini nostri Iesu Christi *invocans* virtutes secundum utilitates hominum ... perficit. Si itaque et nunc *nomen* Domini nostri Iesu Christi beneficia praestat, etc.'

18. Irenaeus *Apostolic Preaching* c. 96 'But whosoever shall call upon the name of the Lord shall be saved. And there is none other name of the Lord given under heaven whereby men are saved, save that of God, which is Jesus Christ the Son of God, to which also the demons are subject and all evil spirits and all apostate energies, *by the invocation of the name* of Jesus Christ, crucified under Pontius Pilate'.

19. Tertullian *Apol.* 23 'Atquin omnis haec nostra in illos (sc. immundos spiritus) dominatio et potestas *de nominatione Christi valet*, et de commemoratione eorum quae sibi a Deo per arbitrum Christum imminentia expectant'.[4]

[1] *Invocatio* regularly stands for ἐπίκλησις in Irenaeus in passages of which the Greek has been preserved; we may therefore be fairly confident that the same is the case where we have only the Latin.

[2] ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ σταυρωθέντος ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου.

[3] The Greek is extant only thus far; I have therefore quoted the whole passage in the Latin.

[4] This and what follows in the passage is thoroughly in the spirit of the Roman exorcism found in the Gelasian and Gregorian Sacramentaries: 'Nec te latet, Satanas, imminere tibi poenas, imminere tibi tormenta, imminere tibi diem iudicii ... Proinde, damnate, da honorem Deo vivo et vero, da honorem Iesu Christo filio eius et Spiritui sancto, *in cuius nomine* atque virtute praecipio tibi ut exeas et recedas ab hoc famulo Dei' (ed. Wilson *Gelas.* p. 78, *Greg.* p. 54).

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20. Origen *c. Cels.* i 6 *μετὰ ταῦτα οὐκ οἶδα πόθεν κινούμενος ὁ Κέλσος φησί, δαιμόνων τινων ὀνόμασι καὶ κατακηλήσεσι δοκεῖν ἰσχύειν Χριστιανούς· ὡς οἶμαι, αἰνισσόμενος τὰ περὶ τῶν κατεπᾳδόντων τοὺς δαίμονας καὶ ἐξελαυνόντων . . . οὐ γὰρ κατακηλήσεσιν ἰσχύειν δοκοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ τῷ ὀνόματι Ἰησοῦ μετὰ τῆς ἐπαγγελίας τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν ἱστοριῶν*[1] *ταῦτα γὰρ λεγόμενα πολλάκις τοὺς δαίμονας πεποίηκεν ἀνθρώπων χωρισθῆναι . . . τοσοῦτον μέν γε δύναται τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Ἰησοῦ κατὰ τῶν δαιμόνων, ὡς ἔσθ' ὅτε καὶ ὑπὸ φαύλων ὀνομαζόμενον ἀνύειν . . . σαφῶς ὅτι Χριστιανοὶ οὐδεμίᾳ μελέτῃ ἐπῳδῶν χρώμενοι ἐντυγχάνουσιν, ἀλλὰ τῷ ὀνόματι τοῦ Ἰησοῦ καὶ ἄλλων λόγων πεπιστευμένων κατὰ τὴν θείαν γραφήν.*

21. *Ibid.* iii 24 *οὐδὲν ἄλλο καλοῦντες ἐπὶ τοὺς δεομένους θεραπείας ἢ τὸν ἐπὶ πᾶσι θεὸν καὶ τὸ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ ὄνομα μετὰ τῆς περὶ αὐτοῦ ἱστορίας.*

22. *Ibid.* iv 33 (On Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob) *ὧν τοσοῦτον δύναται τὰ ὀνόματα συναπτόμενα τῇ τοῦ θεοῦ προσηγορίᾳ, ὡς οὐ μόνον τοὺς τοῦ ἔθνους* (the Jews) *χρῆσθαι ἐν ταῖς πρὸς θεὸν εὐχαῖς καὶ ἐν τῷ κατεπᾴδειν δαίμονας τὸ "ὁ θεὸς Ἀβραὰμ καὶ ὁ θεὸς Ἰσαὰκ καὶ ὁ θεὸς Ἰακώβ", ἀλλὰ γὰρ σχεδὸν καὶ πάντας τὰ τῶν ἐπῳδῶν καὶ μαγειῶν πραγματευομένους. εὑρίσκεται γὰρ ἐν τοῖς μαγικοῖς συγγράμμασι πολλαχοῦ ἡ τοιαύτη τοῦ θεοῦ ἐπίκλησις καὶ παράληψις τοῦ θεοῦ ὀνόματος, ὡς οἰκείου τοῖς ἀνδράσιν τούτοις εἰς τὰ κατὰ τῶν δαιμόνων*[2] *. . .* c. 34 *πυνθανόμεθα γὰρ ἁπάντων τῶν χρωμένων ταῖς τοιαύταις τοῦ θεοῦ κατακλήσεσιν· εἴπατε ἡμῖν, ὦ οὗτοι, τίς ὁ Ἀβραάμ, καὶ πηλίκος ὁ Ἰσαάκ, καὶ ποίας δυνάμεως γέγονεν ὁ Ἰακώβ, ὡς τὴν "θεὸς" προσηγορίαν ἁρμοζομένην αὐτῶν τῷ ὀνόματι τηλικάσδε ποιεῖν δυνάμεις; . . . ἀλλὰ γὰρ καὶ "ὁ θεὸς τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ" καὶ "ὁ θεὸς τῶν Ἑβραίων" καὶ "ὁ θεὸς ὁ καταποντώσας ἐν τῇ Ἐρυθρᾷ θαλάσσῃ τὸν Αἰγυπτίων βασιλέα καὶ τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους" πολλάκις ὀνομάζεται παραλαμβανόμενος κατὰ δαιμόνων ἤ τινων πονηρῶν δυνάμεων . . .* c. 35 *ὧν καὶ αἱ ὀνομασίαι μόνον οὐ παρὰ τοῖς οἰκείοις μόνοις ἀλλὰ καὶ παρὰ τοῖς ἀλλοτρίοις δύνανται.*

23. *Ibid.* viii 37 (A taunt of Celsus, referring apparently to the Christian invocation of angels) *ἐὰν μὲν βαρβάρως αὐτοὺς ὀνομάζῃ τις, δύναμιν ἔξουσιν· ἐὰν δὲ Ἑλληνικῶς ἢ Ῥωμαϊκῶς, οὐκ ἔτι.*

24. *Ibid.* viii 58 (Celsus says that according to the Egyptians there are thirty-six demons who have charge each of a part of the human body: why not therefore have recourse to them?) *καὶ τῶν δαιμόνων ἴσασι τὰ ὀνόματα ἐπιχωρίῳ φωνῇ, ὥσπερ Χνουμην καὶ Χναχουμην καὶ Κνατ . . ., ὅσα τε ἄλλα τῇ ἑαυτῶν γλώσσῃ ὀνομάζουσι· καὶ δὴ ἐπικαλοῦντες*[3] *αὐτοὺς ἰῶνται τῶν μερῶν τὰ παθήματα.*

[1] See note to no. 14 above.

[2] This sentence is quoted by Mr Tyrer (his no. 11). The context shews that the *epiclesis* in question is a particular formula, 'the God of Abraham', &c.

[3] The active is to be noted. Compare from a magical papyrus *ἐπικαλῶ τὸν τῆς ὥρας καὶ τὸν τῆς ἡμέρας θεόν*, quoted by R. Wünsch *Antike Fluchtafeln* p. 17, note to l. 17 (in Lietzmann's *Kleine Texte* no. 20); the reference given is 'Pap. Lugd. J. 395 ix 36 (Dieterich *Abraxas* p. 172)'.

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25. Origen, in the course of his reply, says: *οὐ γὰρ ἑώρακε τίνα τρόπον τὸ "ἐν ὀνόματι τοῦ Ἰησοῦ" ὑπὸ τῶν γνησίως πιστευόντων καλούμενον*[1] *οὐκ ὀλίγους ἀπὸ νόσων καὶ δαιμονισμῶν καὶ ἄλλων περιστάσεων ἰάσατο.*

26. Origen *In lib. Iesu Nave* Hom. xxiv 1 'Si inimica virtus daemonis ex amaritudinis turma veniens obsideat alicuius corpus, perturbet ac sopiat mentem, adhibeantur autem multae orationes, multa ieiunia, multae *exorcistarum invocationes*, et ad haec omnia surdus daemon in obsesso corpore permaneat et persistat, tolerabilius ferens exorcistarum poenas et adhibita sibi ex Dei *nominis invocatione* tormenta quam discedere . . . ita etiam intelligendum est in istis qui dicuntur Amorraei, etc.'

27. Lactantius *Divin. Inst.* iv 27. 12–13 'Iubeat utriuslibet sacerdos (sc. of Aesculapius or Apollo) dei sui *nomine* ut nocens ille spiritus excedat ex homine: nullo id pacto fieri potest . . . at vero idem daemones adiurati *per nomen* Dei veri protinus fugiunt'.

28. *Acta Ioannis* c. 31 (ed. Bonnet) *μηδὲ τὸ μαγικὸν ἐκεῖνο ὀνομαζέτω ὄνομα ὃ ἀκήκοα αὐτοῦ λέγοντος.*

29. *Ibid.* c. 41 *οὗ ὀνόματι πᾶν εἴδωλον φεύγει καὶ πᾶς δαίμων δύναμίς τε καὶ πᾶσα ἀκάθαρτος· καὶ νῦν φεύγων (l. φεύγοντος) τῷ ὀνόματι τῷ σῷ τοῦ ἐνθάδε δαίμονος . . . δεῖξον τὸ σὸν ἔλεος.*

30. *Acta Thomae* c. 33 (ed. Bonnet) *κελεύω δέ σοι ἐν ὀνόματι τοῦ Ἰησοῦ ἐκείνου . . . ἵνα τὸν ἰόν σου ὃν ἔβαλες εἰς τὸν ἄνδρα τοῦτον ἐκμυζήσῃς.*

31. *Ibid.* c. 41 *ἐγὼ μὲν ἠδυνάμην ἐγεῖραι αὐτὸν διὰ τοῦ ὀνόματος* Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. One MS reads *τῇ ἐπικλήσει τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν.*

32. *Martyrium Matthaei* c. 14 (ed. Bonnet) *παρεκτὸς ἐκείνων τῶν ὀνομαζόντων ἡμῖν ἐκεῖνο τὸ μέγα καὶ φοβερὸν ὄνομα τοῦ* Χριστοῦ.

33. *Ibid.* vers. lat. (A demon is speaking) 'quia statim *naturali lingua sua invocat nomen* Christi . . . praeterea quia *nomen* domini Iesu Christi *nominat*; quoniam ubi audierimus nomen Christi vel signum eius viderimus, statim fugimus. Nam si igne (? igni, *or* ignem) inferas, *nominat* ille *nomen* hoc sanctum, et ille ignis efficitur tamquam ros'.

34. *Acta Thaddaei* c. 7 (ed. Lipsius) *ὁ δὲ Θαδδαῖος ἐξελθὼν σὺν τοῖς μαθηταῖς ἑνὶ ἑκάστῳ αὐτῶν ἐπιτιθῶν τὴν χεῖρα τῇ ἐπικλήσει τοῦ Χριστοῦ πάντας ἐθεράπευσεν.*

35. *Acta Barnabae* c. 15 (ed. Tischendorf) *Τίμων δὲ συνείχετο πυρετῷ πολλῷ· ᾧ καὶ ἐπιθέντες τὰς χεῖρας εὐθέως ἀπεστήσαμεν τὸν πυρετὸν αὐτοῦ, ἐπικαλούμενοι τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ κυρίου* Ἰησοῦ.

[1] We have already had *καλεῖν* in Origen in a sense hardly distinguishable from *ἐπικαλεῖσθαι* (no. 21 above). So again in *c. Cels.* viii 59 (*καλεῖσθαι* and *καλεῖν*), and 61 (*καλεῖν*). See also no. 6 above, *ἐὰν μὲν ὁ καλῶν ἢ ὁ ὁρκῶν ὀνομάζῃ θεὸν Ἀβραάμ.* Possibly the verb has the same force in Justin *Dial.* 30 (no. 14) *βοηθὸν γὰρ ἐκεῖνον καὶ λυτρωτὴν καλοῦμεν*, where 'call' (*vocamus*) is inadequate and 'call upon (as)' seems to be required in the context.

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36. *Didascalia* vi 9. 3 (Hauler, p. 61) '*In virtute* sancti *nominis* Iesu excido virtutes tuas' (St Peter to Simon Magus).

37. *Hymn of the Soul* (ed. Bevan *Texts and Studies* v 3 p. 23) 'I hushed him (the serpent) to sleep and lulled him to slumber; for my Father's *name I named* over him, and the name of our next in rank, and the name of my Mother the queen of the East'.

38. Cyril of Jerusalem *Cat.* iv 13 *πολλοὶ κατὰ χρόνους ἐσταυρώθησαν· ἀλλὰ ποίου σταυρωθέντος*[1] *ἐπίκλησις ἑτέρου ποτε τοὺς δαίμονας ἀπήλασεν;*

39. *Cat. Myst.* ii 3 *ὥσπερ γὰρ τὰ ἐμφυσήματα τῶν ἁγίων καὶ ἡ τοῦ ὀνόματος τοῦ θεοῦ ἐπίκλησις ὥσπερ σφοδροτάτη φλὸξ καίει καὶ ἐκδιώκει δαίμονας· οὕτω καὶ τὸ ἐπορκιστὸν τοῦτο ἔλαιον ἐπικλήσει θεοῦ καὶ εὐχῇ δύναμιν τηλικαύτην λαμβάνει, ὥστε κτλ.*

40. Athanasius *de Incarnatione* xlviii 6 *δῆλον ἂν εἴη μὴ εἶναι μάγον τὸν σωτῆρα, ὃν οἱ παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων μάγων ἐπικαλούμενοι*[2] *δαίμονες ὡς δεσπότην φεύγουσι.*

41. *Ibid.* xlviii 8 *εἰ δὲ πᾶσα τῶν δαιμόνων μανία ἐξίσταται τῇ τούτου ὀνομασίᾳ καὶ διώκεται· φανερὸν ἂν εἴη κτλ.*

42. *Ibid.* l 4 *ἔνθα γὰρ ὀνομάζεται τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ σωτῆρος, ἐκεῖθεν πᾶς δαίμων ἀπελαύνεται.*

43. Epiphanius *Haer.* xxx 10 (On the conversion of the Jew Josephus) *ἐπαγγέλλεται δὲ αὐτῷ λέγων ὁ κύριος, ὅτι εἰς πληροφορίαν πίστεως εἴ τι βούλει ἐν ὀνόματί μου θεοσήμειον ἐργάσασθαι, ἐπικάλεσαι, κἀγὼ ποιήσω. . . .* (Josephus makes trial of this promise in the case of a notorious maniac) *ὕδωρ τε λαβὼν εἰς τὴν χεῖρα καὶ σφραγίσας αὐτὸ ἐρράντισεν ἐπὶ τὸν ἐμμανῆ ἄνθρωπον, φήσας· ἐν ὀνόματι τοῦ Ἰησοῦ Ναζωραίου τοῦ σταυρωθέντος ἔξελθε, τὸ δαιμόνιον, ἀπ' αὐτοῦ.*

44. The sequel also is instructive (*ibid.*) *θρύλλος δὲ πολὺς ἠκολούθησεν ἐν τῇ πόλει λεγόντων· ὅτι Ἰώσηπος τὰ γαζοφυλάκια ἀνοίξας καὶ εὑρὼν γεγραμμένον τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ἀναγνοὺς σημεῖα μεγάλα ἐργάζεται.*

45. *Ibid.* xxx 12: Josephus has some lime-kilns constructed in order to provide mortar for the building of a church, but the Jews by magic arts prevent the fire from doing its work. He calls for a vessel of water, signs it with the cross, *καὶ ἐπικαλεσάμενος τὸ ὄνομα Ἰησοῦ εἶπεν οὕτως· ἐν ὀνόματι Ἰησοῦ*[3] *τοῦ Ναζωραίου, οὗ ἐσταύρωσαν οἱ πατέρες μου . . . γένηται δύναμις ἐν τούτῳ τῷ ὕδατι εἰς ἀθέτησιν πάσης φαρμακείας καὶ μαγείας, ἧς οὗτοι ἔπραξαν.*

46. Chrysostom *in Coloss.* Hom. ix 3 (on Col. iii 17) *ἐὰν εἴπῃς "ἐν*

[1] See the note to Justin *Dial.* 30 (at no. 14 above). *σταυρωθέντος* no doubt belongs to the wording of the *epiclesis*, and is the epithet in the invocation upon which Cyril here lays special stress.

[2] The passive here follows the middle sense, 'invoked', not 'called'.

[3] Hence to say *ἐν ὀνόματι Ἰησοῦ* is to 'invoke the name of Jesus'.

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ὀνόματι πατρὸς καὶ υἱοῦ καὶ ἁγίου πνεύματος" μετὰ πίστεως, πάντα ἤνυσας . . . οὕτω ταῖς νόσοις ἐπιτάσσομεν φοβερὸν τὸ ὄνομα. διὰ ταῦτα ὁ διάβολος τὰ τῶν ἀγγέλων ἐπεισήγαγε . . . τῶν δαιμόνων τοιαῦται αἱ ἐπῳδαί . . . ἂν ταύτην ᾄδῃς τὴν ἐπῳδὴν μετὰ πίστεως, καὶ νόσους καὶ δαίμονας ἀπελάσεις . . . διὰ τοῦ ὀνόματος τούτου ἡ οἰκουμένη ἀπεστράφη . . . ἡμεῖς ἀνεγεννήθημεν διὰ τοῦ ὀνόματος τούτου.

47. Serapion's *Prayer Book* no. 5 εὐλογοῦμεν διὰ τοῦ ὀνόματος τοῦ μονογενοῦς σου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τὰ κτίσματα ταῦτα, τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ παθόντος ὀνομάζομεν, τοῦ σταυρωθέντος καὶ ἀναστάντος καὶ καθεζομένου ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ ἀγενήτου,[1] ἐπὶ τὸ ὕδωρ καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ ⟨ἔλαιον⟩ τοῦτο· χάρισαι δύναμιν . . . ὅπως πᾶς πυρετὸς καὶ πᾶν δαιμόνιον . . . ἀπαλλαγῇ.

48. *Ibid.* no. 17 φοβηθήτω, δέσποτα, πᾶσα ἐνέργεια σατανική, πᾶν δαιμόνιον . . . τὸ ὄνομά σου τὸ ἅγιον, ᾧ ἐπεκαλεσάμεθα νῦν ἡμεῖς, καὶ τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ μονογενοῦς. The prayer began with the invocation ἐπικαλούμεθα σὲ τὸν ἔχοντα πᾶσαν ἐξουσίαν . . . πατέρα τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν καὶ σωτῆρος Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ δεόμεθα, κτλ.

49. *Ibid.* no. 30 ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι τοῦ μονογενοῦς σου θεραπευθήτωσαν. γενέσθω αὐτοῖς φάρμακον τὸ ἅγιον αὐτοῦ ὄνομα εἰς ὑγείαν καὶ ὁλοκληρίαν.

One or two examples may be added from Western service books.

50. *Gelasian Sacramentary* i 40 (ed. Wilson, p. 72) 'Exorcizo te, creatura olei, *in nomine* Dei patris omnipotentis, et *in nomine* Iesu Christi filii eius, et Spiritus sancti, ut *in hanc invocationem* (sic) *trinae potestatis*, etc.'

51. Spanish *Liber Ordinum* (ed. Férotin) col. 18 'Invocamus divinae maiestatis auxilium adversus te, inimice serpens, ut per nulla vitiorum tuorum venena in huius aquae elemento praevaleat ars tua, quod . . . Patris et Filii et Spiritus sancti mysterio praeparamus. Ideoque, maledicte diabole, post *invocationem trinae sanctificationis* tremebundus abscede'.

52. *Ibid.* col. 106 'Unde, gloria Trinitatis *Sabaoth*, fortissime *Emmanuel*, *te invocamus*, ut famulum tuum divulsum amplexibus synagogae, etc.' (A prayer over a converted Jew: hence the Hebrew titles in the invocation!)

III. ἐπίκλησις *in a bad sense.*

53. Irenaeus *Haer.* I vii 2 ἐπικλήσεις τινας ποιούμενος ἐκ δευτέρου εἰς κατάπληξιν τῆς ἀπατωμένης. This refers to a formula of the Gnostic Marcus of which Irenaeus has given the text just before, and which is not a prayer in any sense of the word.

54. *Ibid.* I xiv 4 '. . . mittentes eorum capitibus oleum et aquam . . . et cum *supradictis invocationibus*, ut incomprehensibiles et invisibiles

[1] On this creed-like developement see note to no. 14 above.

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principibus et potestatibus fiant'. This again refers to Marcosian formulae previously quoted, to which Irenaeus has twice applied also the term ἐπιρρήσεις.

55. *Ibid.* I xix 3 'Utuntur autem et hi (the followers of Basilides) magia et imaginibus et *incantationibus et invocationibus* et reliqua universa periergia'.

56. *Ibid.* II xlix 3 'Nec *invocationibus* angelicis facit aliquid (ecclesia) nec *incantationibus* nec reliqua prava curiositate'. For the context see no. 17 above.

57. I have little doubt that we should include under this heading the well-known passage in I vii 2 καὶ ἐπὶ πλέον ἐκτείνων τὸν λόγον τῆς ἐπικλήσεως . . . ὡς δοκεῖν . . . Χάριν τὸ αἷμα τὸ ἑαυτῆς στάζειν ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ ποτηρίῳ διὰ τῆς ἐπικλήσεως αὐτοῦ.[1]

58. Epiphanius *Haer.* xxxvi 2 (the Heracleonites) ποτὲ γάρ τινες ἐξ αὐτῶν ἔλαιον ὕδατι μίξαντες ἐπιβάλλουσι τῇ κεφαλῇ τοῦ ἐξελθόντος· οἱ δὲ μύρον τὸ λεγόμενον ὀποβάλσαμον καὶ ὕδωρ· τὴν μέντοι ἐπίκλησιν κοινὴν ἔχοντες ὡς δὴ καὶ ὁ πρὸ αὐτῶν Μάρκος ἐποιεῖτο, μετὰ προσθήκης τινῶν ὀνομάτων, ἡ δὲ ἐπίκλησίς ἐστιν αὕτη· Μεσια, ουφαρ . . . Ἰησου Ναζαρια. τοῦτο δὲ ποιοῦσι ἵνα δῆθεν οἱ λαμβάνοντες ἐπὶ τῇ ἐξόδῳ ταῦτας τὰς ἐπικλήσεις . . . ἀκράτητοι γενῶνται καὶ ἀόρατοι τοῖς ἄνω ἀρχαῖς καὶ ἐξουσίαις. This answers to what Irenaeus says in I xiv 3–4 as to the practice of the Marcosians: see no. 54 above. In the summary of the Heracleonite heresy at the beginning of the tome we find ἐπικλήσεις τινας Ἑβραϊκαῖς λέξεσιν ἐπιλέγοντες (*P. Gr.* xli 580).

IV. *Invocation of Names in Gnostic writings.*

Of importance for our enquiry are such Gnostic writings as the *Pistis Sophia* and the *Books of Jeû* (ascribed to the third century). These exist only in Coptic versions, but they are full of Greek words, among which ἐπικαλεῖσθαι figures prominently, and constantly in connexion with the utterance of portentous Names. I give a few specimens in English from C. Schmidt's German translation.[2] For the parallel use of ὀνομάζειν Schmidt's index of Greek words may be consulted.

Pistis Sophia.

59. p. 18 ll. 5–7 'when they *invoke* (ἐπικαλεῖν)[3] the mysteries of magic of those who are in the thirteenth Aeon'.

[1] Epiphanius in referring to this episode (the eucharist of Marcus) calls the formula employed an 'incantation', ἐπαοιδή (Migne *P. Gr.* xli 577). On the passage see further p. 361 below.

[2] *Koptisch-gnostische Schriften*, 1 Band, 1905, in the Berlin series.

[3] The Greek word, placed in brackets in the translation, is ἐπικαλεῖν on pp. 15–19; but on p. 232 and after it is always given in the middle form, and all the references

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The 'mysteries' appear to be the magical formulae, or names, for elsewhere we find μυστήριον ὀνομάζειν (e. g. p. 154 ll. 18–19, 25-26).

60. *Ibid.* ll. 33–34 'when they *invoke* (i. e., apparently, recite) *the names* of the Archons'.

61. p. 232 ll. 7 ff 'Then Jesus stood with His disciples by the water of the ocean and *pronounced* (ἐπικαλεῖσθαι) this prayer (προσευχή)[1]: Hear me, My Father, thou Father of all fatherhood, thou boundless Light, αεηιουω· ιαω· αωι· ωια· ψινωφερ . . .' (&c.—a dozen more such 'names').

Second Book of Jeû.

62. p. 310 ll. 11 ff 'Jesus . . . *pronounced* (ἐπικαλ.) the following prayer: Hear me, My Father . . . Light' (as above). A prayer for the disciples follows, after which we read: 'Hear me, My Father . . . who have *invoked* thy incorruptible *Names* . . . αζαρακαζα' (&c., &c.). This latter formula, with other 'names', occurs again on pp. 311, 312.

63. p. 320 ll. 6 ff 'These shall stand in their place apart and *invoke* the true God *with these Names*, saying, ιζ ζα . . .' (&c.).—ll. 13 ff 'We will *invoke these* incorruptible *Names*'.—ll. 19 ff 'As soon as they had *invoked these Names*'.

64. On pp. 322–328 the following formula (ἀπολογία) occurs repeatedly, with variation only of the names: 'Turn back προτεθπερσομφων χους, ye Archons of the first Aeon, for I *invoke* ηαζα ζηωζαζ ζωζεωζ'.

65. p. 329 ll. 11 ff 'But when you have sealed yourselves with this seal, and uttered his name but once, say these ἀπολογίαι: We *invoke* you, ζωεζηαζεχωεζωη . . . (&c.). When you have *invoked these Names*, the παραλήμπτορες of that place will recognize you and take you in'.[2]

Under the head of Gnostic writings are to be included the Marcosian formularies to which Irenaeus applies the term ἐπίκλησεις. For the use of ἐπικαλεῖσθαι in these texts compare the following:

66. *Haer.* I xiv 2 ὑπὲρ πᾶσαν δύναμιν τοῦ πατρὸς ἐπικαλοῦμαι Φῶς ὀνομαζόμενον καὶ Πνεῦμα ἀγαθὸν καὶ Ζωή.—And *ibid.* 4 καὶ ἐπικαλοῦμαι τὴν ἀφθαρτὸν Σοφίαν, ἥτις ἐστιν ἐν τῷ πατρί . . . ἐγὼ δὲ ἐπικαλοῦμαι αὐτῆς τὴν μητέρα.

included in the index are under ἐπικαλεῖσθαι. It seems doubtful, therefore, whether any distinction of voice is meant to be indicated where the active form is given.

[1] For ἐπικαλεῖσθαι προσευχήν see again the next item in this list. The choice of this verb (where we should rather expect ἐπιλέγειν) is probably due to the fact that the 'prayer' in each instance is so largely concerned with names.

[2] These 'apologies' (pp. 322–329) are made by the soul, after its departure from the body, to the Archons of the various Aeons through which it passes. We are reminded of the Gnostic ἐπικλήσεις in Iren. I xiv 4 and Epiphanius *Haer.* xxxvi 2, by means of which the departed souls ἀκράτητοι γενῶνται καὶ ἀόρατοι τοῖς ἄνω ἀρχαῖς καὶ ἐξουσίαις (see nos. 54, 58 above).

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And for the use of ὄνομα:

67. *Haer.* I xiv 2 ἄλλοι δὲ πάλιν τὴν λύτρωσιν ἐπιλέγουσιν οὕτως· τὸ ὄνομα τὸ ἀποκεκρυμμένον ἀπὸ πάσης θεότητος . . . ὃ ἐνεδύσατο Ἰησοῦς ὁ Ναζαρηνός.—Again *ibid.* ὀναίμην τοῦ ὀνόματός σου, Σωτὴρ ἀληθείας . . . ἐστήριγμαι, καὶ λελύτρωμαι, καὶ λυτροῦμαι τὴν ψυχήν μου . . . ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι τοῦ Ἰαώ, ὃς ἐλυτρώσατο τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ εἰς ἀπολύτρωσιν ἐν τῷ Χριστῷ τῷ ζῶντι.

V. *Magical formulae.*

For an adequate discussion of 'invocation', 'invoke', in this class of literature it would be necessary to make a study of the magical papyri and similar documents concerned with it. But as I have not at hand any of the standard editions or collections of these texts, it must suffice here to cite a few examples gathered from trustworthy authors who refer to them. Most of the following extracts, therefore, are given frankly at second hand, and without references to the original documents or the editions of them; those who may wish to pursue the subject further will find the references in the authors quoted.

68. διὸ δέομαι, ἐλθατέ μοι συνεργοί, ὅτι μέλλω ἐπικαλεῖσθαι τὸ κρυπτὸν καὶ ἄρρητον ὄνομα . . . ἐπάκουσόν μου, κύριε, οὗ ἐστιν τὸ κρυπτὸν ὄνομα ἄρρητον, ὃ οἱ δαίμονες ἀκούσαντες πτοοῦνται. Quoted by W. Heitmüller *Im Namen Jesu* p. 207.

69. ὅτι σου ἐπὶ τῇ τελετῇ τὸ μέγα ὄνομα ἐπεκαλεσάμην, καὶ πάλιν ἐπικαλοῦμαί σε κατὰ μὲν Αἰγυπτίους Φνωεαι Ἰακωβ (*read* Ἰαβωκ[1]), κατὰ δ' Ἰουδαίους Ἀδωναῖε Σαβαώθ, κατὰ Ἕλληνας ὁ πάντων μόναρχος βασιλεύς, κατὰ δὲ τοὺς ἀρχιερεῖς κρυπτὲ ἀόρατε, πάντας ἐφορῶν, κατὰ δὲ Πάρθους ουερ . . . παντοδυνάστα. *Ibid.* pp. 209–210.

70. γράφε καὶ περίαπτε θεοῦ ἐπίκλησιν, ἐπικαλούμενος βαρναβαα θ θ καὶ σεχθαβαγγγα. ἐπικαλοῦμαι καὶ θεὸν Ἀβραάμ. *Ibid.* p. 213 note 2.

71. τὸ γὰρ ὄνομά σου ἔχω φυλακτήριον ἐν καρδίᾳ τῇ ἐμῇ καὶ οὐ κατισχύσει με ἅπασα Στὺξ κινουμένη, οὐκ ἀντιτάξεταί μοι πᾶν πνεῦμα, οὐ δαιμόνιον, οὐ συνάντημα οὐδὲ ἄλλο τι τῶν καθ' Ἅιδου πονηρῶν διὰ τὸ σὸν ὄνομα, ὃ ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ ἔχω καὶ ἐπικαλοῦμαι, καὶ ἐμοὶ διὰ παντὸς ἐπάκουε ἀγαθός, . . . ἐμοὶ δὲ δὸς χάριν ἐπὶ πᾶσί μου τοῖς ἔργοις· ανοχ σαιεφε ('folgt das ὄνομα'). *Ibid.* p. 214.

72. ὅτι ἐπικαλοῦμαι ἕνεκα τῆς κατεπειγούσης καὶ πικρᾶς καὶ ἀπαραιτήτου ἀνάγκης τὰ μηδέπω χωρήσαντα εἰς θνητὴν φύσιν μηδὲ φρασθέντα ἐν διαρθρώσει ὑπὸ ἀνθρωπίνης γλώσσης ἢ θνητοῦ φθόγγου ἢ θνητῆς φωνῆς ἀθάνατα ζῶντα καὶ ἔντιμα ὀνόματα· ηεω οηεω ιωω (&c., for several lines). A. Dieterich *Eine Mithrasliturgie* (Leipzig 1903) p. 10 ll. 4 ff.

[1] So quoted by Traube *Nomina Sacra* p. 46.

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73. δότε οὖν πνεῦμα τῷ ὑπ' ἐμοῦ κατεσκευασμένῳ μυστηρίῳ, θεοί, οὓς (θεους Pap.) ὠνόμασα καὶ ἐπικέκλημαι, δότε πνοὴν τῷ ὑπ' ἐμοῦ κατεσκευασμένῳ μυστηρίῳ ('dem Zaubermittel'). Reitzenstein *Die hellenistischen Mysterienreligionen* 2nd ed. 1920 p. 162.

No. 79 of Lietzmann's *Kleine Texte* contains a selection of *Antike Wundergeschichten* edited by P. Fiebig. On pp. 26–27 the editor quotes four magical prescriptions from A. Dieterich's *Abraxas* pp. 188–190. The first two of these are as follows:

74. ἐν δαιμονιζομένῳ εἶπης τὸ ὄνομα προσάγων τῇ ῥινὶ αὐτοῦ θεῖον καὶ ἄσφαλτον. εὐθέως λαλήσει καὶ ἀπελεύσεται.

75. (To kill a snake) λέγε· "στῆθι, ὅτι σὺ εἶ ὁ Ἀφύφις", καὶ λαβὼν βάϊν χλωρὰν καὶ τῆς καρδίας κρατήσας σχίσον εἰς δύο ἐπιλέγων τὸ ὄνομα ζ, καὶ εὐθέως σχισθήσεται ἢ ῥαγήσεται.

The next two formulae end with the curt direction λέγε τὸ ὄνομα.

VI. *Eucharistic and baptismal.*

To Mr Tyrer's list of eucharistic and baptismal texts the following passages may be added, though most of them do not involve the use of the words 'invocation' or 'invoke'.

Eucharistic.

76. Clem. Alex. *Excerpt. Theod.* 82 (see no. 5 above).

77. *Acta Ioannis* cc. 85 and 109. The second of these prayers contains a long list of figurative names under which our Lord is praised; it begins: τίνα αἶνον ἢ ποίαν προσφορὰν ἢ τίνα εὐχαριστίαν κλῶντες τὸν ἄρτον τοῦτον ἐπονομάσωμεν ἀλλ' ἢ σὲ μόνον, κύριε Ἰησοῦ; δοξάζομέν σου τὸ λεχθὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς ὄνομα. The first prayer also begins with the theme of the Name: 'We glorify Thy Name'. Neither of them contains any petition nor makes any reference to the consecration of the Eucharist.

78. *Acta Thomae* c. 49 Ἰησοῦ, ὁ καταξιώσας ἡμᾶς τῆς εὐχαριστίας τοῦ σώματός σου τοῦ ἁγίου καὶ τοῦ αἵματος κοινωνῆσαι, ἰδοὺ τολμῶμεν προσέρχεσθαι τῇ σῇ εὐχαριστίᾳ καὶ ἐπικαλεῖσθαί σου τὸ ἅγιον ὄνομα.

In one MS the last clause runs: ἰδοὺ κατατολμῶμεν τῆς εὐχαριστίας καὶ ἐπικλήσεως τοῦ ἁγίου σου ὀνόματος.

79. Syriac *Acts of Judas Thomas* (ed. Wright) p. 268 '"Living Bread, the eaters of which die not! Bread, that fillest hungry souls with thy blessing! Thou art worthy to receive the gift and to be for the remission of sins, that those who eat thee may not die! We *name the name* of the Father over thee; we *name the name* of the Son over thee; we *name the name* of the Spirit over thee, the exalted name that is

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hidden from all". And he said: "*In Thy name*, Jesus, may the power of the blessing and the thanksgiving come and abide upon this bread"'.[1]

80. East-Syrian *Liturgy of Theodore* (the 'Epiclesis') 'And may there come upon us and upon this oblation the grace of the Holy Spirit; and may He dwell and rest upon this bread and upon this cup, and may He bless and sanctify and seal them *in the name* of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit. And *by the power of Thy Name* may this bread become the holy body of our Lord Jesus Christ, and this cup the precious blood of our Lord Jesus Christ'.

When I wrote in my paper (p. 42) that 'any "Epiclesis" of the Trinity in the current sense is really unexampled in liturgical texts', I had overlooked this passage. It is a very remarkable one; for it combines an 'Epiclesis' of the Holy Spirit with an invocation of the names of the three Divine Persons, in fact with the baptismal formula; and it ascribes the effect wrought in the elements to the power of the Divine Name.

Baptismal.

81. Irenaeus Fragm. xxxiii (Harvey)[2] οὐ ματὴν πάλαι Ναιμὰν λεπρὸς ὢν βαπτισθεὶς ἐκαθαίρετο, ἀλλ' εἰς ἔνδειξιν ἡμετέραν· οἳ λεπροὶ ὄντες ἐν ταῖς ἁμαρτίαις διὰ τοῦ ἁγίου ὕδατος καὶ τῆς τοῦ κυρίου ἐπικλήσεως καθαριζόμεθα τῶν παλαιῶν παραπτωμάτων.

82. Origen *Com. in Ioan.* iii 5 (ed. Brooke ii pp. 250–251) οὐκέτι μὲν ψιλὸν ὕδωρ, ἁγιάζεται γὰρ μυστικῇ τινὶ ἐπικλήσει . . . φησὶ γάρ· πορευθέντες μαθητεύσατε πάντα τὰ ἔθνη, βαπτίζοντες αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος . . . πῶς ἔτι ψιλὸν εἶναι δύναται τὸ ἅμα τούτοις παραλαμβανόμενον ὕδωρ, μετεσχηκὸς ὡς οἷόν τε τῆς δυνάμεως τῆς ἁγίας τριάδος . . .;

83. *Clementine Homilies* ix 19 ἐν δὲ τῷ παρόντι ἀενάῳ ποταμῷ ἢ πηγῇ ἐπείγε κἂν θαλάσσῃ ἀπολουσάμενοι ἐπὶ τῇ τρισμακαρίᾳ ἐπονομασίᾳ, κτλ.

84. *Clementine Recognitions* iii 67 'Baptizabitur autem unusquisque vestrum in aquis perennibus, *nomine* trinae beatitudinis *invocato* super se'.

85. *Ibid.* ix 11 'Respondebo: nihil aliud nisi ut festinetis ablui, quo expurgetur a vobis ignis materia *per invocationem* sancti *nominis*'.

This collection of passages, taken as a whole, would seem to bear out Heitmüller's statement, that ἐπικαλεῖσθαι was the word *par excellence*

[1] Compare also *ibid.* p. 289, in a prayer over baptismal oil: 'Let Thy gift come . . . and let it abide upon this oil, over which we *name Thy name*. . . . *In Thy name*, Jesus the Messiah, let it be to these persons for the remission of offences and sins', &c.

[2] I owe this reference to a private communication from Mr Tyrer.

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to denote the bringing into play of divine or other names in healing and exorcism, or in whatever circumstances they might be employed. Belief in the power of a Name was universal, among Jews, Christians, and the heathen alike. For the Christian what was essential was the employment of the names and titles of the true God, of Christ, or even of angels and holy men when coupled with the name of God; while appeal to the names of false or imaginary deities, demons or departed souls,[1] was the note of idolatry and magic. But whether in a good or a bad sense, these names were said to be 'invoked' even when nothing further was involved than their mere utterance, and their invocation was that which was commonly understood by the word *epiclesis*.

The passages quoted are, of course, to some extent selected passages, for it would serve no purpose to quote texts that are not in some way self-explanatory; yet, so far as my knowledge extends, they are thoroughly typical and fairly represent the prevailing usage in regard to words signifying invocation. Instances of ἐπικαλεῖσθαι with the sense of invitation or calling in to help[2] (as in Iren. *Haer.* I xxviii 6 'invocasse in adiutorium matrem') are rare in the period and in the circles which we are dealing with. Here, however, it may be observed that there appears to be some difference in the scope of ἐπικαλεῖσθαι and *invocare*, the Latin verb being more susceptible of the idea of calling down—in the sense in which we might speak of invoking a blessing or a curse upon some one. Thus in the pseudo-Ambrosian treatise *de Sacramentis* (ii 4. 11) we find: 'Invocavit Elias de caelo *ignem*, et descendit ignis de caelo'; though the next sentence is 'Invocavit Elisaeus Domini *nomen*, et de aqua ferrum securis ascendit Further on (ii 5. 14) it is said: 'Venit sacerdos, precem dicit ad fontem. invocat patris *nomen*, *praesentiam* filii et spiritus sancti'. The writer is speaking of the baptismal formula, which evidently found a place in the prayer for blessing the font. The only example of a similar use of ἐπικαλεῖσθαι that I remember to have met with in an early Christian writer is in a passage of Peter of Alexandria[3] (of the date 373): ἐπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου ἔνθα κάθοδον τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος ἐπικαλούμεθα. In the great majority of cases the verb is followed either by ὄνομα or by a proper name. In such instances as χάριτος ἐπίκλησις, χάριτος οὐρανία

[1] More particularly, the souls of those who had died an untimely or violent death (ἄωροι, βιαιοθάνατοι). Compare Tertullian *de Anima* 57 'Sic etiam magiae, secundae scilicet idololatriae, in qua se daemones perinde mortuos fingunt quemadmodum in illa (sc. idolatry) deos . . . itaque (? atque) invocantur quidem aori et biaeothanati'—'are invoked (under the name of, *or* in the character of) *Aori*', &c.

[2] The meaning of the active, to name or surname, hardly concerns us, unless it be to note even here the connexion of the word with names.

[3] Quoted by Mr Tyrer, *The Eucharistic Epiclesis* pp. 20 and 61, from Theodoret *Hist. Eccles.* vi 22.

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ἐπίκλησις, δυνάμεως θείας ἐπίκλησις (in Mr Tyrer's nos. 18, 28, 29, 31: all with reference to the baptismal formula) the expressions 'grace', 'heavenly grace', 'divine power' appear to me to be only stylistic equivalents for the divine name, and so to be really personal: much like 'invocationem trinae *potestatis*', 'invocationem trinae *sanctificationis*', 'nomine trinae *beatitudinis* invocato', in my nos. 50, 51, 84 above. I do not think we can say with Mr Tyrer (p. 146) that the genitive in any of these passages 'describes the gift desired as the result of the invocation'. But even if that were so, the invocation itself would still be the simple utterance of the baptismal formula, and there is nothing to shew that this was viewed as an implicit prayer of petition: the effects of the invocation were attributed rather to the 'power of the Name'.

I cannot see that there is anything in Mr Tyrer's catena of passages on ἐπίκλησις to alter the general impression left by the list given above. In twenty-four out of the fifty-four examples which he gives of the use of the word it denotes the baptismal formula. Let us consider some of the remaining items.

In the case of nos. 4 and 6 we know the (heretical) formulae to which Irenaeus refers as *epicleses*, and they are not petitions, nor in any real sense prayers. To this class must certainly be added nos. 7 and 8, in which 'invocation' is made synonymous with 'incantation'. See my nos. 53–56 above.

In no. 11 the *epiclesis* in question is simply the formula 'the God of Abraham and the God of Isaac and the God of Jacob', with emphasis on the power of the names of the three patriarchs. See my no. 22.

In 12 Origen speaks of *epicleses* as involving, or arising out of, names. See my no. 6.

In 14, 19, and 24 the reference is to exorcism. In 19 the expression is σταυρωθέντος ἐπίκλησις, on which see the notes to nos. 14 and 38 at pp. 346, 350 above. In 24 Cyril of Jerusalem speaks of 'the insufflations of the saints and the *epiclesis* of the *name* of God' as driving away demons. Section II of my list will shew how essential was the part played by the Name in exorcism.

Nos. 13, 16, 20, 23 speak of the 'invocation' of demons or idols. In 16 this is placed side by side with the 'invocation' of the three Divine Persons in the baptismal formula; therefore presumably it is the invocation of the *names* of idols that is meant. In 20 and 23 again the 'invocation' of demons is paralleled with that of the Holy Trinity—this time in the consecration of the Eucharist. In 16, 20, 23 this invocation of demons is said to have the effect of polluting the meats offered to idols or exposed for sale in the public markets. Are we to understand that the demons had been 'petitioned' to work some

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baneful effect on the foods? An explanation suggested by Aphraates seems more probable; he tells us (*Hom.* xv 2) that the reason why the Jews will not make use of any food or wine prepared by the heathen is that 'the heathen peoples offer sacrifice and make mention of the names of their idols beside all their winepresses and threshing-floors'.

No. 25 comes in the same context as no. 24 (already noticed): 'Just as the insufflations of the saints and the *epiclesis* of the *name* of God (= 24) . . . drive away demons, so also this exorcised oil by the *epiclesis* of God (= 25) *and* prayer receives such power that', &c. Here it is natural to assume that 'the *epiclesis* of God' implies the invocation of the name of God, as in the illustration just before. We may note also that 'the *epiclesis* of God' appears to be distinguished from 'prayer'.

Some account has now been given of about thirty-eight out of Mr Tyrer's fifty-four instances of the use of ἐπίκλησις. Of those still left ten are classed under 'the Eucharist' and six under 'prayer' (p. 146). The latter class may be considered first; it comprises nos. 1, 14, 15, 30, 36, 37.

No. 1 is from 2 Macc. xv 26 μετὰ ἐπικλήσεως καὶ εὐχῶν συνέμιξαν τοῖς πολεμίοις. On this Mr Tyrer says (p. 147): 'ἐπίκλησις and εὐχαί are joined together in the closest possible manner; hence it is natural to translate: Judas and his men "engaged the enemies with petition (or supplication) and prayers"'. To me, I confess, it does not seem natural to translate ἐπίκλησις here by any other word than 'invocation', and the plural following after a singular suggests rather that the 'prayers' are differentiated from the 'invocation'. Mr Tyrer proceeds: 'A few verses before (*v.* 22) mention has been made of Judas ἐπικαλούμενος with a petition, the words of which are given; this makes it still more unlikely that the writer would immediately after use ἐπίκλησις in a different sense'. But in *v.* 22 there is a real invocation of God before the petition begins, which is enough to account for the introductory ἐπικαλούμενος.[1]

[1] The same is true of a number of the LXX texts appealed to by Mr Tyrer on p. 141. These may be dealt with here in a foot-note. I need only give the words which immediately follow ἐπικαλεῖσθαι.—3 Reg. xvii 21 τὸν κύριον καὶ εἶπεν· κύριε ὁ θεός μου,—1 Paral. iv 10 τὸν θεὸν Ἰσραήλ,—2 Macc. iii 15 εἰς οὐρανὸν τὸν περὶ παρακαταθήκης νομοθετήσαντα τοῖς παρακαταθεμένοις,—*v.* 22 τὸν παντοκρατῆ κύριον,—xiv 34 f τὸν διὰ παντὸς ὑπέρμαχον τοῦ ἔθνους ἡμῶν, ταῦτα λέγοντες· σύ, κύριε, τῶν ὅλων ἀπροσδεὴς ὑπάρχων . . . καὶ νῦν, ἅγιε παντὸς ἁγιασμοῦ κύριε,—*v.* 46 τὸν δεσπόζοντα τῆς ζωῆς καὶ τοῦ πνεύματος,—xv 22 f τόνδε τὸν τρόπον· σύ, δέσποτα ἀπέστειλας τὸν ἄγγελόν σου ἐπὶ Ἐζεκίου τοῦ βασιλέως τῆς Ἰουδαίας . . . καὶ νῦν, δέσποτα τῶν οὐρανῶν,—3 Macc. i 27 τὸν πᾶν κράτος ἔχοντα,—4 Macc. xii 18 δὲ τὸν πατρῷον θεόν,—Ecclus. li 10 κύριον πατέρα κυρίου μου. Only in 2 Macc. vii 37, viii 2, xiii 10 does the simple τὸν θεόν, τὸν κύριον, occur. In 3 Reg. xviii 26 and Ps. cxiv 4 ὄνομα actually appears. Mr Tyrer does not insist on Judg. xv 18, 19 and Ps. lxxxviii 27, and indeed it is hard to see on what ground they can have been included in the list. In Job xvii 14

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In no. 14 Eusebius appears to mean that in virtue of the appeal, or reference, to Christ (as mediator) in prayers made to God 'through Him' (διὰ τῆς εἰς αὐτὸν ἐπικλήσεως καθαρωτάταις εὐχαῖς δι' αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὸν τῶν ὅλων θεὸν ἀναπεμπομέναις), He has bestowed the power to banish all remnants of the working of evil spirits. Such appeal to the mediation of Christ would naturally be made by some formula like 'through Jesus Christ', or perhaps (as exorcism seems to be in question) 'in the name of Jesus Christ'. E. C. Richardson (in *Nicene and post-Nicene Fathers* p. 607) actually translates: 'by the invocation *of His name*, and by unfeigned prayer addressed through Him to the Supreme God'. Mr Tyrer says (p. 147): 'Here it is impossible to give any meaning to ἐπίκλησις except "appeal" or "petition"'. I can accept this as far as the world 'appeal', but I cannot see on what ground 'or "petition"' is added.

No. 15. I cannot pretend to settle the exact shade of meaning of θείας ἐπικλήσεως σύμβολον in Constantine's Oration, and must leave this passage to fall into line as best it may with the general evidence in regard to ἐπίκλησις.

No. 30. 'In 30 Gregory's argument is, that, since Jesus is God, He can be present, as He has promised, whenever "petition" is made to Him' (Mr Tyrer, p. 147). But again, why 'petition'? and why not 'whenever He is invoked' (κατὰ πάντα καιρὸν ἐπικλήσεως)?

No. 36. 'The brevity of 36', says Mr Tyrer, 'forbids our drawing any inference from it.' The passage is from Tertullian *ad Uxor.* ii 6: 'De gehenna quae dei mentio? quae Christi invocatio?' We may say, I think, that 'mentio' in the first clause does not readily suggest *petition* as the force of 'invocatio' in the parallel.

No. 37 is from Novatian *de Trin.* xiv: 'si homo tantummodo Christus, cur homo in orationibus mediator invocatur, cum invocatio hominis ad praestandam salutem inefficax iudicetur?' On this Mr Tyrer says (*ibid.*):

(θάνατον ἐπεκαλεσάμην πατέρα μου εἶναι) there are variants which seem to shew that ἐπεκαλ., even though original, was felt to involve a difficulty; Dr Swete's apparatus has the note: προσεκαλεσαμην B^{ab} $\aleph^{c.a}$ A (sed ε pro π coep A^{*}) C (προσκ.) προσεκαλεσα $\aleph^{*}$. Aquila and Theod. translate more correctly διαφθοράν [μου] ἐπεκαλεσάμην, πατήρ μου σύ. Mr Tyrer has not told us how often in the LXX ἐπικαλεῖσθαι is followed by the noun ὄνομα, though he notes (p. 140) that the verb in the middle voice occurs 120 times, 'and in 110 of these occurrences it signifies "to invoke"'—a statement which I should not think of questioning. In his note on 1 Pet. i 17 Dr Hort says: 'In both O.T. and N.T. τὸ ὄνομα frequently follows ἐπικαλοῦμαι, and when used in this connexion the verb probably implies invocation of a name. So in *Test. xii Patr.*, *Levi* 5, Levi says to the angel, Δέομαι, κύριε, εἰπέ μοι τὸ ὄνομά σου, ἵνα ἐπικαλέσωμαί σε ἐν ἡμέρᾳ θλίψεως'. The words 'in this connexion' are somewhat vague, but they cannot mean, when τὸ ὄνομα actually follows; more probably they mean that when a proper name follows the verb the emphasis is on the name itself.

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'Novatian's argument is the converse of Gregory's in 30—that, since Christ is everywhere present when petition is made to Him, He must be God'. But here once more 'petition' seems to lack authority. How should Christ be 'invoked *as mediator* in prayers'? Not so naturally, it seems to me, by petition being made to Himself, as by the prayers being addressed to God *through* Him (as in no. 14)—'per Christum Dominum nostrum', or the like.

It does not seem necessary to say much here about Mr Tyrer's ten instances of 'invocation' in connexion with eucharistic prayer. Six only of these are from the second and third centuries (nos. 2, 3, 5, 9, 52, 53), and the six may be reduced to four by observing that 2 and 3 belong to the same context and have the same meaning, while 9 is only Hippolytus's repetition of Irenaeus in 2. In none of these early passages is the precise meaning of ἐπίκλησις, *invocatio*, determined by the context, and it can only be found, if at all, by a study of the contemporary history of the words. In the case, however, of 2–3 (= Irenaeus *Haer.* I vii 2 Harvey, I xiii 2 Stieren) there is evidence of a more direct kind which may help us in coming to a judgement; and on this passage a few words may be said.

Irenaeus is speaking of the heretic Marcus, whom he has just described as *magicae imposturae peritissimus*, and whose performances, he has said, are a mixture of magic and trickery—τὰ Ἀναξιλάου παίγνια τῇ τῶν λεγομένων μάγων περιουργίᾳ συμμίξας. The first of these is thus related: 'Pretending to consecrate (εὐχαριστεῖν) a cup mingled with wine, and drawing out at length the word of *epiclesis*, he makes (the contents) appear purple or red: so that it may appear that Charis, who is from the powers above the universe, is dropping her blood into that cup through his *epiclesis*'. Now in other places where Irenaeus uses the word ἐπίκλησις of Gnostic formularies he uses it in a bad sense, as the equivalent of ἐπίρρησις (which the Latin renders by *profana dictio*) or *incantatio* (no doubt rendering ἐπῳδή)[1]; and there can be little doubt that in his mind all these Gnostic formulae were placed in the category of magic. But to magic also the eucharist of Marcus is plainly assigned; and from the words 'so that it may appear that Charis . . . is dropping her blood into that cup through his *epiclesis*' it is not unreasonable to infer that this *epiclesis* was an invocation of Charis herself. Are we then to suppose that Irenaeus uses the word on this occasion in a different sense from that in which he applies it to the other Gnostic formulae? I can only say that this view does not commend itself to me. I do not think it can be shewn from the extant writings of St Irenaeus that ἐπίκλησις had yet been appropriated in any special way to the Eucharist and its consecration. He says in one

[1] See my nos. 53–56 above.

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place (IV xxxi 4) that 'the bread derived from the earth, receiving the *epiclesis of God*, is no longer common bread, but Eucharist'. But he does not say 'receiving the *epiclesis*' absolutely; and we cannot assume that ἐπίκλησις is used there as a current term even for the eucharistic prayer as a whole, still less that it carries a reference to a special petition for consecration within the prayer.

At the risk of prolonging this Note unduly I must add a last word as to Mr Tyrer's criticisms on pp. 149–150 of his paper. After his catena on ἐπίκλησις he gives the text of four further passages involving the verb. In two of these reference is made to an invocation of the Holy Trinity in eucharistic prayer.

(1) Origen (on 1 Cor. vii 5) speaks of the eucharistic bread (ἄρτους) 'which is greater than the shew-bread, over which has been invoked the name of God and of Christ and of the Holy Spirit' (ἐφ' ὧν ἐπικέκληται τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος). My comment on this in the *Downside Review* (pp. 41–42) was as follows: 'We notice that Origen speaks here of an invoking of the three divine names over the bread: just as he had spoken of a "mystic invocation" of these names in the baptismal formula. We recall also his insistence on the virtues of names in the passage of the *Philocalia* [c. xvii, from which I had already quoted]. There is therefore, it would seem, not the least probability in the idea that here he is alluding to an "Epiclesis" of the Holy Trinity, in any modern sense of the word. It is obvious also that God could not have been petitioned to send the Holy Trinity upon the oblation. Nor are we to think of a formula addressed *to* the Trinity, for public prayers in the early Church were invariably addressed to God the Father alone. Any "Epiclesis" of the Trinity in the current sense is really unexampled in liturgical texts.[1] We must ask ourselves, therefore, in what part of an early eucharistic prayer a formal mention of the three divine names would be most likely to occur, such as Origen might describe as an invocation of these names. I have little doubt that the right answer is: in the Trinitarian doxology at the end.'

Mr Tyrer rejects this explanation; but the one which he proposes in its place fits oddly with his general argument. To meet the difficulty of a Trinitarian invocation in the Eucharist, presented by Origen's words, he appeals (p. 150) to the eucharistic prayer in the *Apostolic Tradition* of Hippolytus. There he finds an invocation of 'the name of God' in the opening address, of 'the name of Christ' in the recital of the work of redemption and in the anamnesis, and of 'the name of

[1] I must qualify this statement now by referring to no. 80 of my list above. But the Trinitarian invocation there is after all an invocation of the *names*; and that text (from the Syriac 'Liturgy of Theodore'), interesting as it is, can hardly be regarded as other than a liturgical curiosity.

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the Holy Spirit' in the clause near the end which asks that the Holy Spirit may be sent upon the oblation. 'Surely', Mr Tyrer adds, 'this is a much more simple and natural explanation of the words in question [those of Origen] than Dom Connolly's.' I am afraid I must say that it appears to me less simple and natural. For first, the natural inference from Origen's words is that he is referring to a Trinitarian formula of some kind, in which the three Divine Persons are mentioned together. Next, if his words (ἐπικέκληται τὸ ὄνομα κτλ.) could be satisfied by a casual and disconnected mention of the names, such as Mr Tyrer supposes, would they not *a fortiori* be satisfied by a formal mention of the names in the doxology—where, moreover, even at a date when the formulation of eucharistic prayers may still have been left to each individual bishop, it could safely be assumed that the names would be found? Finally, has not Mr Tyrer, in proposing the above solution, rather strangely lost sight of his main contention, that ἐπικαλεῖσθαι in connexion with eucharistic prayer implies *petition*? In the case of Origen he suggests an explanation which is consistent with an entire absence of 'the Epiclesis'.

(2) St Ambrose (in *de Spir. Sanct.* iii 16. 112) is carrying on the central argument of his treatise—that every operation of any one Person in the Holy Trinity is at once the operation of all three Persons (see especially i 3. 40). In the second book he devotes a whole chapter (c. 8) to doxology, in order to prove that nothing derogatory to the Holy Spirit is involved, as some will have it, if in certain quarters the preposition *in* is used instead of *cum* in introducing the mention of the third Divine Person. And his first argument here is drawn from the use of '*in* nomine' with reference to all three Persons in the baptismal formula. In iii 16. 109–111 he appeals to the *ter Sanctus* as a further proof of the equal Divinity of the Holy Spirit. The next words are those quoted by Mr Tyrer in his no. 58, in which St Ambrose gathers up what may be called his liturgical arguments:

'Quomodo igitur non omnia habet quae Dei sunt, qui cum Patre et Filio a sacerdotibus in baptismate nominatur *et in oblationibus invocatur*, cum Patre et Filio a Seraphim in caelestibus praedicatur, cum Patre et Filio habitat in sanctis, infunditur iustis, inspiratur prophetis?'

It is clear, as Mr Tyrer says, that St Ambrose 'speaks of the Three Persons of the Trinity being invoked, and being invoked *together*' (p. 150). But he also says (p. 149) that it is 'clearly implied by Origen, and probably so by Ambrose, that the "invocation of the Trinity" is the form of consecration'; and again: 'Dom Connolly's theory stultifies Origen's and Ambrose's argument. Their position is, that some formula of special importance and sanctity has been recited over the elements—that the Three Persons of the Trinity have been invoked

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over them in a specially solemn and sacramental manner'. This may be true in part of Origen,[1] but it cannot be said of Ambrose: his argument is not concerned with the consecration of the elements at all; and his 'position' is, not that the elements are holy because 'a formula of special importance and sanctity has been recited over them', but that the Holy Spirit is God, equally with the Father and the Son, because He is invoked *with* the Father and the Son. The emphasis is all on the preposition *cum*. It is heightened no doubt by the solemnity of the occasion; but the celebration of the Eucharist is an occasion quite solemn enough to satisfy the argument, and the expression 'in oblationibus' (which means no more than 'in the Mass') cannot be pressed to mean *in the very formula of consecration*. Such an interpretation of the words is actually excluded by another consideration: St Ambrose is one of the few early writers who have left a plain statement of their views as to the precise words by which the Eucharist is consecrated, and for him the 'form of consecration' is not an invocation of any kind, but our Lord's own words in the recital of the Institution.[2]

I still think it most probable, therefore, that the Trinitarian formula referred to by St Ambrose in the above passage is the doxology at the end of the eucharistic prayer. The importance of the part played by doxology in controversies about the Person of the Holy Spirit is sufficiently shewn by St Basil's work *de Spir. Sanct.*, and by the passage of St Ambrose referred to above (*de Spir. Sanct.* ii 8).

R. H. CONNOLLY.

TWO EXAMPLES OF LITERARY AND RHETORICAL CRITICISM IN THE FATHERS

(DIONYSIUS OF ALEXANDRIA ON THE AUTHORSHIP OF THE APOCALYPSE, AND TERTULLIAN ON LUKE VI).

SOME three years ago I contributed to this JOURNAL a paper on a difficult word in Clement's *Stromateis*, which I tried to explain by reference to the grammatical science of his time. The present article is on somewhat similar lines. It aims, not so much at elucidating (for

[1] Though I cannot see how it is to be reconciled with Mr Tyrer's explanation of Origen discussed above, in which he suggests that Origen's words would be satisfied by a separate mention of the divine names at various points in the prayer.

[2] *De Mysteriis* ix 52–53 'Nam sacramentum istud, quod accipis, Christi sermone conficitur'; 'Ipse clamat Dominus Iesus: *Hoc est corpus meum*; ante benedictionem verborum caelestium alia species nominatur, post consecrationem corpus significatur'. The same view is alluded to in *de Bened. Patriarch.* ix (Migne *P. L.* xiv 719) and in the commentary on Ps. xxxviii (*ibid.* 1102).

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the general if not the detailed meaning is clear) as at illustrating two passages from the Fathers in which they stray for a moment into the ideas and language of the secular scholars around them. In the other paper I made a reservation which I should like to repeat. We have in these cases without doubt Christian Fathers speaking as scholars or ex-students of contemporary learning, but they remain Christian Fathers still. I said then that I would not dogmatize on a term used by Clement, without knowing more of Clement and Christological controversy as a whole. So here: my knowledge of the Fathers with a few exceptions is scrappy, and it is possible that a fuller acquaintance with that vast literature might lead me to modify conclusions, which are based chiefly on what I know of that other large but very different literature, which is concerned with the secular culture and scholarship of the decaying pagan world.

I.

The first passage is the series of extracts made by Eusebius (*H. E.* vii 25) from the Περὶ Ἐπαγγελιῶν of Dionysius of Alexandria in which that writer developes his argument that the author of the Apocalypse is a different person from the author of the Fourth Gospel and the Johannine Epistles. This extract, of which Westcott says that there is 'no other piece of pure criticism in the early Fathers to compare with it for style and manner', has always received due notice from theological scholars, but I cannot find that its relation to the secular learning of the time has ever been carefully examined. I do not indeed suppose that such an examination will substantially increase our understanding of Dionysius's reasoning, for his three arguments drawn from (*a*) the fact that the author of one book gives his name, while the author of the other suppresses it, (*b*) the difference in the conceptions and terms in the two, (*c*) the difference in grammatical usage, present no difficulty. Still, as a matter of historical interest, it is surely worth our while to consider how far Dionysius was influenced by similar investigations of the scholars of his age into questions of authorship, and by their canons of literary criticism, and also how far he is using the terminology of the schools.

The need for discriminating between genuine and spurious works of classical authority was quite familiar to the grammarians from the days of the great trio Zenodotus, Aristophanes the Byzantine, and Aristarchus, all of whom taught in Dionysius's own city. Quintilian notes that it was one of the functions of the grammarians, not only to form 'canons' of the best authors in each branch, but also to exclude particular books from the list of the works of a particular author.[1] Elsewhere he

[1] *Inst. Or.* i 4, 3.

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mentions a particular case. He tells us that Aristophanes was the first to lay down that a certain educational poem, the 'Precepts of Chiron', was not, as commonly supposed, the work of Hesiod.[1] But Quintilian does not tell us what were the arguments used by Aristophanes; and in fact, though I would not venture to affirm that in the great and obscure mass of critical and scholastic work still extant none such is to be found, I do not know where any detailed discussion of such questions has been preserved except in the case of Homer.

The exception is of course for our purpose important; for since Homer was predominant in Greek education (to say nothing of the fact that Alexandria in the past at any rate had been the chief home of Homeric scholarship), Dionysius is not likely to have been altogether ignorant of this form of 'Higher Criticism'. The questions that arose for discussion may perhaps be ranged under four heads. First the Homeric 'Apocrypha', the outlying works such as the 'Margites' and especially the 'Hymns'. These last were sometimes quoted as 'Homer', even by writers like Thucydides, but they were not accepted by scholars, and there is no evidence that they received the devout attention given to the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. Next come the 'Separators' or 'Chorizontes', who declared that the two great poems were by different authors. This problem has considerable resemblance to that which exercised Dionysius, and it is no doubt possible that it may have been argued on grounds not unlike those which we find in Eusebius's extracts. On the other hand it appears that the 'Chorizontes' found no favour with the orthodox, and Dionysius may have had as little acquaintance with the question as a student of the last generation, trained in his youth in biblical studies but turned off afterwards to other interests, would have had with the Johannine problem. Thirdly came the 'dubia' within the two poems. Both Aristophanes and Aristarchus are stated to have alleged that the *Odyssey* really ended at line 309 of the 23rd book, but whether they meant that the rest was not written by 'Homer', or that the real story of the *Odyssey* ended at this point and the rest was an excrescence is not quite clear. But within this excrescence there is a solid mass, the genuineness of which was impugned by Aristarchus more definitely. This is *Odyssey* 24 1–204, often called the 'Second Necuia', in which the souls of the Suitors descend to Hades and there meet Agamemnon and Achilles. The grounds on which Aristarchus rejected this episode are given with considerable fullness by the scholiasts, who also supply the answers of the apologists. These objections are mainly based on inconsistencies with regular Homeric beliefs or ideas, such as that only here is Hermes represented as the Conductor of Souls; or on the use of names and phrases, e. g. nowhere else is Hermes called 'Cyllenius' or

[1] *Inst. Or.* i 1, 15.

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the Muses spoken of as 'the Nine Muses'. Finally there are the objections brought against individual lines or small groups of lines. These *ἀθετήσεις* (to give them their technical name) of Aristophanes and Aristarchus are also preserved by scholiasts. Most of them perhaps are based on considerations of sense or fitness, but some call attention to non-Homeric forms or words[1] and so far fall into line with Dionysius's second and third argument. So far the analogy between the criticism of Dionysius and that of the grammarians is vague, though not, I think, vaguer than we should expect in such different material. I pass on to a closer consideration of his treatment of the subject and especially of his terminology.

In the first extract made by Eusebius Dionysius tells us that some earlier critics had rejected the Apocalypse altogether on the grounds of its unintelligibility and declared it to be the work of Cerinthus, who had palmed it on the Church under the name of John. Dionysius himself does not reject the book on the ground of its difficulty, but is willing to believe that it has a higher meaning beyond his grasp.

This extract is introduced by the following words :—

Τινὲς μὲν οὖν τῶν πρὸ ἡμῶν ἠθέτησαν καὶ ἀνεσκεύασαν πάντῃ τὸ βιβλίον, καὶ καθ' ἕκαστον κεφάλαιον διευθύνοντες ἄγνωστόν τε καὶ ἀσυλλόγιστον ἀποφαίνοντες, ψεύδεσθαί τε τὴν ἐπιγραφήν.

Here the two words *ἠθέτησαν* and *ἀνεσκεύασαν*, though often used in a general sense, are technical words from the schools.

I have already said that the rejections of lines and passages from the classical authors were called *ἀθετήσεις*, and when Dionysius puts the words into the mouth of the opponents he means the same. But from what did these opponents reject it? Not merely from the Johannine writings; for Dionysius himself, who does not believe that the book comes from the same hand as the other Johannines, says later *ἐγὼ δὲ ἀθετῆσαι μὲν οὐκ ἂν τολμήσαιμι τὸ βιβλίον*. I understand them to mean that as the *ἀθετηθέντα* of the schools were declared to have no rightful place in the Homeric text, so the Apocalypse has no right to be classed as inspired scripture. And so, I observe, Rufinus takes it, for he translates the words *ἠθέτησαν καὶ ἀνεσκεύασαν* by 'refutandum a canone scripturarum atque abiciendum putarunt'.[2]

[1] e. g. *Il.* 7, 475 was 'athetized' on the ground that *ἀνδράποδον* was a word which only came into use in post-Homeric times: *Odyssey* 4, 62 on account of the non-Homeric form *σφῷν*.

[2] Dr Feltoe has this note: *ἀνεσκεύασαν* '*a canone scripturarum sacrarum abiciendum putarunt*' (Ruf.). Apparently therefore he read 'refutandum et' etc. But Mommsen's edition (1908) has it as I have printed it, and while he records a v. l. 'et canone', he does not record any omission of 'atque'. Unfortunately the translation of Rufinus, who probably understood these terms better than we do, is so abridged, that he does not throw any light on the others.

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The other word ἀνεσκεύασαν has also a very definite history in this connexion. Κατασκευή and ἀνασκευή were the names given to exercises regularly set in the schools in which the pupils had to argue for and against the truth of a story. Very full accounts of these are given by the Greek writers on this sort of 'progymnasmata' such as Aphthonius, Theon, and Hermogenes. The stories thus treated were mostly mythological, the typical example given being that of Apollo and Daphne. But Quintilian notes that in the higher stages the stories of the Roman kings might be utilized and also more strictly historical matter, where questions of chronology or locality were open to dispute.[1] If Dionysius had an ordinary Greek education he must have written dozens of ἀνασκευαί or κατασκευαί in his time. The ἀνασκευαστής was trained to consider his story under various heads. Was it vague or obscure in its details (ἀσαφής)? Was it incoherent (ἀνακόλουθος)? Mischievous (ἀσύμφορος)? and the like. It is easy to see that these or similar tests could be applied to the case before us, and when Dionysius speaks of these 'Anasceuasts' of the Apocalypse as διευθύνοντες τὸ βιβλίον καθ' ἕκαστον κεφάλαιον, while it is possible that by κεφάλαια he may mean sections or topics in the work, it is also possible that he may mean logical heads like those just mentioned. The conclusions that the book is (1) ἄγνωστον (unintelligible), (2) ἀσυλλόγιστον (incoherent), (3) intended to inculcate false doctrine under an apostolic name, roughly correspond to the ἀσαφής, ἀνακόλουθος, ἀσύμφορος of the scholastic 'Anasceuasts'.

It thus appears that while ἀθέτησις impugns the genuineness of a writing and its right to the place which is claimed for it in a text or series of texts, ἀνασκευή impugns its truth and value. In that part of his treatise which followed Dionysius took the part of the 'Catasceuast' and examined the book in detail. This part, Eusebius, to our great loss, has not transcribed but merely tells us that it shewed that the prima facie interpretation could not be maintained. When the verbatim reproduction is resumed, we find Dionysius asserting his view that the book is really by *a* John, but not *the* John who wrote the Gospel and the Epistles; and here again I must quote some of his exact words:—

Τεκμαίρομαι γὰρ ἔκ τε τοῦ ἤθους ἑκατέρων[2] καὶ τοῦ τῶν λόγων εἴδους καὶ τῆς τοῦ βιβλίου διεξαγωγῆς λεγομένης μὴ τὸν αὐτὸν εἶναι.

[1] *Inst. Or.* ii 4, 18 f.

[2] As to ἑκατέρων Dr Feltoe says 'Some take it to mean both writings; but it is doubtful whether ἦθος can be so applied in the sense of style'! It is true that ἦθος can only mean style in so far as style reflects personality, but I would not venture to say that a book could not have ἦθος. It can *express* ἦθος and it is a very slight extension to say that it *possesses* it. Strictly speaking indeed ἑκατέρων should be neuter, for ἑκάτεροι and ἕκαστοι are properly (though not invariably) used of two or more sets, ἑκάτερος and ἕκαστος of two or more units. Ἑκάτερα therefore is the more

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Now as the next part goes on to shew that the John of the Apocalypse puts his name into the forefront, while the other writer suppresses his name throughout, I have no doubt that the ἦθος ἑκατέρων refers to this contrast and so, I believe, it has been generally understood. But the reader who is unversed in the subtleties of the scholastic use of ἦθος may naturally ask whether this distinction amounts to a difference in *character*. For Dionysius clearly does not mean to suggest that the anonymity was due to superior modesty, or that the Evangelist wished to conceal his identity. On the contrary it is assumed that he clearly indicates himself as the Beloved Disciple. To explain this point, it is necessary to say something about the scholastic use of ἦθος.[1]

Ἦθος in rhetoric and criticism is generally opposed to πάθος and indicates the gentler emotions or the sum of the characteristics which a man habitually displays when not under the influence of passion. The underlying theory seems to be that in πάθος the man, as indeed we often say, is 'not himself'. It was an accepted principle in Homeric criticism from the time of Aristotle that the *Iliad* exhibited πάθος and the *Odyssey* ἦθος,[2] and other books or writers are classified in the same way. Thus Herodotus shews ἦθος rather than πάθος, and Thucydides πάθος rather than ἦθος. But the ἦθος of a man is often thought of as a bundle of ἤθη, and then ἤθη need not be what we should call 'ethical', though, if I understand the usage aright, they must be something which helps us to picture or individualize the man. From this point of view it is not difficult to see how the use or non-use of the name of ourselves or others may help to determine our ἦθος. I may take some examples (I hope they will not be thought frivolous) from modern literature. Frederick Bayham in the *Newcomes* speaks of himself as 'F. B.' It helps us to individualize him. We are quite sure that Col. Newcome could never speak of himself as 'T. N.' Mr Weller senior was wont to interpolate an affectionate 'Sammy' into his discourses to his son. Mrs Elton in *Emma* used to speak of her husband as 'Mr E.' All these are ἤθη, and indeed Emma herself says as much of the last. If we translated ἦθος in our passage by 'personal idiosyncrasy' we should perhaps get the feeling of the word

accurate way of expressing Gospel and Epistle v. Apocalypse, and ἑκάτερος of expressing John Ev. v. John of Apoc. Below, ἑκατέρᾳ is used quite properly of Gospel v. Epistle; so two ἑκάτερον of the two λόγοι. I regard the gender here as doubtful, but have a preference for the neuter.

[1] A very full discussion of ἦθος, ἠθικῶς, and ἐν ἤθει as used by the scholiasts is to be found in Rutherford's *Chapter in the History of Annotation* pp. 128 ff and elsewhere (v. index).

[2] The result, I presume, of the same impression as induced Samuel Butler in his early years to think 'that the *Odyssey* was the wife of the *Iliad* and was written by a clergyman'.

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As to the two other terms used above, λόγων εἶδος and διεξαγωγή, the first may be regarded as meaning the nature of the 'terms and conceptions' which we shall see are the subject of Dionysius's second argument. But διεξαγωγή presents considerable difficulty. If it were not for the addition of λεγομένης we might perhaps be disposed to pass it off as a vague phrase suggesting that the general character of the two books in tone, thought, and language is dissimilar. But λεγομένης no doubt suggests that we have here a technical term, and so Heinichen, whom Dr Feltoe reproduces, says 'hoc vocabulum proprium fuit rhetorum'. But Heinichen was, I fear, talking at random. If he had consulted Ernesti's *Lexicon Rhetoricum* he would not have found the word there at all: nor have I any reason to think that Ernesti was wrong. Heinichen goes on to suggest that it means either οἰκονομία that is arrangement and structure, or 'forma et ratio scribendi': that is to say, it means either the second or the third in the three processes of εὕρεσις, οἰκονομία, or τάξις, and φράσις or λέξις, into which ancient rhetoric analysed the art of effective speaking. But Dionysius does not deal with οἰκονομία at all; he does deal with φράσις, but διεξαγωγή is an odd and certainly an otherwise unknown equivalent for it. The best suggestion I can make is as follows. There were certain terminologies in which διάθεσις was used for the whole of the treatment of the material or, in other words, to cover both οἰκονομία and φράσις. Dionysius may perhaps be thinking somewhat confusedly of it, but it is a far cry from διάθεσις to διεξαγωγή. Oddly enough, the one word in this tractate which suggests to the reader unversed in the study of rhetoric that Dionysius is using technical language is the word which leaves the chief doubt of his knowledge of rhetoric in the mind of any one who has made a study of the subject.

Having disposed of the matter of the use or suppression of the name in the documents, Dionysius goes on to say that the same non-identity of authorship may be argued ἀπὸ τῶν νοημάτων καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ῥημάτων καὶ τῆς συντάξεως αὐτῶν. I must leave σύνταξις for the moment, and νοήματα and ῥήματα ('conceptions' and 'terms'), words which of course belong both to orthodox rhetoric and common use, give no difficulty. In the sequel he abundantly illustrates his meaning. He notes the constant appearance in the Gospel and Epistles of such ideas as light, life, love, judgement, 'convincing the world', &c., and in fact, though some of his examples seem rather inexact, says much what any modern scholar would say on the subject. He then goes on to his third argument and contrasts the good Greek of the one with the ungrammatical Greek of the other.

Before dealing with this, I must return to the word σύνταξις. Our commentators suggest 'collocation', and undoubtedly the word may be

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applied to any arrangement or collocation of anything. But I do not quite see what it means in this connexion. If the 'conceptions and terms' of the Evangelist were present in the Apocalypse, we might perhaps contrast the way they were combined and arranged. But as on the hypothesis they are absent there, the word seems otiose. Nor will the examination of the use of it in grammar and criticism lead to any clear conclusion. In these there are two names regularly applied to the connexion of words, *σύνθεσις* and *σύνταξις*, and though they are sometimes confused, the first is generally applied to the arrangement which produces rhythm and harmony, the second to that which produces logical and grammatical coherence. The distinction is well illustrated by the titles of two of the most important works of the age. The *Περὶ συνθέσεως ὀνομάτων* (*De Compositione*) of Dionysius of Halicarnassus[1] deals with the point that literary effect is largely produced by the arrangement of words; the *Περὶ συντάξεως* (*De Constructione*) of Apollonius Dyscolus is a semi-philosophical enquiry into the function of words in the sentence; and it is from this usage of course that we draw our word 'syntax'. Possibly Dionysius may be using *σύνταξις* in this sense and thus anticipating his third argument. But on the whole I am inclined to think that *αὐτῶν* stands for *τῶν ῥημάτων* only and does not include *τῶν νοημάτων*, and that *σύνταξις ῥημάτων* means a *phrase* as contrasted with *ῥῆμα* a *single word*. Thus, in his examples, *φῶς* would be an instance of a *ῥῆμα*, and *ἐλέγχειν τὸν κόσμον* an instance of a *σύνταξις ῥημάτων*. But I must confess that I have not found elsewhere such a use of *σύνταξις*. The only expression I know for 'phrase' is *λόγος* itself, which is sometimes contrasted with *ὄνομα* or *ῥῆμα*.[2] Still it is a natural developement which Dionysius might quite well make on his own initiative.

The third argument brings out, as I have said, the contrast in grammatical usage between the two, and is based especially on the well-known 'solecisms' in the Apocalypse. This contrast is obvious, but the words in which Dionysius describes the Gospel and Epistles deserve some attention.

τὰ μὲν γὰρ οὐ μόνον ἀπταίστως κατὰ τὴν τῶν Ἑλλήνων φώνην, ἀλλὰ καὶ λογιώτατα ταῖς λέξεσι, τοῖς συλλογισμοῖς, ταῖς συντάξεσι τῆς ἑρμηνείας

[1] How blunders are repeated! Valesius wrote on *συντάξεως* 'vide elegantissimum librum Dionysii Hal. *περὶ συντάξεως ὀνομάτων*'. Heinichen first and Dr Feltoe later repeat this. But I know of no evidence that this important treatise was ever known by any other name than that by which it is known now, viz. *Περὶ συνθέσεως ὀνομάτων*.

[2] e. g. Dion. Hal. Ep. ii ad Ammaeum 92 *ὄνομα τεθήσεται ἀντὶ ὅλου τοῦ λόγου, οἷον ἂν τὴν τοῦ σίτου κομιδὴν σιτοπομπίαν λέγῃς*. So in Latin 'sermo' is sometimes in the same contrast with 'verbum'. Has this any bearing on Tertullian's choice of 'sermo' as a translation of the Johannine *Λόγος*?

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γέγραπται. πολλοῦ γε δεῖ βάρβαρόν τινα φθόγγον ἢ σολοικισμὸν ἢ ὅλως ἰδιωτισμὸν ἐν αὐτοῖς εὑρεθῆναι.

That is to say, John the Evangelist writes not only correct Greek but good Greek; and here we get to one of the most basic of Greek scholastic ideas, the idea, that is, of the two stages of education. The Evangelist had mastered not only the *ars recte loquendi*, which it was the business of *Grammatice* to teach, but the *ars bene dicendi* which belonged to rhetoric. He is λόγιος, the regular equivalent of the Latin *facundus* or *eloquens*. And, since we find in him the virtues of rhetoric, *a fortiori* (πολλοῦ γε δεῖ) he is free from the vices of the ἀγράμματος. As for the terms used in describing his λογιότης, the last (ἑρμηνεία) is a frequent synonym for φράσις (*elocutio*), the 'how to say it' which followed when you had found (εὕρεσις) and arranged (οἰκονομία or τάξις) your 'what to say'. It is to be taken, I think, with all the three preceding nouns. Of these λέξεις means, presumably, 'diction', as quite frequently, and συντάξεις I should understand as the construction of the words within the sentence, a meaning somewhat different, but not very different, from that which I mentioned above as given to it by Apollonius.[1] For this, I think, some parallel can be found, though the more usual word is σχηματισμός. But συλλογισμοῖς is difficult. No example is given in Stephanus of its use for 'reasonings' in general, though ἀσυλλόγιστος is used as above in this vaguer sense. Still, as arguments of a syllogistic nature, or, as they were called, 'enthymemes', were an accepted and indeed necessary element in history and oratory and in fact in all literature, and as the 'enthymeme' from the time of Aristotle had been defined as the 'rhetorical syllogism', Dionysius may mean 'enthymemes', and certainly the Fourth Gospel abounds in what the critics and rhetoricians would have called by this name. But does he mean merely that John reasoned or used 'enthymemes' with ability? If so, he is mixing up εὕρεσις with ἑρμηνεία, *res* with *verba*, in a way that would have discredited him with any one who had had a rhetorical education. Possibly he may mean that the *form* in which John

[1] The difference is this: simple examples of what I mean are the use of parentheses, or of a question instead of a negative statement. These are not σύνταξις in Ap.'s sense, for they do not affect the logical coherence of the sentence, nor yet σύνθεσις, for they do not (necessarily at any rate) affect its rhythm or harmony. All the same they produce some literary effect. Thus ancient rhetoric recognized in φράσις or ἑρμηνεία three main elements: (1) ἐκλογὴ ὀνομάτων the diction here, as often called λέξεις; (2) σχηματισμός or form; (3) σύνθεσις or harmony. Both (2) and (3) are sometimes loosely called σύνταξις, and it is the former of these two which I suggest that D. had in mind. If we could do anything so drastic as to emend συλλογισμοῖς to σχηματισμοῖς, and take συντάξεσι as συνθέσεσι, we should really be in accord with orthodox rhetoric.

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expressed his 'enthymemes' shews λογιότης. His namesake of Halicarnassus certainly implies that 'enthymemes' require a style of their own.[1] On the whole, however, I must leave this word like διεξαγωγή without any really satisfactory explanation.

In the second half of the sentence, βάρβαρος φθόγγος (or βαρβαρισμός) and σολοικισμός are among the commonest of grammatical terms. It is hardly necessary even now to say that they signify respectively errors in a single word and errors in combining words, and it certainly would not have been necessary then. Their meaning was as familiar to every educated man as the distinction between nouns and verbs. But ἰδιωτισμὸς is not quite the word we should have expected in this clause where we are concerned with grammar. It belongs rather to rhetoric, and suggests vulgarisms or *plebeius sermo*. It was discussed by rhetoricians largely because it was recognized that a certain amount of it might occasionally lend raciness to oratory. It is not to be confused[2] (in its ordinary use at any rate) with the ἰδιώματα βαρβαρικά shortly afterwards ascribed to John of the Apocalypse. Ἰδίωμα means a peculiarity whether good or bad and springs from ἴδιος in the sense of *proprius*, while ἰδιωτισμὸς comes from ἰδιώτης in the sense of an uneducated man. Still when we remember how ἰδιῶται is coupled with ἀγράμματοι in Acts iv 13 we can hardly be surprised to find Dionysius deflecting its meaning slightly from 'vulgar diction' to 'illiterate error'.

The contrast shewn by the Apocalypse is given in the following words: διάλεκτον καὶ γλῶσσαν οὐκ ἀκριβῶς Ἑλληνίζουσαν αὐτοῦ βλέπω, ἀλλ' ἰδιώμασί τε βαρβαρικοῖς χρώμενον καί που καὶ σολοικίζοντα. (He goes on to say that he will not give details of these barbarisms and solecisms, lest he should seem to be scoffing at the book.) These words do not present much difficulty. Διάλεκτος and γλῶσσα are, I think, practically synonymous and suggest 'usage' or 'language' rather than *a* language or *a* dialect. So, too, Ἑλληνίζουσαν does not imply that this John spoke a language which was not Greek in the ordinary sense. Ἑλληνισμὸς and Ἑλληνίζειν are frequently used in literary language for 'correct Greek'.

On the whole we may say that Dionysius's terminology, with a few exceptions, follows the accepted usage of grammarians, critics, and

[1] Ep. ii ad Amm. 15. But this seems a little too recondite for our Dionysius.

[2] Dr Swete seems to have identified the two. He gives (*Apoc.* p. cxxii ff) several examples of solecisms in the Ap., and then of ἰδιωτισμοί. Among these last he classes (e. g.) ἀπὸ τοῦ ὁ ὢν καὶ ὁ ἦν and ὑναὶ τὴν γῆν and ὅταν δώσουσι. All these, I think, would be solecisms. I understand the ἰδιώματα βαρβαρικὰ to be another synonym for βαρβαρισμοί, and if so it must according to (I believe) the universal usage of ancient grammar mean 'vitia unius verbi'. Dionysius has in mind, I think, such words or forms as κατήγωρ and εἶχαν (v. Swete p. cxxi).

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rhetoricians,[1] and, as I said above, his method of treating the question of authorship is, as well as could be expected in such different material, on the lines which would be suggested by what we may suppose to have been his early education, and by the scholastic ideas which were current around him. The impression he leaves with me is of a man who has been familiar with literary criticism in his earlier life, but has been switched off to a different line of thought with the natural consequences. His attitude cannot, I am sure, be regarded as independent of the scholastic culture of his age. And conversely I should say that Dionysius's method of reasoning should be treated as a valuable testimony in our estimate of Alexandrine scholarship. If a monograph should be written on the 'Higher Criticism' as applied by the scholars of the ancient world to Homer and other texts, Dionysius's discussion of the Johannine question ought to hold in it a prominent if not a foremost place. There can be few, if there are any, other specimens of so careful and sustained a discussion of such a question. Yet I fear that there is every probability that such a monograph would entirely ignore Dionysius. For if it is true that our theological scholars have neglected the light which ancient grammar or criticism or rhetoric might throw on their studies, it is still more true that classical scholars have failed to use the help which that great body of literature which begins with the New Testament might have given them. Too often indeed have they deserved the censure, which the elder of that *Par Nobile Fratrum*, who head the small band of scholars, which has tried to hold an even balance between the Old Pagan and the New Christian worlds of letters, passed on those who 'fence off the half of Latinity with the notice, *Christianum est; non legitur*'.[2]

II.

My second example is one of much less detail, and, as will appear from the sequel, is given mainly to point a particular moral or morals. It is a passage in Tertullian *ad Marcionem* iv 12, where in the course of answering Marcion's allegations that the sayings and actions of Christ contradicted the Old Testament he has arrived at Lk. vi and our Lord's defence of the disciples for plucking the ears of corn on the sabbath. After stating the facts he goes on 'excusat illos Christus et reus est

[1] In another sentence where, speaking of the similarity in 'terms and conceptions' of the Gospel and Epistle, he says, *καὶ ὅλως διὰ πάντων χαρακτηρίζοντας ἕνα καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν συνορᾶν τοῦ τε εὐαγγελίου καὶ τῆς ἐπιστολῆς χρῶτα πρόκειται*, we have two rhetorical terms used naturally though rather loosely. For in Greek rhetoric, I think, *χαρακτὴρ* and *χρῶς* are regularly used of *φράσις*. In Latin 'color' is used more widely.

[2] v. J. E. B. Mayor *The Latin Heptateuch* p. lvii.

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sabbati laesi; accusant Pharisaei. Marcion captat statum (MSS status)[1] controversiae (ut aliquid ludam[2] cum mei domini veritate) scripti et voluntatis. De scriptura enim sumitur creatoris et de Christi voluntate color.'

Tertullian is here applying to biblical criticism one of the most fundamental points in the school of rhetoric. At the very beginning of his course the student was taught to classify questions that might come up for discussion under their various *status*. The word is a translation of στάσις, and another rendering (used by Tertullian himself elsewhere) is *constitutio*. I doubt whether there is a real equivalent in English, but perhaps the nearest is 'issue'. The meaning, however, will be clearly seen when I say that the three main *status* were *an sit*, *quid sit*, and *quale sit*. That is to say we have to consider *either* whether an alleged fact is true or not, *or* whether an admitted fact or action is what it is alleged to be, *or* what the degree of right or wrong in it is. In a trial for murder a complete denial produces the *status* of *an sit*, a plea that it is rather manslaughter that of *quid sit*, a plea of justifying circumstances that of *quale sit*.

These three formed in Greek the λογικαὶ στάσεις, a phrase rendered in Latin by *status rationales*; but besides these three rhetoric usually recognized certain νομικαὶ στάσεις. There were such questions as conflicting laws, ambiguities in a law, and above all the question of *scriptum et voluntas*, in Greek ῥητὸν καὶ διάνοια. The applicability of this 'status' to the controversy of Lk. vi is obvious. Marcion is represented as stating that the Creator had laid down a certain law, which the disciples (with Christ's approval) had broken. If so, the case would be ἀσύστατος: there is no issue. But Tertullian holds that our Lord argues that while the *scriptum* was no doubt as represented, the *voluntas* of the Legislator was as he states, and it is on this question that issue was joined. That this is the general meaning is, I think, clear, but the details of the passage are obscure. Provisionally I should translate the whole as follows: 'Marcion cavils against the view that the issue raised is that of "letter and intention" (if I may be allowed to treat Divine Truth thus humorously), for he puts in a plea that it is a question of the letter of the Creator against the intention of Christ.'[3] But I do not regard this

[1] The correction seems almost necessary and is adopted by Kroymann in the Vienna Corpus edition. It may be just possible, since one explanation of the term was the attitude or position taken up by the two combatants, that the plural was sometimes employed, but I have no evidence for it. The error might easily be made by some one who supposed that 'scriptum' was one 'status' and 'voluntas' another.

[2] MSS 'cludam' or 'eludam'.

[3] The difficulty lies in the last clause. I take it as above because (1) 'color' in this usage, though sometimes it may mean nothing more than 'a line of argument', seems generally to suggest an ingenious method of explaining away difficult or

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rendering as at all certain and I have cited the whole passage, because the general meaning, which is beyond dispute, seems to me to suggest a twofold moral.

In the first place distinctions of the type of the status-lore, which, no doubt, were mastered by every serious student of rhetoric, that is by every one who went through a course of Higher, or indeed we should almost say of Secondary, education, are something quite different from that popular conception of ancient rhetoric, which regards it as consisting in acquiring a facile mastery of phrases and so-called rhetorical artifices. The rhetoric of the schools had many sides, and not the least important of these is the preparatory training which it gave for law.[1] Concrete or actual law was not perhaps taught in the ordinary schools. But the regular course involved a good deal of consideration of juristic principles, and the declamations which played so great a part in it are constantly founded on the supposition that certain laws existed.

My other point is this. Recent critics have been ready enough to suppose that the meretricious and insincere side of rhetoric had a baneful influence on Christian historians like Luke. I do not myself believe that this aspect of rhetoric existed to so serious an extent as these critics believe it did; but assuming that it was so, what about the manifold other sides? What, in particular, about the legal or semi-legal side which I have been considering? To how many students of Lk. vi besides Tertullian must the thought have leapt, 'this is merely the "status scripti et voluntatis" which we learnt about at school'? The fact is that the influence of both the grammatical and the rhetorical schools on Christian thought, exegesis, and preaching, is a branch of history which has yet to be written.

In one of the earliest papers that I published on these subjects I ventured to write as follows: 'it is true that the schools did not teach

suspicious circumstances, and so far is more appropriate to Marcion than to Christ; (2) the word 'Christi' seems inexplicable on any other supposition. It is essential to the 'status' of 'letter and intention' that both should emanate from the legislator, and so below we have 'adversus statum scripti et voluntatis Creatoris'. On the other hand, an opponent might well rejoin to the advocate of intention, 'you say this is the intention of the legislator; the letter is his, but the intention is yours only'. But the meaning must also be judged from the sequel which runs 'quasi de exemplo David introgressi sabbatis templum et operati cibum audenter fractis panibus propositionis'. As it stands this makes for the 'color' being Christ's. Kroymann, however, supposes an omission after 'quasi' and suggests 'non instructi', i.e. 'as though Christ did not know that He had an O.T. precedent.'

[1] It is true that Tertullian is credited with an unusual knowledge of law (*τοὺς Ῥωμαίους νόμους ἠκριβωκὼς ἀνήρ*, Eus. *H.E.* ii. 2) and readers of this passsge may have thought of it as exhibiting the legal specialist, rather than the ordinary rhetorical student. But the most cursory reading of the extant rhetorical treatises will shew that the point must have been familiar to any one who mastered the regular course, that is to every well-educated Roman.

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people to write or speak with genius and power, but they did teach a very clear insight into the meaning, nature, and function of language. Perhaps their work may best be seen in two products of these centuries, which have had at any rate a very remarkable permanence—the Roman Codes and the Creeds of the Christian Church.'

Writing now ten years later I might wish to add to or modify these words, but I should still maintain their substantial truth.

F. H. COLSON.

P.S.—*ἰδιωτισμός*. Since writing the above I have noticed that Irenaeus (v 30) speaks of those who *ἐσφάλησαν ἐπακολουθήσαντες ἰδιωτισμῷ* by which 616 was substituted for 666 in the number of the Beast. The Latin translator keeps *sequentes idiotismum*, but as below where the Greek is not extant it is explained as *peccatum scriptorum* (*ἁμάρτημα γραφέων*?) by which *ι* was substituted for *ξ*, I infer that Irenaeus uses the word for 'error' much as Dionysius uses it.

The thought which this suggests is 'how imperfect is our lexicography of this sort of Greek'. These two examples of *ἰδιωτισμός* are ignored not only in Liddell and Scott, a work, so far as my experience goes, of little use for later Greek, but also in Stephanus. Yet both come from well-known passages in Greek Fathers and certainly vouch for a shade of meaning different from any there recorded.

MARCAN USAGE: NOTES, CRITICAL AND EXEGETICAL, ON THE SECOND GOSPEL.

DR HORT, in the great *Introduction* to his edition of the Greek Testament, lays down as fundamental the principle that 'Knowledge of documents should precede final judgement upon readings' (§ 38), using capitals in the text and italics in the table of contents to call special attention to the importance of the words. I want to enter a similar plea for what I conceive to be an even more important principle, namely that 'Knowledge of an author's usage should precede final judgement' alike as to readings, as to exegesis, and—in this case—as to the mutual relations of the Synoptic Gospels. The studies that follow are intended to be a contribution to the textual criticism and the exegesis of St Mark, and also to the better understanding of that department of the Synoptic problem which is concerned with the agreements of Matthew and Luke against Mark. So long as it is supposed that there is a residuum of agreements between Matthew and Luke against Mark in matter taken from Mark—apart, that is, from passages found also in Q—which cannot be explained without assuming literary contact either of Matthew

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and Luke with one another or of both with some other document than our extant Mark, so long will research into the Synoptic question be hampered and final solution delayed. We can only see things in their true proportions if we consider the evidence over a wide field, and note not only the agreements but the disagreements of the two later Synoptists in the handling of their common material. 'Use large maps' is a piece of advice that applies to other people besides politicians.

I propose therefore to treat in succession various characteristic Marcan usages, isolating each usage and examining it over the whole field of the Gospel. So and so only shall we be able to establish our inductions on a secure basis. And I cannot help thinking that the method proves itself to be unexpectedly fruitful in results.

I.

The Impersonal Plural.

By the impersonal plural is here meant the use of a plural verb with no subject expressed, and no subject implied other than the quite general one 'people'. This form of phrase, common in Aramaic as a substitute for the passive, is very characteristic of St Mark's narrative, and is generally altered in the other Synoptists either by the insertion of a definite subject or (and this especially in St Luke) by the substitution of the passive voice for the impersonal active. With the exception of two passages which present rather more difficulty than the rest and are therefore reserved for the end, the order of the Gospel is followed.

1. i 21, 22 *καὶ εὐθὺς τοῖς σάββασιν ἐδίδασκεν εἰς τὴν συναγωγήν· καὶ ἐξεπλήσσοντο ἐπὶ τῇ διδαχῇ αὐτοῦ, ἦν γὰρ διδάσκων αὐτοὺς ὡς ἐξουσίαν ἔχων.*

There is no subject to *ἐξεπλήσσοντο*, though we can of course supply 'the congregation'; but I think what Mark meant was simply 'people were astonished'. Luke eases the construction by transferring *ἦν διδάσκων αὐτούς* from the second part of the sentence to the first, so that *αὐτούς* explains *ἐξεπλήσσοντο*. Matthew characteristically inserts *οἱ ὄχλοι*, 'the multitudes were astonished'.

2. i 29, 30 *καὶ εὐθὺς ἐκ τῆς συναγωγῆς ἐξελθόντες ἦλθον εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν Σίμωνος καὶ Ἀνδρέου μετὰ Ἰακώβου καὶ Ἰωάννου. ἡ δὲ πενθερὰ Σίμωνος κατέκειτο πυρέσσουσα· καὶ εὐθὺς λέγουσιν αὐτῷ περὶ αὐτῆς.*

St Mark means, I think, 'immediately He is told about her': he does not mean that 'Simon and Andrew with James and John' told Him, to the exclusion of the family in the house. Matthew, with his usual tendency to compress a story, omits the detail. Luke retains, only changing present to past tense and substituting a more definite word *ἠρώτησαν*, 'consulted Him', for Mark's recurring and colourless *λέγουσιν*.

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3. i 32 *ὀψίας δὲ γενομένης . . . ἔφερον πρὸς αὐτὸν πάντας τοὺς κακῶς ἔχοντας.*

Matthew retains, with the past tense *προσήνεγκαν.* Luke inserts a nominative *πάντες ὅσοι εἶχον ἀσθενοῦντας νόσοις ποικίλαις.*

4. i 45 *ἔξω ἐπ' ἐρήμοις τόποις ἦν· καὶ ἤρχοντο πρὸς αὐτὸν πάντοθεν.*

Matthew, omitting the whole verse, offers no parallel. Luke inserts *ὄχλοι πολλοί.*

5. ii 2, 3 *καὶ συνήχθησαν πολλοὶ . . . καὶ ἐλάλει αὐτοῖς τὸν λόγον. καὶ ἔρχονται φέροντες πρὸς αὐτὸν παραλυτικόν.*

Obviously a new nominative must be supplied with *ἔρχονται*—'there arrive people bringing a paralytic . . .' So in terms Luke, *καὶ ἰδοὺ ἄνδρες φέροντες . . .*: Matthew is content with *καὶ ἰδοὺ προσέφερον,* but then, having omitted the previous verse of Mark, he has at least had no rival nominative in his preceding words.

6. ii 18 *καὶ ἦσαν οἱ μαθηταὶ Ἰωάννου καὶ οἱ Φαρισαῖοι νηστεύοντες. καὶ ἔρχονται καὶ λέγουσιν αὐτῷ· Διατί οἱ μαθηταὶ Ἰωάννου καὶ οἱ μαθηταὶ τῶν Φαρισαίων νηστεύουσιν, οἱ δὲ σοὶ μαθηταὶ οὐ νηστεύουσιν;*

A singularly instructive example. It does not seem to me doubtful that St Mark means, neither that John's disciples came to put the question, nor that the Pharisees came, but simply that the question was put. Some of the people of the place noticed that there was a remarkable difference of religious observance at the moment between two sections of 'disciples' and a third: and they apply to the head of the section which was in a minority for an explanation of its difference from the others. But neither Matthew nor Luke likes to leave the matter so. They interpret Mark, and both of them interpret him to mean that it was one of the two opposing sections which put the question: Matthew places it in the mouth of the disciples of John, inserting *οἱ μαθηταὶ Ἰωάννου,* Luke with *οἱ δὲ εἶπαν* treats the interlocutors as those of the preceding verses *οἱ Φαρισαῖοι καὶ οἱ γραμματεῖς αὐτῶν.*

7. iii 1, 2 *καὶ εἰσῆλθεν πάλιν εἰς συναγωγήν, καὶ ἦν ἐκεῖ ἄνθρωπος . . . καὶ παρετήρουν αὐτὸν εἰ τοῖς σάββασιν . . .*

Mark's *εἰς συναγωγήν* is I think almost exactly 'He went to church'. There is therefore no nominative to *παρετήρουν,* and the equivalent English is 'watch was kept on Him to see if . . .' Matthew having written *εἰς συναγωγὴν αὐτῶν* has an implied nominative ready for his verb *ἐπηρώτησαν,* Luke inserts *οἱ γραμματεῖς καὶ οἱ Φαρισαῖοι.*

8. iii 31, 32 *καὶ ἔρχεται ἡ μήτηρ αὐτοῦ καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἔξω στήκοντες ἀπέστειλαν πρὸς αὐτὸν καλοῦντες αὐτόν· καὶ ἐκάθητο περὶ αὐτὸν ὄχλος, καὶ λέγουσιν αὐτῷ· Ἰδοὺ ἡ μήτηρ σου . . .*

Clearly it is not the crowd who give the message. The porter or some one of that sort is charged to convey to Jesus the news that His mother wants to see Him: the inserted words *καὶ ἐκάθητο περὶ αὐτὸν*

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ὄχλος logically belong to *v.* 34; but Peter visualizes the scene as he remembers it. Luke excellently represents the impersonal plural by the passive ἀπηγγέλη. Matthew's text, xii 47, offers a problem of some difficulty. It seems preposterous at first sight to suppose that words can be genuine which are absent from ℵ B L, the African Latin (*k*), the Old Syriac, and the Sahidic. But a sound instinct led Westcott and Hort to admit the words at least to their margin. For in the first place they are necessary to the sense: and in the second place experience of manuscripts establishes no rule on a more certain basis than that, where *homoioteleuton* will account for omission, the omitted words are probably genuine. It is therefore possible to say with some confidence that Mt. xii 47 is genuine, and that Matthew represented Mark's λέγουσιν by εἶπεν δέ τις. But even if they are not genuine, Matthew's τῷ λέγοντι in the next verse shews that he avoided the impersonal plural.

9. v 14 *καὶ οἱ βόσκοντες αὐτοὺς ἔφυγον καὶ ἀπήγγειλαν εἰς τὴν πόλιν καὶ εἰς τοὺς ἀγρούς. καὶ ἦλθον ἰδεῖν τί ἐστιν τὸ γεγονός.*

What St Mark of course means is that the inhabitants of the town and the villages came to see what had happened: Luke too thought that the words εἰς τὴν πόλιν καὶ εἰς τοὺς ἀγρούς sufficiently prepared for the change of subject, and retained Mark's language practically unaltered. Matthew on the other hand inserted πᾶσα ἡ πόλις as nominative.

10. v 35 *ἔτι αὐτοῦ λαλοῦντος ἔρχονται ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀρχισυναγώγου λέγοντες ὅτι Ἡ θυγάτηρ σου ἀπέθανεν.*

'Messengers come from the ruler of the synagogue's house with the news that . . .' Matthew's form of this story is an extreme instance of his tendency to compression: three successive verses in Mark, v 35–37, are entirely unrepresented, so we can only say 'no parallel'. Luke's ἔρχεταί τις . . . λέγων reminds us of Matthew's εἶπέν τις in no. 8. Nothing is clearer throughout the series of these passages than the independence of Matthew and Luke in their treatment of the Marcan material. For the solitary coincidence between them see no. 12.

11. vi 14 *καὶ ἤκουσεν ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἡρῴδης, φανερὸν γὰρ ἐγένετο τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἔλεγον ὅτι Ἰωάννης ὁ βαπτίζων ἐγήγερται . . . ἄλλοι δὲ ἔλεγον . . . ἄλλοι δὲ ἔλεγον . . . ἀκούσας δὲ ὁ Ἡρῴδης ἔλεγεν . . .*

An interesting instance, because of the doubt as to the reading in the case of the first ἔλεγον. Most authorities give ἔλεγεν, 'Herod said'. The authorities which give the plural are few but good: B D, now reinforced by W, and some Old Latins. And the plural is absolutely certain, for it is guaranteed by the parallel in Mark viii 28 (*τίνα με λέγουσιν οἱ ἄνθρωποι εἶναι; οἱ δὲ εἶπαν αὐτῷ λέγοντες ὅτι Ἰωάννην τὸν βαπτιστήν, καὶ ἄλλοι Ἠλείαν, ἄλλοι δὲ ὅτι Εἷς τῶν προφητῶν*), and it is implied by the reproduction of the passage in Luke ix 7, *διὰ τὸ λέγεσθαι*

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ὑπό τινων ὅτι Ἰωάννης ἠγέρθη . . . Matthew omits all reference to the divergent contemporary views about Jesus, and therefore offers no real parallel. St Mark assuredly meant 'His reputation was now considerable, and different ideas were held about Him in different circles by His contemporaries: people were saying, Why, it's John the Baptizer *redivivus*, others No, it's Elijah, and others again A new prophet, just as there have been prophets from time to time before'.

12. vi 33 καὶ εἶδον αὐτοὺς ὑπάγοντας καὶ ἔγνωσαν πολλοί· καὶ πεζῇ ἀπὸ πασῶν τῶν πόλεων συνέδραμον ἐκεῖ καὶ προῆλθον αὐτούς.

Obviously[1] the many who recognized them were not the same necessarily as the people who ran on foot from all the cities. Rather the many who recognized the intention of Jesus and His disciples spread the news, and with many to circulate the report a large concourse of people from different directions could collect, all heading for the place of landing on the other side. I am not even sure that we should not put a comma after ὑπάγοντας, and translate 'And they were seen going, and many recognized them, and people ran on foot to the common meeting-point and anticipated their arrival'. All these details seemed to the later Evangelists superfluous, and they pruned them remorselessly. Both reduce Mark's four verbs to the single word—the only single word which would express the complete idea—ἠκολούθησαν: both supply οἱ ὄχλοι as again the only single noun which would cover those who saw, those who recognized, and those whose concourse was directed to the landing-place.

It should be noted that this is the solitary occasion on our list where Matthew and Luke make the *same* rectification of Mark's impersonal plural. But it has just been shewn what an obvious change it is: and Matthew inserts the same noun ὄχλοι on two other occasions in our list (1 and 15), Luke on one (4).

13. vi 42, 43 καὶ ἔφαγον πάντες καὶ ἐχορτάσθησαν· καὶ ἦραν κλάσματα δώδεκα κοφίνων πληρώματα.

It was not the 5,000 who ate and were filled who picked up the fragments. Luke correctly interprets Mark when he substitutes ἤρθη for ἦραν. So still more expressly the Fourth Evangelist—who in the story of this miracle follows in Mark's footsteps—λέγει τοῖς μαθηταῖς αὐτοῦ Συναγάγετε τὰ περισσεύσαντα κλάσματα (Jo. vi 12). Matthew alone retains Mark's phrase unaltered.

14. vi 53, 54 καὶ διαπεράσαντες ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν ἦλθον εἰς Γεννησαρὲτ . . . καὶ ἐξελθόντων αὐτῶν ἐκ τοῦ πλοίου εὐθὺς ἐπιγνόντες αὐτὸν περιέδραμον . . .

We have now arrived at the long lacuna in Luke's copying of Mark:

[1] I think it quite obvious: but I have to admit that Swete *in loc.* appears to take πολλοί as subject to all the three verbs.

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for our three instances **14**, **15**, and **16** there are no parallels in the third Synoptist.

Mark meant that the people of the district where Jesus landed recognized Him: Matthew states that expressly, *ἐπιγόντες αὐτὸν οἱ ἄνδρες τοῦ τόπου ἐκείνου.*

15. vii 31, 32 *καὶ πάλιν . . . ἦλθεν . . . εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν τῆς Γαλιλαίας . . . καὶ φέρουσιν αὐτῷ κωφὸν καὶ μογιλάλον.*

Matthew generalizes from Mark's single instance, inserting *ὄχλοι πολλοί* as the subject, *καὶ προσῆλθον αὐτῷ ὄχλοι πολλοί, ἔχοντες μεθ' ἑαυτῶν χωλοὺς τυφλοὺς κωφοὺς κυλλούς.*

16. viii 22 *καὶ ἔρχονται εἰς Βηθσαϊδάν· καὶ φέρουσιν αὐτῷ τυφλόν.*

Those who came to Bethsaida were our Lord and His disciples. Those who brought the blind man to Him were people of the place: our English equivalent would probably be 'and a blind man was brought to Him'. The whole passage is absent from Matthew (though it presumably contributed the *τυφλούς* to Matthew's generalization in xv 30, see just above under **15**) as well as from Luke.

17. x 1, 2 *καὶ συνπορεύονται πάλιν ὄχλοι πρὸς αὐτόν, καὶ ὡς εἰώθει πάλιν ἐδίδασκεν αὐτούς. καὶ ἐπηρώτων αὐτὸν εἰ ἔξεστιν ἀνδρὶ γυναῖκα ἀπολῦσαι.*

The passage is included here with a little hesitation: but I believe both that this is the true reading, and that *ἐπηρώτων αὐτόν* is the impersonal plural—not 'the multitudes asked Him' but 'the question was asked of Him'. It would not be reasonable to suppose that the question of divorce was the dominant one in the minds of the crowds: Peter simply remembered the question being raised at that time. There is no parallel in Luke: Matthew supplies *προσῆλθον αὐτῷ οἱ Φαρισαῖοι*, from which many authorities have borrowed *προσελθόντες οἱ Φ.* for the text of Mark.

18. x 13 *καὶ προσέφερον αὐτῷ παιδία ἵνα αὐτῶν ἅψηται.*

Luke retains the impersonal plural: Matthew substitutes the passive, *τότε προσενέχθησαν αὐτῷ παιδία.*

19. x 49 *καὶ εἶπεν Φωνήσατε αὐτόν. καὶ ἐφώνησαν τὸν τυφλόν.*

This passage is again included doubtfully, since it is possible to understand St Mark as meaning that our Lord addressed the command 'Call him' to definite persons who obeyed the command. I should rather understand the Evangelist to mean that our Lord ordered generally that Bartimaeus should be called, and that the order was carried out by somebody or other. In any case the detail was omitted by Matthew and only indicated by Luke.

20. xiii 9–11 *βλέπετε δὲ ὑμεῖς ἑαυτούς· παραδώσουσιν ὑμᾶς εἰς συνέδρια καὶ εἰς συναγωγὰς δαρήσεσθε . . . καὶ ὅταν ἄγωσιν ὑμᾶς παραδιδόντες, μὴ προμεριμνᾶτε τί λαλήσητε.*

Both Matthew and Luke retain the impersonal plural here—it is the

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solitary instance in our series in which both do so, but then it is also the solitary instance in our series in which the idiom is employed in the record of our Lord's words[1]—but in an earlier place in Matthew (x 17, where the substance of the Marcan passage is much more closely reproduced than it is at xxiv 9) we have, instead of *βλέπετε ἑαυτούς*, *προσέχετε ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων*, and in that way a subject is supplied.

21. xiv 12 *καὶ τῇ πρώτῃ ἡμέρᾳ τῶν ἀζύμων ὅτε τὸ πάσχα ἔθυον.*

Matthew, either because he thought the information superfluous or perhaps because he thought it absolutely misleading, omitted the clause *ὅτε τὸ πάσχα ἔθυον*. Luke transposed the impersonal active, as in **8, 11, 13**, into a passive, *ἐν ᾗ ἔδει θύεσθαι τὸ πάσχα*.

Of these twenty-one passages there are three for which there is no Matthaean parallel, **4, 10, 16**, and four for which there is no Lucan parallel, **14, 15, 16, 17**. Again, the actual phrase in which the impersonal plural occurs is dropped on four occasions by Matthew, **2, 11, 19, 21**, and on one by Luke, **19**. There remain fourteen passages in Matthew, sixteen in Luke, to consider.

The most common expedient in both Matthew and Luke is the insertion of a nominative as subject for the verb, which thus ceases to be impersonal. The expedient is adopted eight times by Matthew, **1, 6, 8, 9, 12, 14, 15, 17**, seven times by Luke, **3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 10, 12**. Each of them uses *τις* once, Matthew **8**, Luke **10** : for the rest they used plural nouns or nouns of multitude. Only once do they agree on the nominative inserted, **12**, where *οἱ ὄχλοι* is common to both. Since the particular word *ὄχλος* was one of the most obvious nouns, if not the most obvious, to insert, the single coincidence is nothing unnatural.

Besides this, there was the possibility of using what we should feel in English the most idiomatic method of rendering St Mark's usage, and substituting a passive. Matthew does this once, **18**, Luke four times, **8, 11, 13, 21**.

These two expedients reduce the series to five passages apiece in Matthew and Luke, where the impersonal plural is retained. The evidence shews conclusively that the idiom is a regular and common one in Mark's narrative, and that on two occasions on an average out of three it is in some way got rid of by the other Synoptists.

With these results before us, let us now consider the two reserved passages, Mark iii 21 (**22**), xiv 1 (**23**).

22. iii 21 *καὶ ἀκούσαντες οἱ παρ' αὐτοῦ ἐξῆλθον κρατῆσαι αὐτόν· ἔλεγον γὰρ ὅτι Ἐξέστη.*

[1] Matthew and Luke shew a fair number of instances of the idiom in the record of Christ's teaching. What is remarkable is Mark's fondness for it, and their dislike of it, in narrative. No doubt they allowed themselves far larger latitude in recasting Mark's own story than in recasting the record of the *Λόγοι* of Christ.

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The impression ordinarily and naturally caused by these words is that our Lord's family left home to get hold of Him, because they thought He was out of His senses. But in the light of what we now know of Mark's fondness for the impersonal plural, an alternative rendering becomes at once possible, 'for it was reported that He was out of His senses'. And the possible rendering becomes I think probable, or more than probable, if we consider the weakness of the reason given, on the ordinary view, for the action of Christ's family. They said He was mad: on what grounds? On the rather inadequate ground that the crowd was so great that nobody had room to eat. But on the view now proposed, St Mark has rounded off his story of the Call of the Twelve by the summary statement that the call was followed by a resumption of the work at Capernaum. Then begins a new paragraph, verses 21–35, dealing with two alternative explanations offered by those who criticized the new teacher's work: ἔλεγον ὅτι Ἐξέστη, ἔλεγον ὅτι Βεελζεβοὺλ ἔχει. The former was a local criticism, which reached the ears of His family at Nazareth, and they left home to see what restraining influence they could exert over Him: the latter was the suggestion of emissaries from Jerusalem. This is dealt with first: it is the sin against the Holy Ghost, the refusal to recognize that good deeds must come from the good God. The story then returns to the former. It is over-subtle to regard the intercalation of verses 22–30 as intended to allow time for the journey from Nazareth to Capernaum. It is rather that the mention of the earlier and more naïve criticism of people at Capernaum suggests at once to the writer the other more evil-minded but more logical theory of people from Jerusalem, and being reminded of it he deals with it first.[1]

23. xiv 1 ἦν δὲ τὸ πάσχα καὶ τὰ ἄζυμα μετὰ δύο ἡμέρας, καὶ ἐζήτουν οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ οἱ γραμματεῖς πῶς αὐτὸν ἐν δόλῳ κρατήσαντες ἀποκτείνωσιν· ἔλεγον γὰρ Μὴ ἐν τῇ ἑορτῇ, μή ποτε ἔσται θόρυβος τοῦ λαοῦ.

'Next day was the Passover: and the chief-priests were on the look out for some underhand way of arresting Him: for it had been urged that an (open) arrest at the feast might lead to a riot.' That is I think what St Mark means. The emphasis in the second clause is, as the position of the word indicates, on δόλῳ: and what reason would there be for any emphasis on δόλῳ, if the point were that they were going to make *no* arrest during the festival? But if the conditions were (1) that the chief-priests were determined to arrest Jesus before He left Jerusalem, (2) that some of the Sanhedrists, to whom they felt bound to defer in

[1] I think myself that by the ἔλεγον of verse 30, ὅτι ἔλεγον Πνεῦμα ἀκάθαρτον ἔχει, St Mark means again the impersonal plural 'because it was said', though it is of course possible that he is harking back to 'the scribes' of verse 22.

The view here taken of ἔλεγον ὅτι Ἐξέστη was originally suggested to me, at the close of a discussion about impersonal plurals in St Mark, by the Rev. R. H. Lightfoot of New College. It is, I understand, accepted by Sir John Hawkins.

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order to secure unanimity, made a timid *caveat* against any action which might involve the chance of a riot at the moment of arrest, then the need for δόλος explains itself. An arrest effected by δόλος would avoid the chance of a riot, whether it was effected during the festival or no. Hence the value to them of Judas, and of the information which enabled them to carry out their *coup* in the late evening and at a retired spot.

It has been suggested that the mysterious directions given by our Lord to disciples in xi 2 and xiv 13, where no names are named, were intended to prevent Judas from obtaining previous knowledge of our Lord's movements which he could convey to the Jewish authorities. However that may be, it seems clear that δόλος meant just the securing of a time and place for the arrest where popular support for Jesus would have no opportunity of asserting itself. It is difficult to suppose that it is intended to imply a contrast between an arrest on Thursday and an arrest on Friday. And the solitary change which Matthew makes in copying Mark is in this respect very instructive: for, understanding ἔλεγον to refer back to the chief priests, he alters ἔλεγον γάρ into ἔλεγον δέ. The chief priests, that is to say, determined to arrest Jesus, but determined at the same time that an arrest during the feast must be avoided. Later exegesis has, as in so many other passages, interpreted Mark by Matthew. But if Mark's account is taken as the primary one, ἔλεγον γάρ gives the reason for δόλος. On the ordinary view, St Mark ought to have written 'Next day being passover, the authorities determined to effect the arrest of Jesus before passover began: for they said, Not during the feast . . .' But that is not what St Mark says. He says, 'The feast being now imminent, the authorities determined to avoid a direct and open arrest, for the objection had been taken that such methods were too dangerous at such a time: they had to have recourse therefore to some secret *coup*'.

I add, by way of appendix, yet one more passage, where, if we may assume the use of the impersonal plural, the reading which is perhaps the more probable would receive its explanation and justification:

24. xv 10 (8–11) καὶ ἀναβὰς ὁ ὄχλος ἤρξατο αἰτεῖσθαι καθὼς ἐποίει αὐτοῖς. ὁ δὲ Πειλᾶτος ἀπεκρίθη αὐτοῖς λέγων Θέλετε ἀπολύσω ὑμῖν τὸν βασιλέα τῶν Ἰουδαίων; ἐγίνωσκεν γὰρ ὅτι διὰ φθόνον παραδεδώκεισαν αὐτόν. οἱ δὲ ἀρχιερεῖς ἀνέσεισαν τὸν ὄχλον ἵνα μᾶλλον τὸν Βαραββᾶν ἀπολύσῃ αὐτοῖς.

The above reading, παραδεδώκεισαν αὐτόν without οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς to follow, is that of B 1 *k* and the Sinai Syriac, and is supported by Matt. xxvii 18 ᾔδει γὰρ ὅτι διὰ φθόνον παρέδωκαν αὐτόν: and since it was certainly not the multitude who had handed Jesus over to the governor, we must take παραδεδώκεισαν as impersonal plural, and translate 'it was

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for envy's sake that Jesus had been brought before him'. The alternative reading supplies a nominative to παραδεδώκεισαν: but it would be awkward even for Mark to end one sentence with οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς and begin the next sentence with οἱ δὲ ἀρχιερεῖς, and I incline to think that the first οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς is just an early scribal insertion, or more probably gloss, intended to make the sense of παραδεδώκεισαν clear to the reader.

I should like it to be understood that, while the idea and for the most part the material of this and the following papers are my own, the final form owes much to the help and criticism of the members of my Seminar.

(*To be continued.*)

C. H. TURNER.

THE CLEANSING OF THE TEMPLE.

HAVING read with great interest Dr Caldecott's article on Dr Robert Eisler's views about the Cleansing of the Temple (*J. T.S.* xxiv, p. 382), together with Mr Cheetham's paper on 'Destroy this temple' (*J. T. S.* xxiv, p. 315), I feel impelled to make some remarks of my own.

I.

First of all, Dr Caldecott did very well in calling attention to Eisler's view. Dr Eisler is an astonishingly learned man, as his *Weltenmantel und Himmelszelt* pr ves, not to speak of his many other works. And further, the Cleansing of the Temple is an incident of extraordinary interest to Christians—or it should be. As a rule it is taken as a matter of course, a thing that needs no explanation. I feel that too often this is the case only because no satisfactory explanation is forthcoming.

The particular interest and importance to us of the Cleansing of the Temple, so it seems to me, is that it is almost the only spontaneous action of our Lord. If He healed the lepers it was because He had met them, if He fed the multitudes it was because they had followed Him. He was crucified, because the authorities arrested and condemned Him. But He went out of His way, so to speak, to 'cleanse' the Temple —He need not have done it if He had not thought proper. Therefore it ought to be for us a very significant index of His mind and purpose: we Christians ought to have very clear ideas about it.

Let us first take Dr Eisler's point about the 'den of robbers'. Dr Eisler is certainly right in saying that the words of Jesus are a quotation or allusion to the Old Testament. It is certain that 'a House of Prayer for all the nations' is a reference to Isa. lvi 7, and that 'den of robbers' is a reference to Jer. vii 11, and that the meaning of these phrases in our Lord's mouth is what they mean in the original, not what they happen to sound like in the Greek of the Gospels or the English

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of the Authorized Version. It may be taken as a real historical fact that Jesus when He did what He did explained and justified His action by these two passages from Isaiah and Jeremiah.

We will come to 'House of Prayer' later. Dr Eisler has a new explanation for 'den of robbers' (*me'ārath pārīṣīm*). Having said, not unfairly, that 'cave of murderers' would be a better rendering, he goes on to suggest 'den of slaughterers', as if the word *pārīṣīm*, without further explanation, could be used of butchers' work. This, I venture to say, is quite unjustified. It is not a question of grammatical roots. If we cannot quite gather from the context in Jeremiah what the word means we may see from Ezek. xviii 10 ff what was the character of a *bēn pārīṣ*, i. e. an individual of the class of *pārīṣīm*. Ezekiel takes three verses to describe this person: we can do it in English in seven letters —he is what we call 'a bad lot'. I notice, however, that besides his inferior morals Ezekiel makes him an idolater and one who 'eats upon the mountains', which whatever it may mean in detail is a ritual or ecclesiastical offence.[1] He is a law-breaker, one who makes breaches (*pereṣ*) in the laws of God and man. But he is not a dilaniator. I cannot think that the word could be applied without further explanation to the profession of a butcher or a sacrificial priest.

Nor is this in the context of Jer. vii 8–11: 'What do you trust in?' says Jeremiah (*v.* 8). 'You break the Ten Commandments and your sworn word, and you commit idolatry (*v.* 9), and then you come to Church and say "Now it's all right" (*v.* 10). Has God's House become a resort of bad characters? Take care: it doesn't escape His notice!' And Jeremiah goes on to say that as the worshippers have become so wicked perhaps God will destroy the Temple at Jerusalem as He did the Temple at Shiloh. The prophet is not here finding fault with the method of worship, but only with the morals of the worshippers.

To return to our Lord and His actions. Here, as elsewhere, I am sure we ought to take Mark as our guide and to beware of making an eclectic use of John; but it must be pointed out in any case that not even in John is there any hint that Jesus interfered, or attempted to interfere, with the work of the *priests*. We do not read that He stopped any one carrying doves, or leading oxen, to *sacrifice*. What He interfered with was a market inside the Temple courts, in the Court of the Gentiles. 'A House of Prayer for all the Gentiles' said Isaiah, and Jesus quoted him. Call it if you will, with Dr Eisler, a Synagogue, but if it be for the Gentiles, for the nations, it will not extend to the inner courts where real sacrifices are performed, for thither the Gentiles do not penetrate.

[1] Probably in all cases Ezekiel means 'one who eats "on" the blood', i. e. without pouring it out (Ezek. xxxiii 25).

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Dr Caldecott speaks on p. 385 of 'a protest against business in the sacred precincts, and that on its least objectionable side, the changing of money'. I doubt if that was the least objectionable side to Jesus and those who sympathized with Him in this whole affair. In theory the sacrifice was the offering of an animal belonging to the family: to buy an equivalent at the last minute with money was a worldly trick. No doubt it was inevitable, just as 'usury' has become inevitable, but it is hardly contemplated in the Pentateuch. 'Make not My Father's House a House of *merchandise*'—the words may not be authentic, but I venture to think that they give the general intention of Jesus better than Dr Eisler's theory does.

Moreover this view, i.e. the objection to chaffering and business, is in harmony with Mk. xi 16: Jesus would not allow the Temple area to be used as a short cut for business purposes.

II.

An objection to the action of Jesus, which might well be made both now and at the time, is that with a vast centralized system of animal sacrifices, concentrated at a single Sanctuary, it was inevitable that there should be a market on the spot, or at least a pen for live-stock. It was part of the mechanism of the system, which could not be carried on without it. Dr Eisler and his followers would, I suppose, agree to this and say that it proves their point, viz. that Jesus was opposed to the sacrificial method as such. Perhaps the deduction is true, if the thought involved be carried to its logical conclusion. But I see no sign that a logical conclusion is at all indicated. We really do not know from how large a part of the vast Temple area Jesus wished to exclude the market. All that our evidence really indicates is that He wished a sufficient part of the area open to the Gentiles to be set apart as a place of 'prayer'. What a sufficient part might be is, no doubt, a thorny question, but we have very little evidence to bear upon it.

What is certain is that the grandeur and magnificence of the Herodian Temple made no impression, no favourable impression, on His mind. 'What stones! What buildings!' said the disciples, but He said they would all be reduced to ruins. And He said something else, with which enemies reproached Him as He was hanging on the cross. The saying is extant in various forms, as Mr Cheetham points out. Some of these are said to be the false witness of opponents but in any case the Saying must have been something like 'If this Temple were destroyed I would build it in three days'. The enemies of Jesus interpreted this as a threat to destroy the Temple; one school of Christian thought understood it not of the Temple of stone, but of His own body—neither, I should think, correctly. I venture to suggest that it means that the

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requirements of true worship involve little material expenditure; if the Temple were to perish, the necessary arrangements for the sacrifices, for the services, for fencing off the Holy Place, for the organization of prayer and praise, could be made in three days' time. Does not this interpretation throw some light on the Cleansing of the Temple? Simplicity, earnestness, better intention, these were what Jesus wanted, not the abolition of animal or vegetable sacrifices at the bidding either of Stoic philosophy or of modern sentiment.

III.

One accompaniment of the Cleansing of the Temple needs some notice here. The tale of what is generally called the Cursing of the Barren Fig-Tree belongs to the same day. I cannot accept the fashionable modern belief that this tale, as told in Mark, can have arisen out of a Parable recorded in Luke xiii, or indeed out of anything else but real historical reminiscence. I am not satisfied about the details of the 'miracle', and indeed in the most favourable case we only have Mark's account of what Peter remembered. But if we compare the tale in Mark with what it becomes in Matthew it is difficult not to believe that something like the two scenes reported in Mk. xi 12–14, 20–25, actually occurred. I do not think we can discover exactly what happened to the tree, except by guessing; but I do think we are called upon to give an account of the difference between the tone and spirit of the words of Jesus on the two occasions. On the Monday He goes into Jerusalem to set the Temple right, relying on the power of God to carry His programme through. Nothing shall be impossible to Him, and woe to anything that disappoints His expectations! The next day, when Peter is inclined to gloat, his Master tells him to trust in God—and to forgive if he have any grievance! Was Jesus beginning to repent of His violent action of yesterday? Did He think *He* had been too hasty?

In any case, the action of Jesus that day is quite different from that of the day before. He parries the question about His authority, He does *not* give countenance to rebellion against the Roman taxes. We hear no more of any attempted changes in the arrangements of the Temple, and the Parable of the Husbandmen leaves the coming change of government to God.

I think that from that Tuesday morning, perhaps as early as the evening before, Jesus despaired of Jerusalem. His action on the Monday morning, the Cleansing of the Temple itself, shews hope displayed in vigorous, if rather impracticable, action. But He, Jesus, is the first to see that it is no good. It did not touch the disease, and those who

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were most active in backing Him up were probably least in sympathy with His aims and ideals. The first sight of the chafferers and marketers while He was surrounded with a crowd of Galilean followers, who were at least enthusiastic if not very intelligent, had moved Him to attempt a change, something which should at least indicate the worship which God desires, but it is not long before He is convinced that the whole spirit of Jerusalem is against Him. He feels it to be a doomed city.

But in all this there is no word of objection to sacrifices as such, to a rejection of the method of worship by sacrificing beasts, or of any modern or Buddhistic dislike of taking life. There were plenty of passages in Amos and Jeremiah for Jesus to have quoted if He had wished to lead a crusade against sacrifices, but He never does so, He never quotes the Fiftieth Psalm. We do not read that He offered a sacrifice Himself, but then He had neither lands to tithe nor herds to devote. He gave His disciples no prohibition against offering sacrifices themselves: following out His second thoughts, His thoughts of Tuesday morning in Holy Week, He left such practices to be disposed of by the course of events.

F. C. BURKITT.

'PLEONASTIC' ἄρχομαι IN THE NEW TESTAMENT

IN the eighteenth century Palairet, Loesner, Kuinoel, and other scholars called attention to the fact that in a number of contexts in the Synoptic Gospels ἄρχομαι seems to lose much of its distinctive force. In such cases, they maintained, the verb becomes 'supervacaneum', pleonastic. This opinion was challenged in the early part of the succeeding century by A. F. Fritzsche,[1] who sought to prove that, with hardly any exception, whenever the word occurs the author has some definite point in mentioning the beginning of an action rather than the action itself.

Fritzsche was followed with little or no modification by Winer and Moulton,[2] and by Grimm and Thayer.[3]

Dalman, however, in his examination of the use of the word as it occurs in the recorded utterances of our Lord,[4] strongly inclined towards the older view and traced what he called 'the meaningless *he began*' to Aramaic sources.

Of subsequent discussions of the question, all of which have been

[1] *Commentary on St Matthew* (1826) pp. 539 ff.
[2] *Grammar of N.T. Greek* (ed. 1877) p. 767.
[3] *Lexicon* (ed. 1893) pp. 78, 79.
[4] *The Words of Jesus* (Eng. tr. 1909) pp. 26–28.

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largely influenced by Dalman's conclusions, the most important are those of J. H. Moulton,[1] Moulton and Milligan,[2] and W. C. Allen.[3]

In the following pages an attempt is made to sift the evidence still more closely and to re-examine the whole problem.

Apart from the Synoptic Gospels and the Acts the verb ἄρχομαι occurs four times only in the New Testament,[4] and in each case in its ordinary sense = 'begin'.

In the Acts the word occurs ten times and in six of these cases it is followed by the infinitive of another verb. I shall return to the Acts a little later.

In the Synoptic Gospels ἄρχομαι is used without a following infinitive only once[5] in Matthew and four times in Luke[6]; but, followed by an infinitive, the verb occurs twenty-six times in Mark, twelve times in Matthew, and twenty-seven times in Luke. It is this use of ἄρχομαι followed by an infinitive that we shall endeavour to examine.

In doing so we must bear in mind the existence of the 'Inchoative'[7] Imperfect. As a matter of fact all the Synoptists use this imperfect from time to time, e. g. Mk. vii 35 ἐλάλει 'He began to speak'; xiv 72 ἔκλαιεν 'He began to weep': Mt. v 2 ἐδίδασκεν 'He began to teach': Lk. v 6 διερήσσετο 'began to break'; vi 11 διελάλουν 'began to commune'.[8] They have, therefore, no real need of a very weak ἄρχομαι.

We must now examine the gospels in detail, and in looking out for the various shades of meaning in ἄρχομαι it will be convenient to distinguish three classes:

1. cases where the word distinctly or even emphatically = 'begin'.
2. cases where we are inclined to doubt how far the meaning of the word has weakened. Our decision will often depend on our interpretation of the particular passage in question.
3. cases where this doubt becomes insistent and ἄρχομαι seems to be used as little more than a quasi-auxiliary word.

(*a*) We begin with St Mark.

The twenty-six instances in which ἄρχομαι is used in this gospel may be roughly classified under the three headings as follows:—

1. distinctly = 'begin'.

x 47, xiv 19, xiv 33. three cases.

[1] *Grammar of N.T. Greek*, vol. i Prol. (ed. 1906) p. 15.
[2] *Vocabulary of Greek Test.* Part I (ed. 1915) pp. 82, 83.
[3] *Commentary on St Mark* (1915) pp. 48–50.
[4] Jn. viii 9, xiii 5; 2 Cor. iii 1; 1 Pet. iv 17.
[5] Mt. xx 8.
[6] Lk. iii 23, xxiii 5, xxiv 27, xxiv 47.
[7] A. T. Robertson *Gram. N.T. Greek* (3rd ed. 1919) p. 885.
[8] See also Lk. viii 23, ix 34, xxiii 54; and frequently in Acts, e.g. iii 10, ix 20, xi 2, xiii 5, xvii 5, xvii 16, xxvi 1, xxvii 18, xxvii 41.

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2. doubtful.

i 45, ii 23, iv 1, v 17, v 20, vi 2, vi 34, vi 55, viii 11, viii 31, viii 32, x 28, x 41, xi 15, xii 1, xiv 65, xiv 69,[1] xiv 71, xv 8, xv 18. twenty cases.

3. more definitely quasi-auxiliary.

vi 7, x 32, xiii 5. three cases.

It will be well to quote the three passages in class (3).

Mk. vi 6, 7 Καὶ *περιῆγεν τὰς κώμας κύκλῳ διδάσκων. Καὶ προσκαλεῖται τοὺς δώδεκα, καὶ ἤρξατο αὐτοὺς ἀποστέλλειν δύο δύο.*

Here 'He began to send them forth two and two' simply = 'He sent them forth two and two'. There is no mention in St Mark's gospel of any subsequent similar mission of the Twelve.

Mk. x 32 *Ἦσαν δὲ ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ ἀναβαίνοντες εἰς Ἰεροσόλυμα, καὶ ἦν προάγων αὐτοὺς ὁ Ἰησοῦς, καὶ ἐθαμβοῦντο, οἱ δὲ ἀκολουθοῦντες ἐφοβοῦντο. καὶ παραλαβὼν πάλιν τοὺς δώδεκα ἤρξατο αὐτοῖς λέγειν τὰ μέλλοντα αὐτῷ συμβαίνειν.*

This was not, according to St Mark, the first occasion on which our Lord told His disciples of the fate which awaited Him. Cf. Mk. ix 12, 31.

Mk. xiii 3–5 Καὶ *καθημένου αὐτοῦ εἰς τὸ Ὄρος τῶν Ἐλαιῶν κατέναντι τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἐπηρώτα αὐτὸν κατ' ἰδίαν Πέτρος καὶ Ἰάκωβος καὶ Ἰωάνης καὶ Ἀνδρέας Εἰπὸν ἡμῖν πότε ταῦτα ἔσται, καὶ τί τὸ σημεῖον ὅταν μέλλῃ ταῦτα συντελεῖσθαι πάντα. ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς ἤρξατο λέγειν αὐτοῖς Βλέπετε μὴ τις ὑμᾶς πλανήσῃ . . .*

There follows the eschatological discourse. Here 'began to say' simply = 'said'. There is no hint later in the chapter that the discourse was interrupted or cut short.

It may be noted that in twelve out of these twenty-six instances with which we are concerned in Mark *ἄρχομαι* is used with a verb denoting 'saying':

λέγειν five times—x 28, x 32, xiii 5, xiv 19, xiv 69: *λαλεῖν* once—xii 1: *κηρύσσειν* twice—i 45, v 20: *διδάσκειν* four times—iv 1, vi 2, vi 34, viii 31.[2]

It may be further noticed that all the cases in Mark of the use of *ἄρχομαι* with the infinitive occur in the narrative and not in the recorded sayings.

(*b*) We turn next to St Matthew.

Of the twelve instances in which *ἄρχομαι* with the infinitive occurs in this gospel six seem to be taken over directly from St Mark.[3]

[1] B has *εἶπεν* here instead of *ἤρξατο πάλιν λέγειν.*

[2] Cf. also *παρακαλεῖν* v 17, *συνζητεῖν* viii 11, *ἐπιτιμᾷν* viii 32, *κράζειν* x 47, *ἀναθεματίζειν* xiv 71, *αἰτεῖσθαι* xv 8, *ἀσπάζεσθαι* xv 18.

[3] Mt. xii 1—Mk. ii 23, Mt. xvi 21—Mk. viii 31, Mt. xvi 22—Mk. viii 32, Mt. xxvi 22—Mk. xiv 19, Mt. xxvi 37—Mk. xiv 33, Mt. xxvi 74—Mk. xiv 71.

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Of the remaining twenty passages in Mark where ἄρχομαι with the infinitive is found, four have no parallel in Matthew, and four appear in Matthew in an entirely reconstructed form. This leaves twelve passages in which Matthew avoids the use of ἄρχομαι by Mark[1] as against the six above mentioned where it is retained.

The other six instances in which St Matthew uses ἄρχομαι with the infinitive are found, two of them in passages probably taken from Q,[2] and the remaining four of them in sentences peculiar to this gospel.[3]

In accordance with the system of classification adopted in the case of St Mark St Matthew's instances may be divided thus:

1. distinctly = 'begin'.
   iv 17, xiv 30, xviii 24, xxvi 22, xxvi 37. five cases.
2. doubtful.
   xi 7, xi 20, xii 1, xvi 21, xvi 22, xxiv 49, xxvi 74. seven cases.
3. more definitely quasi-auxiliary. none.

It may be noted again that in three of the cases with which we are concerned in Matthew ἄρχομαι is used with the infinitive of a verb denoting 'saying'[4]:

λέγειν twice—xi 7, xxvi 22: κηρύσσειν once—iv 27.[5]

And lastly it may be observed that only two of these twelve cases occur in recorded sayings.[6]

(*c*) I pass now to St Luke.

Of the twenty-seven examples of ἄρχομαι with the infinitive which occur in St Luke's Gospel only two have been taken over from St Mark.[7]

In a third instance there is a certain correspondence between Luke and Mark.[8] Of the remaining twenty-three of the total twenty-six passages where ἄρχομαι with the infinitive occurs in Mark, eight have no parallel in Luke, three appear in Luke in an entirely reconstructed form, and in twelve Mark's usage of ἄρχομαι is avoided by Luke.

The other twenty-four cases found in Luke occur, two of them, as already mentioned,[9] in passages from Q; and twenty-two of them in sentences peculiar to Luke.

[1] Among them the three passages in class (3) quoted above, Mk. vi 7, x 32, xiii 5.

[2] In the parallel passage in Luke the same construction is found; Mt. xi 7—Lk. vii 24, Mt. xxiv 49—Lk. xii 45.

[3] Mt. iv 17, xi 20, xiv 30, xviii 24.

[4] Cf. also ὀνειδίζειν (xi 20), ἐπιτιμᾶν (xvi 22), καταθεματίζειν (xxvi 74).

[5] Of these passages one is taken over from Mk. (xxvi 22), and one from Q (xi 7); the third is peculiar to Mt. (iv 27).

[6] xviii 24, xxiv 49.

[7] Lk. xix 45—Mk. xi 15, Lk. xx 9—Mk. xii 1.

[8] Lk. xxii 23 ἤρξαντο συνζητεῖν—Mk. xiv 19 ἤρξαντο λυπεῖσθαι καὶ λέγειν.

[9] In (*b*) above.

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In accordance with the system of classification adopted in the case of the other two gospels, St Luke's instances may be divided thus:

1. distinctly = 'begin'.
   v 21, vii 15, vii 38, vii 49, ix 12, xi 53, xii 45, xiv 30, xv 14, xv 24, xix 37, xxi 28, xxii 23. thirteen cases.
2. doubtful.
   iii 8, iv 21, vii 24, xi 29, xii 1, xiii 25, xiii 26, xiv 9,[1] xiv 18, xiv 29, xix 45, xx 9, xxiii 2, xxiii 30. fourteen cases.
3. more definitely quasi-auxiliary. none.

It may be noticed again that in ten of these twenty-seven instances in Luke ἄρχομαι is followed by a verb denoting 'saying'[2]:

λέγειν nine times—iii 8, iv 21, vii 24, vii 49, xi 29, xii 1, xiii 26, xx 9, xxiii 30: λαλεῖν once—vii 15.[3]

And lastly it may be worth while to observe that of the total number of cases (twenty-seven) in Luke, twelve are found in recorded sayings.[4]

(*d*) Acts remains to be examined.

Here ἄρχομαι[5] followed by an infinitive occurs six times.

Leaving i 1 aside for the moment, there is no reason in the other passages (ii 4, xi 15, xviii 26, xxiv 2, xxvii 35) to doubt a distinct sense of inception. Sometimes that sense is strong to the point of emphasis, e.g. xi 15 ἐν δὲ τῷ ἄρξασθαί με λαλεῖν ἐπέπεσεν τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἐπ' αὐτούς.

Once more we note that in two cases the verb in the infinitive is a verb denoting 'saying': λαλεῖν—ii 4, xi 15.[6]

The above survey has made it clear that there is in Mark a certain excessive use of ἄρχομαι with the infinitive and a tendency for this word to lose its distinctive meaning and to be reduced to a quasi-auxiliary verb. St Matthew and St Luke each in about a dozen instances avoid the use of ἄρχομαι which lay before them in Mark. On the other hand neither of them objects[7] to a more moderate but not altogether

[1] Here ἄρξῃ is omitted in D.

[2] Cf. also διαλογίζεσθαι v 21, παραιτεῖσθαι xiv 18, αἰνεῖν xix 37, κατηγορεῖν xxiii 2, συνζητεῖν xxii 23.

[3] Of these passages one is taken from Mark (Lk. xx 9—Mk. xii 1), one from Q (Lk vii 24—Mt. xi 7), and the rest are peculiar to Luke.

[4] iii 8 (a saying attributed to John the Baptist): xii 45 (from Q), xiii 25, xiii 26, xiv 9, xiv 18, xiv 29, xiv 30, xv 14, xv 24, xxi 28, xxiii 30 (all sayings of our Lord).

[5] Without being followed by an infinitive the verb occurs four times in its ordinary sense (i 22, viii 35, x 37, xi 4).

[6] Cf. also παρρησιάζεσθαι xviii 26: κατηγορεῖν xxiv 2.

[7] Note especially Mt. xi 20 which appears to be an editorial introduction to the sayings of our Lord which follow: also Lk. v 21, ix 12, xix 37, xxiii 2, where St Luke's source is Mark, and he introduces an ἄρχομαι which is not found in his source.

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dissimilar use of the word.[1] Here a distinction must be drawn between St Matthew and St Luke. In St Matthew's class (*b*) above, the 'doubtful' cases, hardly any of them are very doubtful: but in St Luke's class (*b*) a certain number are distinctly so. Of these it may be said that either they consist of ἄρχομαι followed by a verb of saying,[2] or they occur in some recorded speech.[3]

Thus, as far as the attitude of St Matthew and St Luke themselves is concerned, we gather that they regard the use of ἄρχομαι with a following infinitive as to some extent natural in the kind of writing they are dealing with: in compositions, that is to say, of an anecdotal, conversational sort, concerned with a series of incidents closely following upon one another. And indeed it must be admitted that, although ἄρχομαι could often be simply struck out and the passage in which it occurs would still bear the same meaning, yet its presence adds a certain movement and vividness to the narrative. It is only when the use of the word becomes excessive (as it does in Mark) that it is objectionable to writers who (like St Matthew and St Luke) possess a stronger sense of literary style. They therefore moderate its use but do not remove it altogether. In fact they treat it exactly as they treat St Mark's perpetual εὐθύς. This word occurs no less than forty-one times in Mark, a number which is reduced to eighteen in the case of St Matthew,[4] and seven in the case of St Luke.[5]

It would, therefore, appear that the extreme frequency with which ἄρχομαι with an infinitive is used by St Mark is to be attributed partly to the anecdotal character of the narrative he had to record, and partly to his well-known non-literary style.

Dalman, as we have already observed, suggests Aramaic influence.[6] He maintains that Palestinian-Jewish literature uses a meaningless 'he began': in Aramaic שָׁרִי (Pael of שְׁרָא 'to loosen'); in Hebrew הִתְחִיל (a denominative from תְּחִלָּה 'beginning').

But with regard to שָׁרִי Levy, Jastrow, and Payne Smith give little support to this view, and the only examples cited by Dalman himself prove indeed that שָׁרִי = 'begin', but 'begin' in the full ordinary sense of the word. They are as follows:—

[1] In W.H. Mark occupies 41 pages, and the number of cases of ἄρχομαι works out as about ·6 per page; Matthew occupies 68 pages, and the number of cases of ἄρχομαι works out as about ·2 per page; Luke occupies 72 pages, and the number of cases of ἄρχομαι works out as about ·4 per page; i. e. in this respect Matthew : Luke : Mark :: 1 : 2 : 3. Acts occupies 70 pages and the corresponding figure is only ·09 (i. e. the average per page is less than half that of Matthew).

[2] e. g. xi 29, xii 1.

[3] e. g. iii 8, xiii 25, xiii 26, xiv 9, xxiii 30.

[4] + παραχρῆμα twice.

[5] + παραχρῆμα ten times.

[6] *The Words of Jesus* (Eng. tr.) pp. 27 f.

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1. Jer. Ber. 2c, i. e. Jer. Ber. i 1:

שרי מלכא נפק אע"ג דלא נפק אמרין דנפק

'When the king begins to march out, even if he has not yet gone out, we say he has gone out'.[1]

Here 'begins' is emphatic and by no means 'meaningless'.

2. Jer. Ber. 14b, i. e. Jer. Ber. ix 7.

Rabbi Akiba was on the point of being executed before Turnus Rufus when the time arrived for reciting the Shema—

שרי קרי קרית שמע וגחך

'he began to recite the Shema and laughed aloud'.[2]

Here again שרי is not pleonastic.

3. Jer. Shebi 35b.

In Jer. Shebi col. 35b שרי occurs four times: twice (iv 2 and iv 4) in the sense 'permit'[3]; twice (iv 2) in the sense 'pardon': not once in the sense 'begin'.

It is evident that if Dalman's thesis is to be sustained we must look for further evidence with regard to the use of שרי in Aramaic literature.

But before we proceed to do this it may be well to examine the examples to which he refers in the case of התחיל. They are as follows:

1. Jer. Ber. 7d, i. e. Jer. Ber. iv 1.

This passage describes the famous occasion on which R. Gamaliel II in a dispute with R. Joshua ordered him to stand up while he himself remained sitting, expounding the matter,

עד שריננו כל העם ואמרו לר' חצפית התורגמן הפטר את העם אמרו לרבי זינון החזן אמור התחיל ואמר התחילו ועמדו כל העם על רגליהם ואמרו לו

'Until all the people murmured and spake to R. Ḥutspith, the turgaman, to close the assembly: they spake to R. Zenun, the ḥazan, to pronounce the assembly closed. He began and pronounced.[4] All the people began and stood and said to him[5] . . .'

Here התחיל may well be said to be pleonastic.

2. Jer. Ber. 12b, i. e. Jer. Ber. viii 6.

When on the night before the Sabbath the light did not cease to shine—

התחיל כל העולם כולו משורר שנאמר

'all the world began singing as it is said'. Then follows Job xxxvii 3.[6]

[1] For the context see Schwab *Berakhoth* p. 5.

[2] 'Old man, old man,' cried the governor, 'are you a sorcerer . . .' For the rest of the story see Schwab *Ber.* p. 172.

[3] As opposed to אסור.

[4] So literally.

[5] i. e. to R. Gamaliel. For the rest of the story see Schwab *Ber.* p. 79.

[6] For the context see Schwab *Ber.* p. 146.

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A little lower in the same column we find:

כיון שיצת שבת התחיל משמש החושך

'When the Sabbath was past the darkness began performing its function'.

Here התחיל seems to be used in the more ordinary sense = 'begin'.

3. Jer. Ber. 13b, i. e. Jer. Ber. ix 1.

The crew and passengers upon a certain ship were all Gentiles with the exception of one Jewish boy. A great storm arose

ועמד כל אחד ואחד מהן והתחיל נוטל יראתו בידו וקורא

'and all of them one by one stood up and began lifting up their idols in their hands and calling upon them'.[1]

Here again 'began' can hardly be considered to be merely pleonastic.[2]

4. Jer. Pes. 33a, i. e. Jer. Pes. vi 1.

An appeal had been made to Hillel, then a stranger from Babylon, upon a question connected with the celebration of the Passover. He brought forward several arguments, and his hearers encouraged him to continue—

התחיל דורש להן

'he began to expound to them'.[3]

A little later we read that the rabbis were so pleased with Hillel's discourse that they made him נשיא עליהן, 'prince over them'—

התחיל מקנטרן בדברים

'he began chiding them with words'.[4]

Here we have a close parallel to the frequent 'he began to say' of the Synoptic Gospels.

5. Koh. R. v 10.

A king had a vineyard which he entrusted to a tenant. He ordered his servants to gather the royal portion of the vintage and to leave the tenant's share untouched. The servants did as they were bidden—

והתחיל אותו האריס צווח ובוכה

'And the tenant began crying out and lamenting'.

And that king asked him what his grievance was.[5]

[1] But, of course, all in vain: for the rest of the story see Schwab *Ber.* p. 157.

[2] Cf. Hermas in his alarm: *Pastor* Vis. I i 3 *καὶ τιθῶ τὰ γόνατα καὶ ἠρξάμην προσεύχεσθαι τῷ κυρίῳ καὶ ἐξομολογεῖσθαί μου τὰς ἁμαρτίας*; similarly Vis. II i 2 *τιθῶ τὰ γόνατα καὶ ἠρξάμην προσεύχεσθαι τῷ κυρίῳ καὶ δοξάζειν αὐτοῦ τὸ ὄνομα . . .*

[3] For further details see Schwab *Pes.* p. 81.

[4] For paying so much attention to a mere stranger from Babylon. See Schwab *Pes.* p. 82.

[5] For the rest of the story see A. Wünsche *Der Midr. Kohelet* p. 77.

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Parallels to this, semi-pleonastic, sense of 'begin' are by no means confined to the Gospels.[1]

Thus, of Dalman's examples the first is the most striking, and the fourth illustrates the common use of ἄρχομαι with a verb denoting saying: and, taken all together, they seem to shew that the usage of התחיל in certain rabbinical writings is very similar to that of ἄρχομαι in the Synoptic Gospels. But התחיל is Hebrew and not Aramaic, and it is time to return to שרי. Hitherto the evidence we have examined has proved no more than that שרי = 'begin' in its ordinary unweakened sense. And this indeed seems to be its regular use in the Targums[2] where it is the usual rendering of הֵחֵל[3] which always = 'begin' in the proper sense of the word. Similarly שרי = 'begin' (in this sense) in the single passage in the Aramaic parts of the Old Testament where it occurs, viz. Ezr. v 2.

An example more to Dalman's purpose, however, is to be found in the fragments of a Testament of Levi.[4]

The passage in question reads as follows in the Greek: *καὶ τὸ πῦρ τότε ἄρξει ἐκκαίειν ἐν αὐτοῖς, τότε ἄρξει κατασπένδειν τὸ αἷμα ἐπὶ τὸν τοῖχον τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου. καὶ πάλιν νίψαι σου τὰς χεῖρας καὶ τοὺς πόδας ἀπὸ τοῦ αἵματος, καὶ ἄρξει τὰ μέλη ἀναφέρειν ἡλισμένα.*[5]

Here, although the corresponding Aramaic is missing for *ἄρξει ἐκκαίειν, ἄρξει κατασπένδειν* is represented in the Aramaic by תשרא למזרק, and *καὶ ἄρξει ἀναφέρειν* by ושרי להנסקה: and the sense of 'begin' in שרי and ἄρχομαι is probably weaker. It must be noticed also that the series of injunctions of which the two verses quoted above[6] form a part, occupy *vv.* 19–47 of the fragment, and in the above three instances alone is this usage found.

Again, Dalman himself refers to the abnormal frequency with which ἄρχομαι with the infinitive appears to occur in Enoch lxxxv–xc.

Here, unfortunately, only a few verses are extant in Greek (lxxxix 42–49), and the Aramaic[7] original has entirely disappeared. In these

[1] e. g. Hermas *Pastor* Vis. IV i 7 *καὶ ἠρξάμην κλαίειν καὶ ἐρωτᾶν τὸν κύριον*: *Ev. Petr.* vii 25 *ἤρξαντο κύπτεσθαι καὶ λέγειν.*

[2] e. g. Gen. vi 1, Dt. ii 31, xvi 9, Jer. xxv 29. Jer. iv 31 is a little peculiar כאיתא דמשריא למילד בכור, lit. 'as a woman who begins to bear a first-born'.

[3] Just as ἄρχομαι is in the LXX. הוֹאִיל (be pleased, shew willingness) also is often represented in the Targums by שרי and in the LXX by ἄρχομαι, e.g. Gen. xviii 27, Dt. i 5, Judg. i 27, 35.

[4] Printed by R. H. Charles on pp. 245 ff of his edition of the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs.

[5] Charles *op. cit.* pp. 249, 250.

[6] *vv.* 25 and 26 in Charles's ed.

[7] The original was probably Aramaic rather than Hebrew. So Burkitt *Jewish and Christian Apocalypses* p. 27. Cf. Charles *The Book of Enoch* xi, lxix.

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eight verses ἄρχομαι with an infinitive appears three times,[1] and in Dr Charles's translation of the Ethiopic of the remaining chapters 'begin' (no doubt representing ἄρχομαι) with an infinitive occurs twenty-seven times more. In some cases, e. g. lxxxix 73,[2] the sense of inception is very weak.

Thus, in about 142 verses we find this usage thirty times. But this extreme frequency[3] may be due very largely to the peculiar character of the incidents narrated. They are incidents which appear in a vision, and they pass and dissolve with dream-like rapidity.

Here, again, it is important to remember that we are dealing with compositions that are popular rather than literary.

It is clear that in such compositions, both in Hebrew and Aramaic, 'begin' is sometimes used loosely in a somewhat pleonastic way, just as it is used in St Mark's Gospel, and perhaps occasionally in the speeches of our Lord recorded by St Luke.

We have other evidence for the fact that our Lord and St Mark were familiar with Aramaic, and the usage we are studying is thus consistent with this fact.

It is not in itself strong evidence because a similar weakening of the use of 'begin' is not foreign to several other languages,[4] Greek, for instance, and Latin and English.[5]

We must now proceed to examine some illustrations of this use of ἄρχομαι in Greek literature outside the New Testament. We shall not expect to find such extreme examples as we have found in St Mark unless we can find other literature of the same popular non-literary kind. It is only writers of this class who would not insist upon keeping such colloquial usage within strict and narrow bounds.

If in more literary authors we can find parallels to the more moderate use of ἄρχομαι which we have observed in the case of St Matthew and St Luke, we shall not be justified in regarding this use as any proof of Aramaic influence upon these writers.

It will, perhaps, be sufficient to quote the following examples, most of them from Xenophon.

1. Cyropaedia i 1, 5.

ἀνηρτήσατο δὲ τοσαῦτα φῦλα ὅσα καὶ διελθεῖν ἔργον ἐστίν, ὅποι ἄν τις

[1] *vv.* 42, 43, 44.

[2] 'And they began again to place a table before the tower, but all the bread on it was polluted and not pure.'

[3] Cf. the twenty-six instances in Mark which consists of 666 verses (apart from xvi 9–20).

[4] For Greek and Latin see below. In English note especially the Middle English 'gan', and with a phrase like μὴ ἄρξησθε λέγειν ἐν ἑαυτοῖς (Lk. iii 8), cf. our 'don't start grumbling'.

[5] I am told that there is a similar usage in Hindustani (lăgna, begin).

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ἄρξηται πορεύεσθαι ἀπὸ τῶν βασιλείων, ἤν τε πρὸς ἕω ἤν τε πρὸς ἑσπέραν ἤν τε πρὸς ἄρκτον ἤν τε πρὸς μεσημβρίαν.

Here Hutchinson, in his edition of the *Cyropaedia*,[1] makes the following comment: '*πλεονάζειν* hic videtur *ἄρξηται* ut saepe in libris Evangelicis'.[2]

2. Anabasis vi 1, 22.

ὅτε ἤρχετο ἐπὶ τὸ συνεπιμελεῖσθαι τῆς στρατιᾶς καθίστασθαι.

3. Anabasis vii 6, 15.

ἐπεί γε μὴν ψεύδεσθαι ἤρξατο Σεύθης περὶ τοῦ μισθοῦ, εἰ μὲν ἐπαινῶ αὐτόν, δικαίως ἄν με καὶ αἰτιῷσθε καὶ μισοῖτε.

4. Hellenica iii 4, 8.

ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ ἤρξατο προσάγειν τινὰς τῷ Ἀγησιλάῳ ὁ Λύσανδρος.

5. Memorabilia iii 5, 22.

ἀλλ' οἶμαί σε οὐδὲν ἧττον ἔχειν εἰπεῖν ὁπότε στρατηγεῖν ἢ ὁπότε παλαίειν ἤρξω μανθάνειν.

Of the use of *ἄρχομαι* in these passages the compiler of the Lexicon Xenophonteum[3] remarks: 'habet redundantiae quid non sine elegantia.' Further, Xenophon often has *ἄρχομαι* followed by *λέγειν*, e.g.

Anabasis iii 1, 34 ἤρχετο λέγειν ὧδε; Anabasis v 6, 28 ἐθυόμην περὶ αὐτοῦ τούτου, εἰ ἄμεινον εἴη ἄρχεσθαι λέγειν εἰς ὑμᾶς καὶ πράττειν.[4]

Sometimes *λέγειν* is omitted, and we have, e.g.

ἐκ τούτου ἄρχεται πάλιν (Anabasis v 7, 13); ἵνα ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἄρξωμαι (Polity of the Lacedemonians i 3); ἀφ' ὥνπερ ἤρξω (Econ. xi 11).[5]

We notice especially the formula ἤρξατο ὧδε, e.g.

Cyropaedia i 4, 13 ἤρξατο οὖν ὧδε; v 2, 25 ἐνταῦθα δὴ ἤρξατο ὧδε; and ὧδε πως ἤρχετο, Hellenica vii 3, 7.

We find, moreover, a rather similar use of *ἄρχομαι* with *λόγου τοιοῦδε*, e.g. Cyropaedia i 6, 2; ii 41, 9; iii 2, 28; iii 3, 13; vi 2, 24; viii 7, 5: where the reference is not so much to the beginning of a speech as to the whole speech which follows.

It may be worth while to mention the two following passages in Aristophanes, where the sense 'begin' in *ἄρχομαι* is at any rate very weak:

[1] T. Hutchinson (7th ed., 1773, p. 4).

[2] And then he refers to Mk. ii 23, vi 7.

[3] Lipsiae, 1801. He also refers to Cyropaedia viii 1, 2, Anabasis ii 6, 14, Hellenica vi 4, 13; but in these instances *ἄρχομαι* seems to retain much of its force.

[4] Cf. Euripides, Medea, 475

ἐκ τῶν δε πρώτων πρῶτον ἄρξομαι λέγειν.

cf. also Hermes, Pastor Vis. iv 1, 4 καὶ ἠρξάμην λέγειν ἐν ἑαυτῷ.

[5] Cf. Aristophanes, Pax 1270

νῦν αὖθ' ὁπλοτέρων ἀνδρῶν ἀρχώμεθα

with this use of *ἄρχομαι* with no verb following, cf. Lk iii 23 αὐτὸς ἦν Ἰησοῦς ἀρχόμενος ὡσεὶ ἐτῶν τριάκοντα.

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Ranae 221 : ἐγὼ δέ γ' ἀλγεῖν ἄρχομαι
τὸν ὄρρον, ὦ κοὰξ κοάξ.

Thesmophoriazusae 67 : καὶ γὰρ μελοποιεῖν ἄρχεται.[1]

The above parallels are, I think, quite sufficient to shew that the usage of ἄρχομαι with an infinitive, as we have found it in Matthew and Luke, is no indication that either St Matthew or St Luke was acquainted with Aramaic. Nor does it necessarily suggest that any of the documents used by St Matthew or St Luke were originally written in that language.

In St Luke's case it is striking to note how when he is engaged, as he is in the Acts, upon a history rather than a biography, a history spread over a considerable number of years when the sequence of events is not so close, and when he has fewer sources to deal with and feels himself freer to compare a more formal narrative, the use of ἄρχομαι with the infinitive becomes far less frequent.[2] It may be observed that here St Luke still occasionally uses the participle ἄρξαμενος[3] in a quasi-adverbial position as he did before.[4]

Torrey claims this also as an Aramaic idiom.[5] But it is found in Xenophon[6] and in non-Jewish papyri[7]: so that, although there is a corresponding idiom in Aramaic, this use of ἄρξομενος in the Acts does not shew that St Luke is using an Aramaic document,[8] or even a document translated from the Aramaic.

I have postponed till last the consideration of the difficult sentence in Acts i 1 :

τὸν μὲν πρῶτον λόγον ἐποιησάμην περὶ πάντων, ὦ Θεοφιλε, ὧν ἤρξατο Ἰησοῦς ποιεῖν τε καὶ διδάσκειν ἄχρι ἧς ἡμέρας ἐντειλάμενος τοῖς ἀποστόλοις διὰ πνεύματος ἁγίου οὓς ἐξελέξατο ἀνελήμφθη.

[1] It is interesting to find in Latin a similar tendency to use *coepi* in a weak sense, e.g. Livy xxxii 34 'indignari inde coepit'; xxxiv 21 'et purgare se ac popularis coepit'. Cf. Quintilian Book VIII vi 21, where the historic infinitive is explained as involving the omission of some word like *coeperunt*: the passage referred to in illustration being Aen. xi 142, 'Arcades ad portas ruere'. Similarly Book IX iii 58, where Quintilian quotes *stupere gaudio Graecus* with the comment 'simul enim auditur *coepit*'.

[2] As we have already seen, this construction is found only six times in the seventy pages of which the Acts consists (in W. H.).

[3] i 22, x 37 (as also Mt. xx 8). [4] xxiii 5, xxiv 47.

[5] *The Aramaic source in Acts* p. 25.

[6] Hellenica vii 1, 32 τοὺς μέντοι ἐν Σπάρτῃ ἔφασαν ἀκούσαντες ἀρξαμένους ἀπὸ Ἀγησιλάου καὶ τῶν γερόντων καὶ τῶν ἐφόρων πάντας κλαίειν: Memorabilia ii 1, 1 βούλει σκοπῶμεν, ἀρξάμενοι ἀπὸ τῆς τροφῆς ὥσπερ ἀπὸ τῶν στοιχείων: Hipparch iii 2 τὰς μὲν οὖν πομπὰς οἶομαι ἄν καὶ τοῖς θεοῖς κεχαρισμενωτάτας καὶ τοῖς θεαταῖς εἶναι εἰ ὅσων ἱερὰ καὶ ἀγάλματα ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ ἐστι ταῦτα ἀρξάμενοι ἀπὸ τῶν Ἑρμῶν κύκλῳ περὶ τὴν ἀγορὰν καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ περιελαύνοιεν τιμῶντες τοὺς θεούς. Cf. also Plutarch *Moralia* 693 c ἐπεὶ πάντ' ἂν εἴποις ταῦτα περιεργίαν, ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ τοῦ οἴκου.

[7] Moulton and Milligan, Vocabulary part 1 p. 82.

[8] 'An immediate use by Luke of Semitic sources must be pronounced highly improbable.'—Dalman *Words of Jesus* p. 41.

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On various grounds it is probable that the introductory sentence to St Luke's second volume is not now in the form in which he intended to leave it.[1] Perhaps the easiest hypothesis is that in its present form it is a rough draft which St Luke intended to revise, but for some reason or other never did so.

It may be that a phrase from the LXX was in his mind, Gen. ii 3 : ἐν αὐτῇ κατέπαυσεν ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν ἔργων αὐτοῦ ὧν ἤρξατο ὁ θεὸς ποιῆσαι. So the words run in A, but E omits ἔργων and bw Chr. read ποιεῖν.[2] It is a strange phrase[3] which may have lingered in the memory of one who was so familiar with the LXX as we know St Luke to have been.

ἤρξατο looks forward to ἄχρι ἧς ἡμέρας . . . ἀνελήμφθη and indicates comprehensiveness. We are reminded of St Luke's insistence, in the preface to his Gospel, upon the fact that his researches had gone back to the very first—Lk. i 2 ἀπ' ἀρχῆς, and again, i 3 ἄνωθεν. With the form of the sentence we may compare Lk. xxiv 27 : καὶ ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ Μωυσέως καὶ ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν προφητῶν διερμήνευσεν αὐτοῖς ἐν πάσαις ταῖς γραφαῖς τὰ περὶ ἑαυτοῦ, i.e. he interpreted Moses and all the prophets and all the rest of the Scriptures beginning from the beginning. So here St Luke means to say that his former treatise gave an account of what Jesus did and taught, beginning from the beginning and omitting no essential particular right up to the Ascension.[4]

J. W. HUNKIN.

ON HEATHEN DEITIES IN THE *DOCTRINE OF ADDAI*.

IT is stated in the *Doctrine of Addai* (ed. Phillips, p. 24 l. 17) that the deity ܒܬ ܢܓܠ was worshipped at Harran.

That ܢܓܠ is the Syriac equivalent of NIN-GAL, the consort of *Sin*, whose temple at Harran was restored by Nabonidus, so as once more to become a residence for this god and his circle (Langdon *Die neubabylonischen Königsinschriften* pp. 219 ff), has already been recognized (Cooke *North-Semitic Inscriptions* p. 188); but exactly which deity is denoted by ܒܬ ܢܓܠ '*Daughter* of NIN-GAL' has not been suggested.

Now, *Ishtar* is frequently referred to as the daughter of *Sin*, from which her filial relationship to NIN-GAL may be inferred. But it is well to notice that, in the opening lines of a prayer addressed to *Ishtar*,

[1] See E. Meyer *Ursprung und Anfänge des Christentums* i pp. 34 ff and Norden *Agnostos Theos* pp. 311 f.

[2] Which reading is also supported by Philo-ed. ½.

[3] אשר־ברא אלהים לעשות: is the Hebrew.

[4] So Loisy translates 'sur tout ce que Jésus a fait et enseigné depuis le commencement jusqu'au jour où . . . il fut ravi'. Commentary pp. 135–140.

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this goddess actually is called the child of NIN-GAL: *bu-uk-*[*rat*](*ilu*) *Sin i-lit-ti* (*ilu*)NIN-[GAL] 'the first-born of *Sin*, the child of NIN-GAL' (King *Babylonian Magic and Sorcery* no. 1 l. 31).

It would, therefore, seem not unreasonable to conclude that ܟܘܟܒܐ ܫܒܐ is an appellation of *Ishtar*. Confirmation of this is perhaps afforded by the passage that immediately follows (Phillips *op. cit.* p. 24 ll. 20–21): ܠܐ ܬܐܬܚܕܘ ܒܢܘܗܪܐ ܕܣܗܪܐ ܘܟܘܟܒܐ ܢܝܗܪܐ. 'Be ye not led away captive by the rays of the luminaries and *the bright star*', which contains an obvious allusion to the worship of Venus, with which planet *Ishtar* is identified. Her symbol, an eight-rayed or sixteen-rayed star, is found always in conjunction with the crescent of the moon-god *Sin* and the solar disc and rays of light that symbolize the sun-god *Shamash*.

C. WINCKWORTH.

APPENDIX TO MR C. WINCKWORTH'S NOTE.

I take the opportunity of Mr Winckworth's note on Bath Nical or Niggal to remark that the list of heathen deities in the *Doctrine of Addai*, p. 24, seems to be connected with the names of the five Temples of continuous heathen worship mentioned in the Talmud (b. *Aboda Zara* 11b), *viz.* Bel, Nebo, Tar'atha, Serapis at Ascalon, and the Eagle (נשרא) in Arabia. The Eagle of the Arabians is also mentioned in *Addai*, but nothing is said of this temple or worship in ancient times.

It is therefore reasonable to suppose that ܢܥܐ and נשרא are in both passages miswritings of ܕܣܥܐ and דושרא, i. e. the great Arabian God Dusares, whose shrine was at Petra (Epiph. li 22: *Oehler* ii 633). The conjecture that 'the Eagle' was a miswriting of *Dūsharā* was first made by Landauer in 1886, but was rejected by Nöldeke (*ZDMG* xl 186), on the ground that 'Eagle' also occurs in the passage from *Aboda Zara*. Possibly both passages have a common origin in some list of the most famous temples of the Orient, and the change from דושרא to נשרא may have been made in this list.

However this may be, it is difficult to believe that any Temple in 'Arabia', i. e. Nabataea, can have been so famous as that of Dusares, as long as his worship lasted. The obscure references to a Temple of an Eagle in Arabia belong to S. Arabia, to the Himyaritic country, which one would suppose was beyond the ken of Mesopotamian Christians or Babylonian Jews. In any case, to read *Dūsharā* seems to me a better emendation than to identify the Eagle with נשך, as Dr G. A. Cooke does in the passage cited by Mr Winckworth, as *Nusku* is never associated with the 'Arabians' while Dūsharā (Dusares) is associated with them.

F. C. BURKITT.

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CLEMENT OF ROME Ep. I 44.

μεταξὺ ἐπινομὴν δεδώκασιν.

HEMMER's critical note here runs '*ἐπινομήν* A L (*legem*), *ἐπιδομήν* H, *ἐπὶ δοκιμήν* ou *ἐπὶ δοκιμῇ* S. K traduit: "ils donnèrent à ceux qu après eux" (le sens paraît n'avoir pas été compris)'.

Schmidt, the editor of the Coptic version (K), similarly says (*ad loc.*): 'K hat scheinbar den Ausdruck nicht verstanden'.

I would suggest tentatively that the Coptic translator had *ἐπιγινομένοις* in his MS of the Greek text. This would easily enough arise from *ἐπινομήν*—*γι* through quasi-dittography, the rest through consequent emendation.

If this suggestion is correct, it means that K agrees with the rest of the tradition in supporting *ἐπινομήν* against the conjecture of Turner (*ob.* 1651) and Lightfoot, *ἐπιμονήν*.

W. L. LORIMER.

A FIND IN A MUNICIPAL LIBRARY.

MR C. STOTT, the Librarian of the Municipal Library at Rochdale, discovered some time ago a page of MS in the binding of one of the early printed books belonging to the library in his care. This he submitted to us with a view to ascertaining the character of the MS, and (if possible) the source of the writing.

According to the records at Rochdale the book was purchased in Cologne by the late Col. H. Fishwick in 1872. This volume, in the binding of which the leaf is pasted—no attempt has been made so far to remove it—is the edition of the Bible, issued from the press of Peter Quentel at Cologne in 1572 (the very press at which Tyndale in 1525 tried first to produce an edition of the New Testament). It is adorned with woodcuts of excellent craftsmanship and delicacy, engraved by Anton Woensam von Worms, whose monogram adorns many of the plates; the editor was Iohannes Rudelius, afterwards Syndic of Lübeck. The book has the usual strong wood backs, bound with tooled leather of fine and detailed design; it was on the inside of the end board that the leaf of manuscript (vellum) was discovered. The various books of the Scriptures are more readily found by the addition of vellum tags, which have been securely fastened to the page and then knotted so as to form a convenient handle for the immediate lifting of the page. These tags too were made from strips of vellum obtained from old MS.

The writing is in two columns in what we judge to be a North-German or Flemish hand, say *c.* 1450, hastily done and full of contractions. The source we have not been able to discover; indeed, the

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writing may prove to be nothing more than a mere school exercise. Its oft repeated burden is that truth (like honesty) is the 'best policy'. In the hope, however, that some reader of this JOURNAL, more familiar with late Latin, may perhaps recognize the source, we have transcribed for publication here a few short extracts :—

(*recto*) col. i, 14–16 semper ergo in isto, cum ueritas | est praeferenda, a quo semper est | praeferenda?

27–28 Veritas praeponitur omnibus rebus | quia super omnia uincit ueritas.

31–34 Item ueritas a spiritu sancto est; | ergo eo quo sanctificatur, propter eius ueram (?) | ueritate(m), quae a spiritu sancto est, ergo (*sic*) | ueritas praeferenda est.

col. ii, 22–25 Ad | id quod ueritas praeferenda | est, quia Christus dixit 'ego sum ue|ritas' etc.

And so on, *ad nauseam*. But if 'original' after all, and not an extract from some work still extant, it may be worth printing in full if only as an illustration of the theological exercises of the time.

J. PRIESTNALL.
J. WHATMOUGH.

Σαίνεσθαι 1 THESS. iii 3.

THE following note is a transcript of a marginal note in Dr Hort's handwriting in his copy of Wetstein, which came into my possession through the kindness of Mrs Hort.

σιαίνω. Schol. in Luc. Dial. Mort. x 9 where Solanus refers to 'Schol. ad Tim. p. 78'. Hemst. quotes 'Cyrilli Gloss.; σιαίνομαι *tedo*, σιαντία *fastidia*, σιαντός *taeter*, and refers to two quotations in Ducange, which are (p. 1863) "Niceph. Presb. in Vita MS S. Andr. Sali: καὶ σιανθεὶς οὖν ἐν τῷ πικρῷ ἔφη: Jo. Moschus in Limon. cap. 205 ἀκούσας δὲ ταῦτα παρ' αὐτοῦ καὶ ἄλλα τοίαντα σιανθεὶς καὶ ἐλθὼν εἰς ἑαυτὸν ἐδάκρυσεν". See also Rost and Palm. for σιγχαίνω, σιγχός, &c.: and add Aq. Num. xxi 5 [קָצָה *Fastidit.* Ο. προσώχθισεν, Α. σικχαίνει (*s.* ἐσίγχανεν), Σ. ἐνεκάκησεν. Field Hex.]

This note seems to suggest that Dr Hort would have liked to emend to σιαίνεσθαι. Dr Milligan in his edition of the Epistle notes *ad loc.* 'FG σιένεσθαι, i. e. σιαίνεσθαι' and gives references for the word.

R. ST JOHN PARRY.

A CORRECTION OF *J. T. S.* VOL. XXV, P. 302.

Note on l. 127. For '"who takest care of (thy) possessions", i. e. "art thrifty"' *read* '"take care of thy possessions", i. e. "be thrifty." There are, however, two difficulties in this translation: (i) the form הִכצַר is Haph'el, while only the Qal of *kaṣâru* occurs, and (ii) it is uncertain whether *kaṣâru* or *qaṣâru* is the correct form of the Assyrian verb.

G. R. D.

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REVIEWS

Religion, Philosophy, and History, by THOMAS B. STRONG, Bishop of Ripon. (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1923.)

'IN these lectures', the author says, 'I have endeavoured to put forward the view that the element in man's effort to interpret the world which expresses itself later as religion is a primary and necessary element in his reaction to his environment; or at least that it has the same kind of claim to validity that is allowed to those elements which express themselves later as philosophy, art, and ethics.' Philosophy, I take it, is in this context, intended to include science, and so to be equivalent to the whole output of the discursive reason. This discursive reason, it is argued, has assumed an unduly predominant part in man's interpretation of the world; so that it has come to be looked upon, mistakenly, as affording the test, measure, or criterion of all truth. A juster balance would be secured if religion, and in particular, the Christian religion, were admitted to the rank of a complement if not of a *primus inter pares*. Such, if I understand aright, is the gist of the main thesis of this volume.

It is seldom that a writer on philosophical theology has disentangled so successfully from innumerable side-issues and subsidiary details, this fundamental theological question; and I think there are few who have handled it with more sympathy and less rhetoric. I will pass over the author's account of the history of the gradual differentiation of science, art, and religion, in order to reserve space for consideration of the important contention to which that is preparatory.

I am wholly in agreement with the Bishop of Ripon as to all human thought, philosophy, or science, being, in the first instance, a 'reading into' the world by the human mind, rather than a 'reading off' ot passively received data. We are only now learning how essentially and inevitably 'anthropomorphic' we are; though that is not perhaps the happiest term to designate the truth that the fundamental categories of all our thinking are subjectively derived, and that 'understanding', in the last resort, means assimilating to self. The element of truth in the ancient dicta that like only knows like, and that man is the measure of all things, has of late years passed, I believe, from an anticipatory guess into a scientifically established fact, vouched for by psychologists, philosophers, and inductive logicians alike. However, there are the further questions to be faced: Does 'reading into' end in 'reading off'? Does invention merge into discovery? Does the tentative clue lead to know-

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edge of the fact? Is the anthropomorphic nature and origin of our thought irrelevant after all? And if thought thus comes to *know*, have we the same right to believe it to do so in the sphere of religion as in the sphere of science? What tests can we apply with a view to ascertaining?

At this point my path diverges from that of Dr Strong's thought: though only to rejoin it at a point further on than, in these lectures, he has pursued his own. He objects, as I have already represented, to science or discursive reason usurping exclusive right to be the testing-stone; it has received exaggerated predominance in this connexion. This view I must traverse. Reason *is* the sole test of truth, though not the sole source of clues and inventions. I think any common-sense person would subscribe to that declaration, provided 'reason' be left conveniently undefined, and would also accord to science much more of 'rationality' than to religion or theology, which no one takes to be an 'exact science'. But when 'reason' is scrutinized, it is found to include much more than apprehension of self-evident axioms or than comparison of ideas such as may be attended with logical certainty; it reveals elements of faith or hope unverified and unverifiable at the foundation of all scientific knowledge such as transcends the phenomenal up to date. Thus, at a further point, not reached by Dr Strong's thought as presented in his lectures, I rejoin him. If 'reading off' ever is attained by 'reading in', we never can have absolute, i.e. logically demonstrable, knowledge of the coincidence being fact. If religious thought be more akin to art than to logic, it is now open to theology to reply with a *tu quoque* to science, which, in any aspect thereof that is relevant to its relation to religion, is but a substantiation of things (irrationally, in the logical sense) hoped for and unseen, and rests on belief.

Unfortunately the question does not end here. I think that in the book before us it is conclusively shewn that science and philosophy cannot invalidate the religious interpretation. That, of course, is not a new discovery.

It is a further task to shew that the religious interpretation can be validated in the same degree—that is, without further presuppositions—as can the scientific. Now there is one fundamental respect in which science and religion are for ever different. Both alike employ human artifacts; but science is in contact with 'reality' in its primary and fundamental sense, viz. that which, in sense-perception, is willy-nilly given; what is not ourselves or of our creating, but over-against us, and so as real, or as much 'there', as are we. This enables 'verification' and prescribes a limit to the flight of subjectivity. Moreover, many of the ideas with which science works are (unlike cause, substance, &c.,

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which are anthropic inventions) derived from, and so are valid of, percepts. To this extent—and it is surely a very large extent—science is founded on and keeps in touch with real or existent data. But where are we to find data, of the same self-evidencing reality, for religious thought to operate upon? If no man hath seen God at any time, are not the data from which alone His existence can be problematically inferred, those which supply the world of science? And as sensory verification is out of the question in religion, it seems that the verifiability of a scientific induction (once its underlying faith is recognized) is of a very different order from that of anything, in the sphere of religion, on which we would bestow the same name. For these reasons I would submit that the religious interpretation of the world cannot be credited with the same intellectual cogency as the scientific—by which, of course, I do not mean the mythologically mechanistic.

In order to secure equal cogency, the prevalent method of late has been to set out from 'religious experience'. Bishop Strong is more logically stringent, though I fear I must believe he is destined to be no more successful, in setting out from historical, particular facts; and at this stage his argument, so far as strong as it is modest, seems to me to become weaker. For instance (pp. 58–59), St Paul's vision is appealed to as a case of real contact with God; and it is represented that such spiritual fact is not to be found wanting because it is not amenable to the same tests as the experiences which give access to material reality. To St Paul, doubtless, the one sort of fact was as real as the other; and there is certainly no *a priori* reason for asserting that God cannot reveal Himself through a vision. But to us, with our sciences of psychology and psycho-physics, there is every reason to distinguish between the two kinds of fact; and I am afraid there is as little *reason* for believing as for disbelieving that God did actually so reveal Himself. Similarly the experiences on which inspiration and mystical apprehension have been based, are now patient of an explanation that does not indeed disprove their divine causation, but does modify their evidential value of such unmediated causation. There is an explanation of the historical forthcoming when we invoke Christian theistic faith; but that such faith can be proved from particular facts, either of science or of history, seems to me an untenable plea.

Religion and Natural Law (The Hulsean Lectures for 1922–1923), by C. F. RUSSELL, M.A. (Basil Blackwell, Oxford, 1923.)

MR RUSSELL states in his preface that in delivering his Hulsean Lectures he had no intention of making a particular contribution to theological scholarship, or of speaking as an expert to experts; but

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rather was addressing the wider circle of young men and women who may find difficulty in various doctrines or popular teachings associated with the name of Christianity. It would, therefore, be beside the mark for a reviewer to emphasize the fact that the contents of the Lectures would appear a little trite to the theologically learned. It is more to the point to commend the sensible way in which the Lecturer has dealt with many popular theological misconceptions, and to recommend his book to the notice of those who, in discharging the pastoral office, would wish for guidance as to how to deal with the perplexities which many Christian people are experiencing to-day when they think about such topics as providence, atonement, forgiveness, and punishment. As to the theology of the Lectures, it will not be necessary here to enter into discussion. One may just observe that the only use to which Mr Russell is able to put the doctrine of the Trinity is to provide explicitness as to God's unity and solity: as really meaning anything but what a rigidly Unitarian theist could subscribe to, it seems therefore, to him as to many others, but to serve the purpose of scaring thoughtful and conscientious people from Christianity. Perhaps we shall soon have a Hulsean Lecturer urging its dismissal from Christian literature.

Evolution, Knowledge, and Revelation (The Hulsean Lectures for 1923–1924), by S. A. McDowall, B.D. (Cambridge University Press, 1924.)

A synopsis prefacing these Lectures presents a summary of the stages of their argument. This reduces the risk of misrepresenting these stages when a reveiwer endeavours to exhibit them.

Part of the opening Lecture is devoted to enquiry into the Biblical conception of the meaning of knowledge. As we are not presented in the Old or the New Testament with an epistemology, what is found and expounded by Mr McDowall would have been better designated a conception as to what, knowledge of God being assumed, the 'fear of the Lord', or practical religious 'wisdom', consists in. This is something much narrower than knowledge in general. One may demur, to touch again on a detail, to the assertion that ἐπίγνωσις (as used by St Paul) denotes 'immediate' knowledge. In its common (and mischievous) usage, 'immediate' often denotes mediate knowledge, the mediatedness of which we happen to be unaware of; and that perhaps is all that the word means here. However, St Paul teaches in 1 Cor. xiii that even the Christian can only enjoy knowledge of God—whom no man hath seen—such as is 'by means of a mirror', i.e. through the intervention of something other than God. There is doubtless mediate knowledge

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that is not knowledge unto salvation; there can hardly be knowledge unto salvation that is not mediate. And if it be true, as I take it to be, that in the eighteenth century it was established for ever that revealed religion *logically* presupposes natural religion, Christian ἐπίγνωσις must *logically* rest on φιλοσοφία, instead of being, as the lecturer represents, in antithetic relation to it. He that would come to God, even through Christ, must first have ground for belief that God is, and is good, and so forth.

To proceed, however, to the constructive argument of this work: the first thesis to be established is that knowledge of reality is mediated by, or is identical with, love. These indeed are mutually exclusive predicates; but in endeavouring to shew that knowledge is a matter of life, not of logic (philosophy), Mr McDowall seems to treat them as equivalent, and to blur their difference by observing that they are two stages in one process. The knowledge that is to be identified with love, is knowledge of *reality*. For profitable discussion, then, it is necessary to make clear at the outset which of the various connotations of that dangerously ambiguous word is to be adopted; and for logical reasoning it is essential to abide by it alone. The writer, however, gives no indication as to what he would mean by 'reality'; and at different stages of his argument he uses the word in senses that are incompatible. Thus when he maintains that abstract or conceptual science takes us away from reality (a half truth, I would contend), 'reality' cannot denote anything but the perceptual world, the impressional, or what is 'in the senses' with the minimum of contribution from 'the mind itself'. This indeed is the primary meaning of 'reality', and the only one that does not foreclose problems and involve assumptions. But it is only of use to the writer for indicating the dangers of conceptual thought and so of abstract science; it is of no use in connexion with the thesis which Mr McDowall is ultimately to maintain; for love does not mediate, and is not identifiable with, perception of a physical object. However, when departing from universal usage, he teaches that the conceptual is 'appearance'—there is sense in calling it a 'symbol', but surely none in calling it 'appearance', because it does not 'appear' to any one—he necessarily implies that 'real' now denotes the ontal or noumenal; that of which the conceptual is appearance, the *thing per se*, in the sense in which philosophy has used that phrase, though not in the sense of the unrelated, which (p. 89) Mr McDowall has mistaken it to mean. In his final thesis, 'the real' denotes only God and human persons; a conclusion which rules out from reality most of the very entities on which the word was at first bestowed. Yet again, in other passages, it is insinuated that rest and satisfaction on our part are criteria of our having arrived at cognitive touch with reality; as if in these contexts

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reality were a hybrid between the existent and the valuable. One suspects that a confused or composite notion of this sort is often at the back of the writer's mind when he is speaking of reality. But, however that may be, his argument is developed by shifting from meaning to meaning of 'reality'; and this is rather verbal legerdemain than logic.

Further, although the author does not seem to care what he means by 'reality' so long as the "blessed word" can be retained, he observes (Preface, p. viii) that reality contains, as an essential factor, relation. He is glad to find that this truth has recently been propounded by Gentile. But if what is meant, as should be meant, is that between actual terms there subsist relations, this is of course but a commonplace of logic and philosophy. From such an indisputable presupposition it is necessary to the argument to pass to the supposed equivalent: 'real terms are persons; real relations are relation*ships*'; or, in the writer's own words (p. xii) 'ultimate reality is God and man in relation'. How is this reduction, or identification, effected? In the second Lecture the task is undertaken. Rational or scientific knowledge of things, it is emphasized, is one-sided or non-reciprocal: we know things, things do not know us. On the strength of this non-reciprocity, partly, the claim of what commonly passes for knowledge to be knowledge is disparaged. It is curious, in the light of this disparagement, that the author evinces care that his results should be compatible or in line with the teachings of biology; for that science, on his shewing, should belong to the sphere of pseudo-knowledge. But, meanwhile, there is another kind of knowledge, viz. the reciprocal knowledge of person by person. It seems to be overlooked that before we can love a person we must have 'rational' knowledge of him, his body, words, and gestures; knowledge which love is to supersede. The theory seems to achieve completion, then, by demolishing its own presuppositions. If it be maintained that we know persons by an immediate apprehension of their mental states, which seems here the only way of escaping self-contradiction, we would desire proof of so very dubious and unfounded an assertion. But, overlooking this rift, I would pass on to the next stage of the argument. 'Knowledge of a man and love of him are closely related and ultimately become interchangeable terms' (p. xiv). They do, of course, if when we say 'know' we mean 'love', and when we say 'love' we mean 'know': but not otherwise. Doubtless love prompts to the discovery of traits in a personality which might otherwise escape our knowledge; and this familiar fact is, I think, the sole element of truth in Mr McDowall's exaggerated contention. In obtaining plausibility for the further ingredients in it, I fear he has unconsciously indulged in special pleading. He writes as if mankind had not enunciated the counter half-truth that 'love is blind'; and as if hate could not prompt

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to the discovery of personal traits of one sort in psychologically the same ways in which love prompts to the discovery of others.

In the third Lecture, Mr McDowall deems it necessary to distinguish between love and love; for when we say, in common parlance, that we love the sea, we are using 'love' in a sense which does not imply reciprocal relation. Common parlance is here undeserving of attention if we are concerned not so much with mere words as meanings. A textbook of psychology would have made easy the distinction of love from appreciation of beauty; but Mr McDowall draws one of his own making. Love proper, he teaches, is always reciprocal; which should rule out of the category a mother's love for her infant. It was unnecessary to be so arbitrary.

The paradox that knowledge and love are identical, I conclude, has received no proof; nor has the proposition that ultimate reality, whatever that phrase may be taken to mean, consists solely of God and persons. Indeed the latter thesis, on which the theology of these Lectures depends, is tacitly withdrawn as they come to a close. As summarized on p. xviii, it is there represented that 'both God and man contribute to the environment, adding to Reality'. So there *is* a 'real' environment, an objective for knowledge other than personal acquaintance; love is at any rate not the only knowledge, nor God and persons the only real beings. Were it not tacitly assumed that the thesis to be proved was far from the truth, it would have been impossible in the meanwhile to retain biology and evolution as tests with which, as it is sometimes hinted, theory of knowledge must comply.

There is so much ability in the author of this work, so much of the scientific spirit revealed when he writes about biology, that it is a grave pity that his study of philosophy should have been but desultory, and his knowledge of psychology have been allowed to remain practically nil. In the sphere of natural science he is generally logical; but his scientific education does not seem to have evoked in him any sense of the necessity to go behind words to their meanings, and to operate with one meaning at a time, when he enters the domain of theology and philosophy, where words and concepts are generally much less definite. The lamentable consequence is that, apart from *obiter dicta* which are valuable, Mr McDowall's theological writing contains much pseudo-thinking. Along with genuine originality and suggestiveness, there is too much of the originality which consists in refusing to be bound by the rules of thought, the meanings of terms. That so zealous and thoughtful a mind, of wide culture and of religious earnestness, should, from lack of the prolonged discipline that is essential to research in philosophical theology, continue to put forth loose and slovenly thought such as is evinced in the structure of the main argument of his Hulsean Lectures, is theology's loss.

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Studies of God and His Creatures, by JOSEPH RICKABY, S.J. (Longmans, Green & Co., London, 1924.)

IN an *obiter dictum* the author of this book suggests that philosophy is a *jeu d'esprit*. And certainly philosophy figures here in that role; it is only used, with serious purpose, as a handmaid to ecclesiastical doctrine and foregone conclusion. In the first study it is maintained that faith must be captive to authority and that free thought is un-Christian. Of course intelligent acceptance of the authority of a Church must be a matter of free thinking and rational evidence; so much of free thought is involved in reasoned allegiance to Roman Catholicism. This is perhaps recognized by the writer (p. 21); but he does not consider the possibility of such initial freedom issuing in considered rejection of such authority as would, if accepted, impose restriction or captivity, and simply asserts that aloofness from authority is licence. There is no real analogy, by the way, between reliance of the ordinary mind on the authority (as to physics) of men of science, and reliance on the authority of dogmatic theologians. On the first page of this work the freedom of the modern philosopher, disparagingly contrasted with the Church-bound Aquinas, is caricatured as 'thinking as he pleases' and even without control by conscience. Further than that misunderstanding could scarcely go.

The second study is concerned with certain 'proofs' of the existence of God. One, of the cosmological type, that is pronounced good but is apparently abandoned as insufficient, turns on the assertion that the ultimate elements of matter, if uncreated and consequently self-existent, must be 'all-perfect', and so, intelligent. There is of course no relation of implication between the concepts self-subsistence and perfection (whatever that may mean); and if this is the best that 'the Catholic metaphysician' has to say of cosmological argument, such argument is certainly better away. Resort to teleology is next made; but instead of the cumulative and comprehensive teleological basis of theism, which has always commanded respect from philosophers, all that is here discussed is the fact of a *vis formativa* in the organic world. This furnishes no theistic argument; the world as a whole might embody no one intelligent purpose while its different organic denizens had each an end to strive for. We are next given a proof from 'the ideal order of things', on which the author places more reliance. This is an appeal to the real universals of Platonic tradition, or essences prior to existence: 'there must be some sort of mould ready to receive being, or no being could come to be' (p. 56). We are thus taken back to the dogmatic rationalism, the attempt to conjure the actual out of the possible, of which Kant made sport, and to the eternal *prius* of forms, into which

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actuality has to fit itself or God had to fit it, which Lotze, followed by other philosophers, effectually disposed of. It is the old and inveterate metaphysical fallacy, the confusion of the valid with the existent, of the analytically distinguishable with the actually separable, of *universale in re* with *universale ante rem*, such as must issue in the doctrine that length (not the *idea of* length) existed before there were any long things. Similarly gratuitous and baseless is the assumption that the ideal *must* be realized somewhere. One wonders where the new mathematical infinite is realized; and, if it is not, why any ideal of man's conceiving needs must be realized anywhere. Lastly, the Anselmian ontological argument is revived. It is essentially identical with the argument that has just been criticized; and no attempt is made to meet the classic objections to it.

The fifth study, on the mystery of the unchangeable Creator, reproduces a good deal of medieval word-play about ideas, such as simplicity, immutability, infinity, and absoluteness, the applicability of which to God in any significant sense is nowadays difficult to discern. If immutability and creativeness, and similar antitheses, lead our reason to contradictions such as we can only overcome by appealing to mystery, it naturally occurs to the modern mind to raise the question whether the ancient categories are not intrinsically absurd; whether it is not a courting of superfluous difficulty to try to predicate of a living Spirit qualities that were invented to describe an abstract idea. But of course such procedure is precluded if philosophy be thought to have assumed practically its final form in St Thomas.

The pages devoted to the immortality of the soul, to divine immanence (here apparently restricted to mean ubiquity), &c., reveal the author's laxity of conception as to what constitutes proof, argument, and analogy: I refer to pp. 131, 148, 165, especially. Some speculation in the last study about the fire of hell will seem to many readers to border on the ludicrous.

The dialogue form in which a large part of this book is written, does not add to its literary merit; but, as writing, the studies are not without charm. They will doubtless prove interesting to readers such as care to consider theological problems mainly from the points of view of Aristotle and Aquinas, and who have a taste for speculation and dialectic play as ends in themselves. They can hardly be recommended, however, to students who would see in philosophy the prolegomenon to theology of any kind, and in modern philosophy the only kind of philosophy sufficiently equipped with fact-data as to the world and the human mind, to be enabled to be anything but guess-work, however brilliant, for the most part, and to be an instrument adequate to the interpretation of knowledge and the discovery of truth.

F. R. TENNANT.

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The Reconstruction of Belief. Belief in God: Belief in Christ: The Holy Spirit and the Church, by CHARLES GORE, D.D., Hon. D.D. Edinburgh and Durham, Hon. D.C.L. Oxford, Hon. LL.D. Cambridge and Birmingham, Hon. Fellow of Trinity College Oxford, late Bishop of Oxford. (John Murray, 1921, 1922, 1924.)

THREE years ago Dr Gore put forth the first volume of this trilogy. Surveying the confusion of thought around him, probing and pitying it with his trained intellect, pastoral experience, and heart of love, he set himself to shew how a firm clear faith might be built up again from the beginning, a faith deeper for being more reasonable as its ancient certainties take modern form.

Belief in God: that, he saw, was hardest of all: that settled, the rest of the Christian faith would follow almost as necessary corollary. Philosophy and science, the modern immanental point of view, the ambiguity and supposed superfluity of the very name of God; all this was considered in the first volume, and nothing found to contradict traditional faith rightly understood. But that faith does go beyond philosophy. The doctrine of the Hebrew prophets is a fact of history. It cannot be accounted for by circumstance. It proves God really personal, really revealing Himself. Thence the fresh start must be made to-day. Jesus of Nazareth is of the prophetic line. What the prophets were and stood for culminated in Him, and in His revelation of the Father in heaven.

And there was more. Jesus the Master won in the minds of His disciples the value of God. Not deliberately but inevitably He was recognized as the very image of God, as God incarnate. Infringement upon the ancient, the Jewish, the universal and eternal truth of monotheism was prevented by St Paul's 'idea of the Sonship, grounded so securely in Christ's own language, to explain the divine exaltation of the Man and to give the Church the formula for its creed'. But this was accepted without demur. It was no peculiar idea of St Paul's. It was a developement like the spontaneous developement of natural life, only here the environment was moral. 'The leading under which the disciples were moving forward was the leading of God, and the conviction about Jesus to which they were led was the truth.'

The advance is indeed stupendous. Dr Gore with his philosophical mind makes that deeply felt; but he also shews that the movement was to profounder simplicity and to intellectual relief. Belief in God, whence all else flows, is thus brought naturally into the universe of thought and life. Incarnation is the prophetic revelation in more intelligible mode. One principle holds throughout: Spirit and matter are not opposed. That holds at least for the experience of mortal men

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Spirit always takes a body. Dr Gore goes further: he treats the sacramental relation as ultimate and eternal.

There is the theme of the final volume, *The Spirit of the Church*. This volume is best written of the three. It is calm, judicial, kindly. The faith of the Church as here set forth is large, manly, and noble. Petty distractions are cleared away. What remains is the more complete. This is a very honest endeavour to establish the Catholic faith as grandly wide and reasonable, as coherent with the accumulated experiences of the whole spiritual discipline of mankind through many centuries.

Dr Gore has given to the wide world a useful gift, a cordial consolation to such as are weak-hearted. He might have chosen another way. Twice in his career he has made an intellectual advance. In *Lux Mundi* he appropriated, consolidated, and led the Church to adopt historical criticism. In *The Body of Christ* he did afresh what Hooker had done for an earlier generation. He brought mature philosophy to bear on sacramental controversy: 'then were we glad because we were at rest'. Two services has Dr Gore thus rendered to the mind of the Church, far-reaching, long to last in their effects. When he resigned his bishopric and it was heard that he was engaged upon a serious piece of writing, some expected eagerly a third step of like importance. They opened *Belief in God*, and the introductory chapter confirmed their hope. Here, it seemed, was to be something like the Confessions of St Augustine. A master, revered for learning, goodness, courage, and sincerity, would tell the story of his own mind, tell how the currents of the times had affected his course, how he began again at the beginning and was enabled to reconstruct his own faith. But after a few pages it became evident that this was not to be. Dr Gore soon put his own dream into the background, and began to instruct the wanderers and the ignorant for whom he felt immense compassion. Now and then he does come forward and open his very heart. But it is when he tells how deeply the needs of sinful mankind pierce him, how convinced he is that the Gospel is the only way of rescue. Very moving are these genuine confessions. We read on with little desire to criticize, but with profound respect for the priestly instructor, and (as he would desire) are almost persuaded that here lies the strength of apostolic theology, that this argument dominates and nothing else matters much.

Yet regret recurs. *Lux Mundi* and *The Body of Christ* will influence men long after *The Reconstruction of Belief* has been superseded. Even now the three new books will only be of interest to half as many as might have been won to think seriously of these greatest matters. The other half will be wearied by finding, as they think, so much told them that they knew before. Excursuses with brief information instead of

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strenuous discussion: problems like the meaning of God, the overlapping—so remarkably divined in 1882 by Seeley—of 'natural' upon apostolic Christianity: such problems touched indeed but left without elaboration take the edge of reality off Dr Gore's dialectic. He has contracted to the instruction of a class and its immediate needs the genius which might have influenced an aeon.

A. NAIRNE.

Apollinarianism, an Essay on the Christology of the Early Church, by CHARLES E. RAVEN, D.D. (Cambridge University Press, 1923.)

DR RAVEN has written an interesting, vigorous, and challenging volume on a subject which, in spite of the antiquarian sound of the title, is of vital interest for the Christian religion to-day. The two parts of the title indicate correctly that it is not with the whole problem of Christology that he is dealing, but with that aspect of it which is concerned with the relation of the divine and the human in the person of Christ. Dr Raven would claim for Apollinarius that, though in one important particular he plunged into a *cul de sac* into which the Church refused to follow him, he was in other respects a mighty defender of the faith, and a pioneer whose penetrating analysis was subsequently adopted by many who repudiated its author. The treatment is such as we should expect from one who brings to his task the garnered results of many years' wide and minute study of the relevant literature together with an independence of judgement which occasionally verges on iconoclasm, and a deep conviction of the abiding religious importance of the problem.

The time is certainly opportune for a new study of Apollinarius and his contribution to Christological thought. The monographs of Dräseke (1892) and of Voisin (1901) have been followed by the invaluable work of Lietzmann (1904), who by collecting from many sources all the recoverable fragments of the writings of Apollinarius has provided for the first time the material for a just appreciation of his teaching and opinions. Dr Raven has set his study of these in the heart of a work which gives in fact a survey of Christological thought and controversy from Justin to Theodore of Mopsuestia. To Apollinarius himself, his life and his Christology, he gives two chapters only: the three which precede deal with the Beginnings of Christology, Paul of Samosata, and the history of Arianism, the two which follow with the Criticism of Apollinarius by Cyril and others and the Answer to him by Theodore.

'No Greek could or ever did say, until the end of the fourth century, that Christ had assumed a perfect man, or would have hesitated for a moment to endorse the Apollinarian doctrine that the Logos took in

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Him the place of the rational soul in us' (p. 18). 'Apollinarius died a heretic; and it was left to Cyril, the clever Alexandrian intriguer, the Apollinarian who was too clever to acknowledge his master, to bring back his doctrine into the Church by a deft concession in phraseology, a concession not greater than that which Athanasius made to the New Nicenes' (p. 231). These sentences give the outline of a thesis which is certainly not lacking in boldness. In the attempt to establish it Dr Raven has drawn attention to not a few neglected factors in the controversy, and has said not a few things that are true and striking. But the judicious reader who has his pencil in his hand will leave marks of interrogation on many of the pages, and find himself again and again driven back to an examination of the sources.

Dr Raven makes out a good case for the intellectual greatness as well as for the Christian character of Apollinarius; though when he quotes with approval the opinion that he was one beside whom Athanasius was reckoned 'a mere babe' in theology he gives currency to a judgement of extravagance. For his interpretation of the specific teaching of Apollinarius he has to build great weight upon foundations which are rather precarious: on the crucial question of the date of Athanasius's letter *ad Epictetum*, which he would put as early as 361, he has against him the authority of Lietzmann, but his careful argument has convinced at least one of his readers. On the other hand, in respect of the authenticity of the correspondence between Basil and Apollinarius it is difficult to escape the impression of special pleading. In the face of Basil's categorical statements he has to lay undue stress upon the Saint's illness and peevishness in order to explain his defect either of memory or of veracity. And it is strange to find Dr Raven postulating a school of 'New Nicenes' with an interpretation of ὁμοούσιον which was hardly distinguishable from ὁμοιούσιον without further reference to the well-known argument of Dr Bethune-Baker beyond a couple of foot-notes.

Equally vital to his appreciation of Apollinarius is the argument, partly metaphysical, partly psychological in character, intended to shew that the particular use made by Apollinarius of the doctrine of kenosis involves a real and very valuable discovery (pp. 202–209). I find it very difficult to follow Dr Raven here. He admits that even for Apollinarius the kenosis was not complete: and the distinction which resolves itself into a distinction between the alternate action of two distinct wills (p. 207) and the similar alternate action of two aspects of the same will, sometimes 'limited' and at other times 'unlimited', hardly seems to deserve the notice it receives.

What gives quality to Dr Raven's book is the evidence it displays that the question at issue in these controversies is felt by him to matter

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and to matter seriously. What limits its value is that whereas he frequently points out that it was the conception of God with which the Greeks were working which doomed their theories to futility, he gives only sparse and distant indications of the conception which he would advance to take its place.

C. ANDERSON SCOTT.

The Theology of Justin Martyr, by E. R. GOODENOUGH, B.D., D.Phil. (Oxon.). (Frommannsche Buchhandlung (Walter Biedermann), Jena, 1923.)

DR GOODENOUGH'S book deserves a high place among the critical monographs on Justin's theology, and is an especially welcome contribution to the small number of English books on this subject.[1] It is comprehensive in treatment and thorough in method, and as an introduction to Justin's thought will probably succeed von Engelhardt's veteran study[2] which, though antiquated and admittedly faulty at many points, has hitherto remained the standard work.

The first chapters contain a sketch of Justin's 'philosophic environment', and of the Jewish thought which he both attacked and imitated. The section on philosophy is clear and interesting, especially in its use of the almost contemporary Platonist Albinus, whose valuable introduction to Platonic philosophy was rescued some years ago from accidental pseudonymity by Freudenthal. It is surprisingly defective, however, in omitting from consideration the history of the Middle and Late Stoa, which was unquestionably the most important factor in the popular eclecticism with which the Apologists were familiar.

The brief sketch of Palestinian and Hellenistic Judaism is designed to shew that the Judaism which Justin knew at first hand was Greek, and that the best commentary for much in the Dialogue and the Apologies is Philo.

In the chapter on literary problems the two Apologies and the Dialogue are accepted almost without discussion. Dr Goodenough is inclined to favour Hubík's view of Apology II, that it is not an appendix to the first, but was occasioned by a Stoic attack on Christianity made early in the reign of Marcus Aurelius which provoked both Justin and Minucius Felix to reply, while Preuschen's recent scepticism as to the genuineness of the Dialogue[3] is met by the mere reference to Fonck's refutation of his arguments in *Biblica*, 1921, pp. 342 ff.

[1] The only one in recent years is Fr Martindale's excellent popular exposition, 'St Justin the Martyr' (in *Catholic Thought and Thinkers*), London, 1921.

[2] M. von Engelhardt, *Das Christentum Justins des Märtyrers*, Erlangen, 1878.

[3] The article is incomplete and was published posthumously, *Ztsch. N.T.W.*, 1920, pp. 102 ff.

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As an apologist Justin was interested in disproving the charges made against Christianity by Jews and Pagans, and in vindicating the claim of the new religion to superiority over both its predecessors. Dr Goodenough insists that in dealing with Jews and Greeks Justin is fair to their positions, and that his picture from both is taken from life. The theory that Christianity is the true philosophy, the completed revelation of partial truths perceived by Socrates and Plato, is an adaptation of a similar Philonic theme, but is a novel contribution to Christian apologetic. Alexandrine tradition also had an influence upon Justin's exegesis, but 'where Philo allegorized the Old Testament to justify his being a Greek metaphysician, Justin allegorized the same book to find continuity between Judaism and Christianity' (p. 116).

The most interesting part of the book is the study of Justin's doctrine of the Logos. Dr Goodenough believes 'that Feder is right in saying that the Logos is not fundamental for the theology of Justin, but that it is merely an explanation of the really Christian doctrine of the Son of God' (p. 140). His real interest was in the individual persons of God and Jesus Christ. 'Justin is here the first to attempt a term for personalities in the Godhead. He frequently uses ἕτερος ἀριθμῷ, which is always and on the whole wisely translated "numerically distinct", but which meant to Justin "different in person". This sharp personality of the Logos is the element which distinguishes it from the Philonic Logos more than anything except its incarnation' (p. 146). Now it is true, e. g. in Ignatius and in the recently published *Epistola Apostolorum*, that 'Logos' could be used as a title for Jesus Christ without implying more than an acquaintance with the Fourth Gospel and the cosmology of the later Pauline Epistles, but Dr Goodenough makes it amply clear that Justin's doctrine of the Logos had an important place in his anthropology. It allowed not only of an incarnation of the Logos in Christ but also of an indwelling in the prophets, the chosen philosophers, and in the natural human reason. In Apology II this idea suggests the premisses of an intellectual mysticism similar to that which Clement of Alexandria later developed on much broader lines. It is not necessary to attribute to Justin a high degree of philosophic ability, but his interest in the Logos was at least real and independent, and his identification of it with Jesus Christ was much more reasoned than Dr. Goodenough seems to suggest.

There is one point in Justin's theory of the relation of the Logos to man which Dr Goodenough seems to have misunderstood. He claims that in Christians, probably after baptism, the entire Logos dwells, whereas in the prophets and other right-thinking men of pre-Christian times he is only partially present. Such a view is of course in complete disagreement with orthodox Christian theology. No other Christian

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theologian ever maintained that a complete manifestation of the Logos took place in any human personality, but only in that of Jesus Christ. The passage on which he bases his theory is *Apol.* II 8. 4 where Justin says, 'As we have indicated, the demons have brought it about that all those who have ever tried to live a life according to reason (*κατὰ λόγον*) and to flee from vice should be hated. And it is no wonder if the demons, when convicted, strive that those should be hated who try to live, not according to part of the spermatic reason, but according to the knowledge and view of the whole Reason, that is Christ, *οὐ κατὰ σπερματικοῦ λόγου μέρος, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὴν τοῦ παντὸς λόγου, ὅ ἐστι Χριστοῦ, γνῶσιν καὶ θεωρίαν.*' Dr Goodenough comments, 'No one can say that to Justin's contemporaries *γνῶσιν καὶ θεωρίαν* could mean objective knowledge. It is a mystic apprehension which makes the entire Logos a factor of the inner life of the Christian. He no longer lives according to a part of the Logos, the part is swallowed up in the whole' (p. 256). But the truth is that *γνῶσις* and *θεωρία* do not have a mystical sense in this passage any more than in *Apol.* II 10, and that it is by ch. 10 that the difficult statement in ch. 8 must be interpreted.[1] The knowledge which Christians have of the Logos is an objective knowledge. The philosophers differ from the Christians *ἐπειδὴ δὲ οὐ πάντα τὰ τοῦ λόγου ἐγνώρισαν, ὅς ἐστι Χριστός*, i. e. because they did not know the truth which Christ disclosed, a truth which though perfectly objective could not be discovered by the natural reason (*διὰ λόγου ζητήσεως* or *κατὰ λόγου μέρος εὑρέσεως καὶ θεωρίας*) unaided by revelation. Conversion and baptism do not increase man's natural capacity for knowledge, but supply him supernaturally with fresh facts which that natural capacity can grasp. It is Christian doctrine, not Christian mentality, which is the superior claim of the new religion.

Dr Goodenough's estimate of Justin is notably reserved. It is as a saint and martyr that he finds him attractive, not as a philosopher. Certainly Justin was no great theologian, but to say 'that his excursions into the cosmic are necessitous and inadequate attempts to gain a plausibility in philosophic obscurity for conceptions which, as he usually held them, were not only unphilosophical but often irrational and contradictory' (p. 292) is a harsh exaggeration. Justin's originality was one of adaptation rather than of invention, but he made one genuinely original contribution to Christian thought in the argument he draws from the relation between the *λόγος* in man and the *λόγος* of God which was manifest in Jesus. Had his views on this matter become more widely accepted, *γνῶσις* would have had more place in the Greek Christian doctrine of redemption and there would have been a less one-sided

[1] In Justin's works *γνῶσις* and *θεωρία* are used of objective knowledge, *Apol.* I 44. 5. 10; *Apol.* II 10. 3; 13. 4. 5; *Dial.* 1. 8.

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emphasis on ἀφθαρσία than is found earlier than Justin in Ignatius and later in Athanasius.

R. P. CASEY.

Neutestamentliche Apokryphen, von EDGAR HENNECKE, Zweite Auflage, Parts iii–vi, pp. 257–512. (J. C. B. Mohr, Tübingen, 1923.)

PART III (pp. 257–384) has followed quickly on the heels of Part II. It contains:—

The Acts of Thomas. In the introduction is some interesting matter about the Mandaean origin of the poetical insertions, which are taken to include, besides the Hymn of the Soul, the nuptial hymn in ch. vi, and, it seems, the Consecration Prayer of ch. xxvii. As in the other cases, the translation of the Acts is an abridged one: e.g. chs. cxix–cxxxii are compressed into one page.

No account of the later romances about the Apostles is given.

The next section, on Prophecy and Apocalypse, is introduced by H. Weinel. He deals first with the general subject, and then with specifically Christian apocalypses. The texts which follow are:—

The Ascension of Isaiah—the whole book, not, as in the former edition, the *Vision* only. I do not see that any reference is made to Professor Burkitt's Schweich Lectures, in which the problem of this book is so admirably handled. Flemming and Duensing are responsible for the translation, which is a valuable addition to our resources.

May I once more call attention to a fact which I have already noticed in print? The 1,332 days of the reign of Nero redivivus as Antichrist are the double of 666. This is an indication, is it not, that the author of iv 14 recognized the number of the Beast in the Johannine Apocalypse as referring to Nero.

The Apocalypse of Peter. Grébaut's Ethiopic text is rightly taken as the basis and recognized as being, for practical purposes, a version of this whole book. A good many interpolations are supposed. Among later accretions is reckoned the occurrence of the angels Uriel and Ezrael in the Ethiopic: so far as the former is concerned, I disagree, for he is already present in the same context in the *Sibylline Oracles* (II) which here is certainly paraphrasing the Apocalypse. Similarly, some comparatively slight corruption has made our Ethiopic text describe the Acherusian lake as a plain, for the lake and Elysium are both present in *Sib. Orac.* Clement of Alexandria's quotations from the Apocalypse are once more given (p. 322 n.) without any proper indication of the respective extent of quotation and explanation. The latter element is in fact, as I have shewn, very much in excess of the former.

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My view of the relation of the Apocalypse to the Gospel of Peter is not rightly represented on p. 317. It is that the Apocalypse is earlier than the Gospel, and that the writer of the Gospel incorporated the Apocalypse in an abridged form (part of which we have in the Akhmim fragment), and also, very likely, altered the order of the matter.

Weinel sees an indication of date in the sentence 'These are they that have cut their flesh as apostles of a man' and thinks of Origen and self-mutilation. But surely this is a very heavy weight to lay upon a version of a version supported at present by a single late MS. Obviously the clause is corrupt, like many others.

The Shepherd of Hermas. I do not know this weary book well enough to offer any useful observations. Weinel, who edits it here, disagrees with Dibelius, who in a recent edition expresses the view that much of Hermas's statements about his family and himself is fictitious and derived from current romance.

The first item of Part IV, an article on Christian apocrypha fathered on Old Testament worthies, and Christian interpolations into the text of the O.T., is not exhaustive. The parable of the Lame and Blind men, quoted from the apocryphal Ezekiel by Epiphanius, is pronounced to be Christian in character, and this may be right, but its occurrence in Rabbinic writings (see Fiebig *Gleichnisreden Jesu*) should have been noticed.

The fifth and sixth Books of Esdras (= 4 Esdras i, ii, xv, xvi) follow. The fifth Book is rendered mainly from the 'Spanish' text, but nothing is said about the existence of two distinct types of text: also the small Greek fragment of the sixth Book among the *Oxyrhynchus papyri* escapes notice. This is a pity, because doubt has been thrown on the existence of a Greek original for Book v, and though Book vi does not necessarily carry the other with it, the probability that both were written in Greek is enhanced by the certainty that one was.

I am tempted to ask when any one besides myself will take notice of the evidence that an Esdras the prophet, distinct from Esdras the scribe, and earlier in date than the latter by a hundred years, was believed to have existed and to have written the Apocalypses that bear the name of Esdras: and that this prophet was also named Salathiel.[1]

The selection of Christian Sibyllines (Geffcken) seems not to be materially altered from the former edition. Parts of Books iii, viii, vi, vii, i, ii (in that order) and some other fragments are given. The *Inferno* of Book ii is still said to be taken from 'a Jewish description', though I should have thought that its dependence on the Apocalypse of Peter had been often and plainly demonstrated.

[1] See this JOURNAL vol. xviii (1917) pp. 167 ff.

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It is useful to have the fragments of the Book of Elchasai and of the prophecies of Montanus and his circle collected: useful also to have a spicilegium of Gnostic formulae, though this last does not include all that it might. These items, by Waitz, Ficker, and Kroll, follow the Sibyllines.

Gressmann makes the most solid contribution which I find in this Part, in the shape of a new version of the Odes of Solomon. He agrees with 'most researchers' that we have in them a Gnostic hymn-book of the second century. He promises a 'Rechtfertigung' of his rendering: how far it is needed I cannot undertake to say. To each Ode he prefixes a heading in which the supposed Gnostic significance is brought out.

The large section, entitled *Voices of the Church*, mainly devoted to the Epistles of Clement, Barnabas, Ignatius, and Polycarp, has an introduction by the general editor on the developement of the Church-idea, which others may find clearer and more relevant than I do. The Epistle of Clement is edited by Knopf and Krüger, that of Barnabas by H. Veil, who assigns it to the first years of Hadrian. We are referred to other books for details as to the MSS and editions of this Epistle, which is an annoying departure from the scheme of the rest of the collection.

The fifth and sixth Parts (pp. 513–668 of text and Index, and the preliminary matter) contain hardly anything of what I should class as apocrypha. The Epistles of Ignatius and Polycarp, the Sayings and Expositions of the Presbyter in Irenaeus, books of Church Order, the oldest creeds, the Second Epistle of Clement, hymns, prayers and liturgical pieces, the Letter to Diognetus, the Proverbs of Sextus: these are the documents. Under books of Church Order we have: the *Didache*, extracts from 'the second part of the so-called Apostolic Church Order', extracts from Hippolytus's Church Order, and an account of the Syriac Didascalia: all this by Hennecke.

The inclusion of the patristic matter is explained in the Preface (p. iv). Originally a division into two sections had been contemplated, of which the first was to contain only what could unquestionably be described as Apocrypha: a plan abandoned owing to 'practical considerations'. The ultimate aim has been to present (exclusive of the 'continuous expositions of the gnostic leaders, the accounts of martyrdoms, and the extant works of the apologists and the Catholic writers') an essentially complete collection of early Christian literature outside the New Testament down to the middle of the third century. The result is something of a compromise, something of a mixture; to my mind, it would have been more satisfactory to confine a collection entitled *New Testament Apocrypha* to apocrypha proper, and to make this more

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complete. As it is, both the apocryphal and the patristic element have had to be pared down.

Among the corrigenda and addenda (p. vi) is a reference to a Gospel fragment published by Lietzmann in the *Zeitschrift für Neutestamentliche Wissenschaft*, 1923, from a Berlin papyrus, which is new to me: it introduces Nathanael. In the same place some omissions which I had noted are remedied. Abbreviation has rather run wild, to my thinking, in the list which follows on pp. x–xii: but the lamentably lengthy titles of periodicals do afford some excuse.

The *Haupteinleitung* by Hennecke, of thirty-two pages, is the last thing to be noticed. I must confess that I found it difficult reading. Externally it suffers terribly from the parenthetic references (the 'hiccupping references' as Dickens called them) to literature, which interrupt sentences already too long and couched in words that are too long: 'die hochmütige Geltendmachung subjektiver Geisteskundgebungen und Denkvorgänge'—that is surely no way to write. And—in respect of vocabulary—what is gained by calling Mesopotamia 'Zweistromgebiet'? Also—once more I must say it—it suffers from the eye-destroying black-letter type, which ought to be at once and for ever prohibited by law. Internally, the want of style and perspicuity already glanced at are against it, and so is the attempt it makes to compress into a single sheet the history of Christian thought during three centuries. That there may be much to be learned from it I do not deny: but the presentation seems to me to offer every possible obstacle to the learner. Would that the regeneration of Germany for which we hope might include the regeneration of the dialect in which most of its scientific books are written! Still, I do not wish to end on a note of disparagement of a book which cannot fail to be useful, both by information directly conveyed and by copious indications of other sources of information. It is a valuable result of considerable labour contributed by many skilled hands.

M. R. JAMES.

Histoire des Patriarches d'Alexandrie depuis la mort de l'Empereur Anastase jusqu'à la réconciliation des églises jacobites, par JEAN MASPERO ('Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études'). (Paris, 1923.)

IN February 1915, in the attack on Vauquois, fell Jean Maspero, one of the most brilliant—'promising' was no longer an adequate word—of the younger Byzantine scholars, whose place it remains hard to fill, and that not in France alone. His previous work had established his reputation

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and this posthumous book must greatly add to it. The book is the realization of a project that had long occupied him; he refers to it in an article published in the year of his death (*BIF.* xii 51 n.; cf. *The Athenaeum* 2 x 1915), and immediately after that catastrophe his valiant father set to work to prepare the MS for press, only to be himself struck down, little more than a year after his son. The problem of finding a competent editor to carry through a none too easy task devolved upon Professor Haussoullier, who was so fortunate as to secure the ungrudging services of the late Dr Adrian Fortescue and of Professor Gaston Wiet. The former undertook the general editing of the work, which involved the laborious filling in or verifying of many literary references, besides no little selection and arrangement in the inchoate MS itself; while the latter made himself responsible for the accuracy of the large Arabic element which runs throughout the work, as also for the final *corrigenda* and a very full index. Beyond this, both these collaborators have contributed important and often lengthy notes, where their special knowledge justified a fuller statement than that which the author's MS supplied. Dr Fortescue, however, was not to see the fruit of his labours. Just a year before the book was issued he died.

Jean Maspero's *History of the Patriarchs* is the history of a hundred years, from 518 to 616. It is known that he intended to carry the story on through another twenty-five, down to the Arab invasion; the volume before us stops just short of that of the Persians. Thus it covers the period of greatest strife and confusion, and one of those hitherto most obscure in the six centuries of Christian Egypt; the period perhaps of the monophysite church's greatest strength and, in pre-Moslem days, of greatest impotence. It opens with the arrival of Severus at Alexandria and closes with the specious reconciliation, after years of jealous quarrelling, between Copts and Syrians.

Chapter i prepares the ground by a description and definition of Monophysitism, of which it is well said that 'la doctrine . . . donne l'impression d'avoir été bâtie un peu au hasard, dans l'unique but de justifier un schisme préexistant'; 'elle tient tout entière dans un équivoque verbale.' The author had not acquired any great respect for Egyptian theology, as represented by the diatribes of Cyril's successors. 'La littérature théologique des Coptes, très étendue, ne contient pas une seule œuvre de valeur, ni même de simple médiocrité'; and he has some observations upon their inveterate propensity to carry on propaganda by the aid of falsified documents, often of all but incredible fatuity.

Chapter ii, upon the psychology of the Egyptian people of that age, as illustrated by their incorrigible racial vanity and an accompanying contempt for all that lay outside the Nile valley, is among the most

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original in the book. Incidentally the writer adds his criticisms to those usually passed upon Amélineau's theories regarding a continuity between the paganism and the popular Christianity of Egypt.

Chapter iii may be said to be occupied with the long exile of Severus in Egypt. The crowd of wrangling exiles, taking refuge at Alexandria from Justin's orthodoxy, and the irreconcilable dilemmas and confusions in the long course of the controversy there between Severus and Julian are admirably described. This chapter is the richer for several instructive notes by Dr Fortescue (pp. 71, 83, 98).

Chapter iv, on Justinian and the long, chequered patriarchate of Theodosius, carries on the narrative; while chapter v describes the Catholic victory achieved by the emperor's persecution of the anti-Chalcedonian majority. These chapters testify to the unique degree of familiarity with materials both complex and meagre to which Jean Maspero had attained, while the originality of many of his reflexions testify to his capacity for independent judgements: his remark, for example (p. 141), that in deciding to abandon their ancient churches and in building new ones the national party was finally breaking with past history and setting out upon a new career; or his estimate (p. 178) of the national character as revealed in the haste to honour as martyrs to the cause those who had done no more than recede before superior force.

Chapter vi deals with the Monophysite revival and gives an account as clear as the subject permits of the countless sects and sub-sects into which the Egyptian—or at any rate the Alexandrine—church was split, in the last decades of the sixth century.

Chapter vii depicts the climax of all this confusion and obscurity, both chronological and doctrinal, and includes a long note (p. 219) by M. Wiet on patriarchal dates to be gathered from Makrizi and Makîn. The rivalries and jealousies between Egyptian and Syrian Jacobites rent and weakened both bodies, although, as Maspero points out, what had by now grown to be the true Egyptian church—the Coptic church in the south, in the Thebaid—unmoved by these distant, unintelligible quarrels, did but gain in confidence and stability.

Chapter viii (which the editors found it impossible to complete) describes the new direction given to ecclesiastical policy by Tiberius and the *rôle* of the Catholic patriarch Eulogius, who, despite superiority, both in character and attainments, to most of his contemporaries, ended his career with very little accomplished: such was the dominant position which the Monophysites had by now achieved.

Chapter ix is devoted to one of the most interesting figures of that age: the patriarch Damianus. His career is almost conterminous with that of his rival Eulogius, like whom and like many prominent ecclesiastics of that day in Egypt, he was a Syrian—a fact to which the

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author inclines to attribute the unusual vitality and courage which distinguish him. Undaunted by the still constant birth of fresh schisms—at one moment there are actually four rival patriarchs facing each other in the capital—Damianus seems to have been able, for a time at least, to dominate his own church and even to give the law to his rivals, beyond the Syrian frontier. It is remarkable that although several of these patriarchs were in their day tireless writers, Damianus and Anastasius conspicuously so, and although their church remained thenceforth the sole church in the land that counted, scarcely anything of all their writings has survived; testimony once more to that apathy towards dogmatical questions which characterized the Egyptians from the moment of their losing touch with Hellenic Christianity.

Chapter x is a narrative of the events which followed upon the death of Damianus, and which in a few years led to that reconciliation between Egyptians and Syrians which he had not lived to bring about. Reconciliation may indeed well have been, as Maspero maintains, but a superficial formality; but the fact that, on the Egyptian side, yet further schisms with their antipopes arose forthwith, seems of itself scarcely evidence that the proclaimed reunion was unreal.

This book shews Jean Maspero to have been possessed of high gifts as a historian: insight, sane judgement, and conspicuous narrative power. And there is proof on every page of the immense labour which the work presupposes. He had made himself familiar with all the ancient and medieval literature, besides utilizing the papyri to the full. Of two writers especially he makes constant use: of John of Ephesus and Michael the Great, M. Chabot's edition of whose *Chronicle* had been hardly available to previous historians. In the closing chapter he draws largely upon Anastasius Sinaita, whose identity and date are discussed. Had he lived, he would have doubtless availed himself of the important Hamburg text of the *Patriarchal History*, published by Seybold, as also of Charles's new translation of John of Nikiu, and for his chronology he would have consulted Jülicher's investigations (*Festgabe f. K. Müller*, 1922).

The volume terminates with three Appendixes: the first, made up from the author's fragmentary notes, deals with various chronological points; the second, a useful table of parallel dates by Dr Fortescue; the third and longest, an annotated translation by M. Wiet of the patriarchal catalogue in Abû 'l-Barakât's *Lamp of Darkness*.

A work so heavily laden with minute facts must obviously include a certain proportion of statements which invite amplification or suggest criticism. I here offer notes upon such of them as lie within my own field of study:—

P. 15. It was of course not to Chalcedon but to Ephesus that

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Shenoute was summoned and there we know that he was present. It is to Ephesus that the passage quoted refers.

P. 26. The antiquity of the legend of Diocletian's Egyptian origin is not a mere assumption; it is already found in plenty of pre-Moslem texts (*v.* Winstedt in *Classical Quart.* iii 220, *CSCO.* 43, 34 ff, Petrie *Gizeh and Rifeh* 41, Crum *Theol. Texts* p. 73 n.).

P. 34. The story of pagan temples in use at the beginning of the seventh century is supported by that as to paganism at Thebes, still militant, at precisely this period (*Synaxarium*, Forget i 320).

P. 37, n. 3. Dr Fortescue speaks of the title *pope* as 'usurped' by the patriarchs of Alexandria: surely a rather strong word where the usage goes back at least to the middle of the third century. (It is first traceable to the patriarch Heraclas, *ob.* 247; Harnack in Berlin *Sitzb.* 1900, 991.)

P. 48. The name of the monastery of Salama can scarcely be interpreted as 'Salome', for on a stele found near the site of the Ennaton, it is called κοινόβιον τοῦ ἁββᾶ Σαλαμᾶ (Lefebvre *Recueil* no. 10. Cf. *Bull. Soc. Archéol. Alex.* no. 9, p. 3). Its abbot or founder was presumably a Syrian. Coincidence with the apostle of Ethiopia's name (or title) would be merely accidental. A monastery with the somewhat similar name of τῶν Σαλαμιτῶν was at Thône (Θῦνις), near Hermopolis (B.M. Coptic Cat. no. 1077. It recurs in MS P. Morgan xxxvii p. 212). Possibly a daughter-house from this Alexandrine monastery or a distortion perhaps of Σαμαρειτῶν? Cf. *Psamarites*, name of a saint (?) at Bawit (Clédat *Baouit* i 41).

Ib. Was it a monastery at Canopus, wherein Benjamin had dwelt as an ascete? It seems improbable that 'the city' should mean any but Alexandria, and it is to be noted (1) that the *Synaxarium* (Forget i 198, 16) places the monastery in question 'on the west of Alexandria', instead of on the north-east; (2) that the Tabennesiote communities, presumably at Canopus as elsewhere, were at this period probably Catholic—Paul, the Catholic patriarch, had been brought thence—and therefore unlikely to harbour a Monophysite monk.

P. 51. John of Paralus did, as a matter of fact, write something more or less doctrinal: the title of his Homily 'upon St Michael and upon the blasphemous books of the heretics' is preserved (*v.* Rylands *Catal.* no. 65 n., also Wright's Ethiopic Catalogue no. 345). Presumably a condemnation of the pretentions of that monk who in his day claimed the archangel's inspiration (*PO.* iii 487).

P. 55. The Arabic text does not say that the hermits' caves and hills were at Nikiu (which lies in the green Delta), but that it was at Nikiu, on their march to the Sa'id, that the Persians learnt of these. It is true that near Alexandria we do read of a σπήλαιον εἰς τὸ ὄρος (*PG.* 87, 2936 C.).

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P. 60. No church of Monica at Alexandria is mentioned by John Moschus in his ch. 193. Is this a misprint or a false reference?

P. 85. Severus wrote not only commentaries upon the Liturgy; an Anaphora bearing his name is extant in Syriac (*v.* Baumstark in *Jahrb. d. Liturgiewissensch.* ii 92) and was so formerly in Coptic.[1]

P. 87. I do not know whether نقرس 'gout' has already been compared with ποδαγρός, a word adopted into Coptic: Budge *Miscel.* 203, Budge *St George* 60 (ⲁⲡⲟⲧⲁⲩⲣⲟⲥ), *Miss.* iv 154 (ϩⲩⲡⲟⲧⲁⲩⲣⲟⲥ), *ib.* 747. One could imagine a noun بتقرص to have been misunderstood and employed as verb, whence the form here ينقرص. But it must be admitted that the variant بـ مرض (Forget i 147 *supra*) suggests a more likely reading.

P. 95. In the *History of the 49 Elders*, ed. De Ricci and Winstedt, fol. 7, 'the church which the most illustrious Aristomachus built in Shiêt' is mentioned: a reference doubtless to what is here quoted from the Patriarchal Chronicle.

P. 96. Themistius, leader of the *Agnoetae*, probably reappears in the Colloquies (συντυχίαι) between an emperor (? Justinian) and a patriarch (? Theodosius) in Zoega no. cclxxv + Paris 129[14], 74. This interesting text is from the same MS as no. clxvi, which is part of a long letter, telling the story of Theodosius's summons from Belyana and departure for Constantinople (cf. *PO.* i 465). It has, so far as I know, not been as yet utilized.

P. 114. The word whence the inference is drawn—less confidently on p. 41—that Coptic was spoken by the Alexandrine populace at the close of the fifth century is, Mr Brooks informs me, κηρωματίτης. The local speech would naturally be a Greek *patois*.

P. 144. Justinian's conquest of the Egyptian monasteries might have been illustrated by the history of Abraham, the well-known archimandrite of the Pachomian community at Pbow, who, resisting imperial pressure, suffered expulsion (*v. JEA.* iv 68). Henceforth Coptic writers ignore the Pachomian or Tabennesiote monasteries, which, for the time being at any rate, had thrown in their lot with the royalist sect.

P. 150, n. 3. On the word designating Zoilus's place of origin. One may venture the suggestion that the town *Aksenya* is nothing more than ξένος or ξένη misunderstood, and that Zoilus is described as a 'foreign' monk (ἐκ τῆς ξένης, or ἀπὸ ξένης). Coptic instances of ξένη as noun: Rossi, ii III 47, 50, *Mus. Guim.* xvii 141, Amélineau *Géogr.* 580 *inf.* 'Foreign monk' is a term often enough met with: *PG.* 65, 89, 257, *PO.* i 314, MS P. Morgan xxxvii 93, 144.

P. 159. This emendation of the Arabic miswritings of τῶν πατέρων

[1] Also a Mass of the Presanctified: see *J.T.S.* iv 72, *Rev. de l'Orient chrétien* 3 ser. i (xxi) 1 (1915 sq.).—F. E. B.

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was given in 1902 in my *Coptic Ostraca*, no. 18. That τῶν πατέρων and τὸ Ἔννατον were not identical is plain from De Vis *Homélies* 96. It is tempting to equate the form بنطون with Πέμπτον, but Longinus's monastery was certainly at the Ennaton; MS P. Morgan xxxvii 89 ff (History of Longinus and Lucius) confirms this.

P. 242. It has been shewn (*PSBA.* xxix 301, so also Butler *Arab. Conq.* 51 n.) that Al-Zaggâg more probably represents the Coptic word for 'glass maker'. (It is used so in *Miss.* iv 37 = *ib.* 80 ⲥⲁⲛⲁⲃⲁϫⲏⲓⲛⲓ.) Is Munyat al-Zaggâg, where 'Utba b. Abi Sufyân was buried, the same place? (Kindi, ed. Guest 36.)

P. 284–5. The word transcribed *Sakatina* is, as M. Wiet says, mysterious. I have often wondered whether, at that period, the word σκήτη, σκῆτις (? سكاطيا) could be intended. It appears at Athos in the eleventh century (Ph. Meyer *Haupturkunden* 83) and might well have been in use earlier, in the country of its origin. But could this be reconciled with the spelling اسقيط? (J. Maspero–G. Wiet *Matériaux* 227. A less acceptable explanation of σκήτη is ἀσκητήριον, e. g. Zöckler *Askese*[2] 298).

P. 295. Not John Philoponus, but John of Caesarea is the 'Grammarian' whom Damianus in his *Synodicon* attacks (Furlani, *R. Acc. Torino*, Atti lv 189, *PO.* xiv 675, appears to make the same confusion, which is corrected by Lebon 135; cf. *PRE.*[3] 18, 255, 5).

P. 316 *ult.* That Evetts's text (*PO.* i 477), so far as it goes, is correct with its 'and' is shewn by the Hamburg MS (p. 92, 11), which has 'Constantine the bishop and John, the blessed ἔγκλειστος'. (To be noted in passing: a like deformation of ἔγκλειστος may be suspected in the كليستوس of *Miss.* iv 474.) As regards this John, the MS P. Morgan xxxvii brings a strong argument for identifying him with that bishop of Hermopolis who was so entitled (*v.* my *Papyruscodex* p. xvii); for it contains a panegyric on Antony by John, bishop of Hermopolis, 'pronounced while yet he was but priest and ἔγκλειστος' (cf. BM. no. 184), and containing references to the patriarch Damianus in the adulatory language befitting a contemporary. But Damianus was also contemporary with Constantine, whom indeed he had consecrated.

P. 328. Jean Maspero had, however, already noted (*BIF.* xii 48) that the Arabic translator of Leontius's *Life of John* well knows his author for a Chalcedonian, since he passes over the passage discourteous to the Severians. Nor is the evidence for John's acceptance into the monophysite calendar worth much. The Calendar of Abû 'l-Barakât, in which he seems to occur, is persistently abnormal and in the *Synaxarium* he is not to be discovered.

P. 335. 'Tiberius and Belisarius' may not be satisfactory, but

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Jean Maspero's emendations are hardly convincing. I would propose: 'the party of Proterius and Apollinarius, which had come to be called by the name Gaianus', despite the defective spelling of the second name which this assumes. (The Hamburg MS, p. 93, does in fact begin this name with يو, which I take for ايو.) The name of the church there transcribed by Evetts as *Rabwat Atharat* is acutely emended by Seybold (*CSCO.* 52, 100, Hamburg MS *l. c.*) so as to give Τριῶν Παίδων, on which *v. Papyruscodex* p. xvii and for its site Lumbroso *L'Egitto*[2] 147.

W. E. CRUM.

The Higher Criticism in relation to the Pentateuch, by ÉDOUARD NAVILLE, D.C.L., LL.D., F.S.A. (T. & T. Clark, Edinburgh, 1923.)

THE fine work of the veteran Egyptologist in the past makes us approach with respect and interest any contribution which he feels able to make when, leaving his own field, he turns to biblical problems and enters upon the thorny tracks of the 'higher criticism'. This booklet, translated with an introduction and notes by the Rev. John Mackay, and issued with a brief commendation by Sir William Ramsay, has attracted attention in some quarters as an authoritative attack upon the 'higher critical' position, and no excuse is necessary for referring more fully to it than, unfortunately for the progress of biblical studies, books of this character usually merit. What the professor of Egyptology has given us is partly an argument in favour of the Mosaic origin of the Pentateuch, partly a reiteration of his highly paradoxical theory of the cuneiform origin of the Old Testament. It does not cover new ground, and interested readers, whatever their attitude, may be recommended to supplement the book by his earlier writings on the topic, in the Schweich Lectures, and in an article in the *Revue de Théologie et de Philosophie*, Sept.-Oct. 1916 (reprinted).

Professor Naville's theory, if we understand it rightly, is that Moses wrote the Pentateuch in cuneiform (pp. xxi, 97 sq., 106). This, together with other portions of the Scriptures, was translated into Aramaic by Ezra, who was also probably responsible for the division of the Pentateuch into five books (pp. xxiv sq., 99, 105). Finally, about 200 B.C. or later, the whole was again translated, this time into Hebrew (pp. xxvi, 115). Our Hebrew Old Testament is in the *patois* of Jerusalem, and is accordingly a translation of a translation. To this it must be frankly replied that it is very difficult to treat Prof. Naville's arguments seriously; still more so to see how such a theory could be regarded as

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a support to the 'conservative' position, and, moreover, could appear in a book that argues for the Mosaic origin of the Pentateuch. For if his theory be accepted we can place no reliance whatever upon the text of the Old Testament. The differences between the Hebrew and the Septuagint suffice to warn us that the alleged Aramaic might have differed seriously from the Hebrew, and that the assumed cuneiform original might be severed from the Hebrew even more widely. Moreover, Prof. Naville holds that Moses is responsible for the reference in Gen. xlix 28 to the twelve *tribes* (not *sons*) of Jacob (p. 57), and that Moses transformed earlier ideas such as we find in Babylonian literature (p. 100). But once this is conceded how do we know that our Old Testament, which on his own theory is twice removed from the original, has not undergone adjustments and transformations after the age of Moses? What is there to hinder us from justifying some revolutionary theory of our own by asserting that the Old Testament is preserved in a very late form, and that we have some Ezran or even later version of narratives or laws of which the older or original form lies far outside all conjecture? In fact, Prof. Naville's theory destroys the very foundations, not only of the 'conservative' position, but of all criticism; and it falls into line with certain other anti-critical efforts which, though appearing to refute the 'higher criticism', are unconsciously or unwittingly lessening the value of the Old Testament, and giving us, instead of scholarly criticism, what is mere bumble-puppy.

Professor Naville may be convinced that Moses wrote the Pentateuch, but he has given us no important arguments for his thesis, nor has he shewn that the Hebrew translation of the Aramaic translation of the original at all represents what was current, say, in pre-Davidic times. Indeed, he does not succeed in shewing us, in the first instance, that Accadian (Assyrian-Babylonian) was, as he states, 'the literary language' of Canaan (p. 92 sq.; Berat on p. 93 is a misprint for Beirut). It was, to be sure, the language of intercourse and diplomacy in and about 1400 B.C., and was in use, as the Taanach tablets prove, among the Palestinians themselves; but this same evidence shews that it was not in general use, it was the official rather than the literary language, and scribes, interpreters, and other officials were in constant demand. To say that Moses as 'a well-educated man ... would compose his writings in cuneiform Babylonian' (p. 98) is merely one of Prof. Naville's *obiter dicta*, and he dismisses far too cavalierly the 'glosses' on the cuneiform tablets (p. 95 sq.), the 'Canaanite' names of places and persons, and the Egyptian testimony to the existence of a language which, for want of a better name, we may call 'Canaanite'.

No one doubts that cuneiform may long have continued to be used in Palestine, but we require explicit evidence; for although importance

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is rightly attached to the cuneiform tablets of *c.* 650 B.C. found at Gezer, the probability is that these proceeded from a local Assyrian colony and do not testify to the use of cuneiform for literary purposes. Moreover, it is very difficult to understand what is meant by the statement that 'the Aramaic language was evolved from the cuneiform' (pp. 98, 109), for even if Nöldeke has called Aramaic 'l'Assyrien vulgaire' (p. 31 of the reprinted article), in his own article on 'Semitic Languages' (*Ency. Brit.*) he points out its nearer relation to 'Hebraeo-Phoenician', while naturally admitting that in the Assyrian empire a very large proportion of the population spoke Aramaic. As a matter of fact, Professor Naville's linguistic arguments are extremely difficult to follow. He seems to regard the Samarian ostraka of the ninth century as Phoenician rather than Hebrew; Phoenician influence is supposed to account for the language of the Moabite inscription (reprint, p. 25 sq.), and the Gezer calendar or agricultural tablet is said to be not really Israelite or Jewish (*ib.* p. 24). Even the Siloam inscription is supposed to be more likely due to Phoenician workmen, and he petulantly repulses the linguistic objections against the identification of the language of that inscription with Phoenician in a way that will not induce the reader to respect his resort to linguistic data (p. 107 sq.).

Nor is his epigraphy much better. He confuses the Siloam and the Phoenician scripts, but while regarding the 'Canaanite script as the ancestor of the Samaritan' (pp. 98, 114), he apparently thinks it 'possible to regard the present Samaritan characters as derivatives copied from the Hebrew MSS, the oldest of which belong to the tenth century A.D.' (p. 114). The fact that Aramaic is used in the Elephantine papyri is his chief argument (p. 111), but he forgets that these are of the Persian age, and he very rashly considers that they shew that 'Jewish colonists had been settled at Syene *for several centuries*' (p. 104, my italics). He attaches importance to the fact that there are no Hebrew words in these papyri, but apart from צדקה (i 27), Hebrew usage lies behind the Aramaic terms for the offerings (עלוה [*sic*], לבונתא מנחתא), and even the proper names often shew that the people were of Hebrew origin or ancestry. Entirely unintelligible is his argument that the Aramaic citation of the opening words of Psalm xxii on the Cross shews that 'there did exist [i.e. in and after Ezra's day] an Aramaic version of the Sacred Scriptures' (p. 105)—his views on the Targum are not specified; and when he suggests that the 'square script' came in about 200 B.C. his wording implies that he rests upon the discovery (in 1890) of the original of Ecclesiasticus, 'in Biblical Hebrew, written in the usual square characters' (pp. 102, 115 sq.). While his own theory assumes two stages in the history of the Hebrew text—from cuneiform to Aramaic, from Aramaic to Hebrew—he very

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inconsistently objects to the ordinary view that the Old Testament was written in Hebrew in the old 'Canaanite' alphabet and, later, changed into the Aramaic or square character (p. 110 sq.). He considers this change a matter of capital importance and one that stands in need of explanation; but whereas there is some evidence of this process, he does not perceive that his own theory is much more complicated, and stands in greater need of explanation and of confirmatory evidence.

I have left myself little space to refer to Prof. Naville's treatment of the 'higher criticism'. He appears to believe that Wellhausen once regarded P (the Priestly Code) as the oldest document (p. 43), whereas Wellhausen is distinguished by his recognition of Graf's impossible separation of an ancient Priestly narrative from a post-exilic Priestly law (see *Prolegomena*, Eng. tr. pp. 3–8, 10 sq.). There are also some excessively confusing references to the Elohist (echoes of a long-forgotten stage of criticism), and the account he gives of the critical position is mystifying and not a little misleading. What he means by his supposition that the real author of Genesis is not, on the critical view, earlier than the fourth century B.C. (p. 135 sq.), we fail to understand. Critical principles are caricatured (p. 43). We do not start with a plurality of authors (p. 33), and the danger of approaching a document with conscious or unconscious presuppositions (p. 30) is common to all parties.

It is noteworthy that he clearly recognizes that different circumstances could produce different laws and modifications of laws (p. 120 sq.): that is why the Mosaic legislation is in a form 'so broken and incoherent' (p. 121)—a highly important admission. On the other hand, he not only holds that there are (*a*) Sinaitic laws and (*b*) other laws appropriate to the life in the wilderness (p. 120), but he also urges that 'the legislation has in view a settled and an agricultural form of civilization' (p. 124); and we are left in a stage of hopeless confusion between laws for current and changing conditions, and laws (oral prescriptions, too) promulgated in preparation for future conditions. This is criticism of sorts, but it is inconclusive and incomplete, and writers like Prof. Naville do not realize that it is precisely such preliminary observations as these which invariably demand a fuller and more careful investigation than they themselves recognize. Similarly when he allows that Moses may have changed not only his style, but his points of view in course of time (p. 42 sq.), he does not perceive that it is precisely the differences of content and differences of standpoint which in the course of the history of criticism were found to be so significant and far-reaching that far more comprehensive theories were needed than the amateur dilettantism of the ordinary naïve opponents of higher criticism. Differences of style do not meet the case, and once it is admitted that there were

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modifications in the laws in the Mosaic age (pp. 42, 120) it is impossible to deny arbitrarily that modifications continued in consequence of changing conditions after the Mosaic age.

Professor Naville's theory requires us to assume the Mosaic authorship of the legislation and its persistence unmodified and unchanged in spite of subsequent historical vicissitudes and all the inevitable risks of translation into Aramaic and then again into Hebrew. He does not in any way simplify our biblical problems, and although he makes some good points, which I cordially appreciate, his book is neither a contribution to modern biblical criticism, nor an important attack upon its conclusions. How little it is in touch with Oriental usage is obvious when we read the well-worn statement that critics consider Deuteronomy to be a forgery but take care not to use that word (p. 122), whereas the one thing we learn from the East is the readiness to issue 'Testaments of the Patriarchs', or an 'Assumption of Moses', or 'The Secrets of Enoch'. It is precisely the fuller knowledge of the East which is justifying and developing the work of criticism.

The Exodus in the Light of Archaeology, by the Rev. J. S. GRIFFITHS; Foreword by the late DEAN OF CANTERBURY. (Scott, London, 1923.)

IN this book Mr Griffiths makes a very clever attempt to determine the precise date of the Exodus, and after some very ingenious arguments reaches the conclusion that it took place in the second regnal year of Merneptah, that is, according to Professor Petrie's dates, in 1233 or 1232. The book is also intended as a reasoned refutation of the modern critical attitude towards the historical value of the narratives relating to the Exodus, and as an example of the value of archaeology for the illustration and confirmation of the Old Testament. So much has been written on the Exodus that it is of no little interest to come across so novel a theory as that presented here, and although it is open to grave doubts it is worthy of attention as a new combination of biblical and Egyptological evidence. We approach it with interest, but it is well to remember that it is possible to set forth something like four different views of the date of the Exodus; each has a certain amount of external evidence in its favour, but such are the serious internal difficulties that at present it seems impossible to reach unanimity as regards the main outlines of the Exodus as a whole.

At the outset Mr Griffiths takes as his starting-point 'Israel's national consciousness of the Exodus'—the exodus must be a fact. He then proceeds to consider the modern literary theory of the sources, in the course of which he urges that modern textual enquiry has completely

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overthrown the 'Astruc clue' (p. 20), forgetting that even if this were the case, the composite origin of the Pentateuch no longer rests upon the differences in the divine names. On the other hand, it must be admitted that the usual documentary theory no longer stands where it did. The literary structure has been shewn to be more complex than was commonly thought; and it is interesting to find among some anti-critical writers a tendency to something resembling the old 'fragmentary hypothesis' of the old days of literary criticism. But just as this was only a stage in the history of the literary problem, so such present-day theories as the 'Library theory' (p. 24), and others, cannot be regarded as satisfactory or final attempts to explain the intricacies of the documents.

Turning to the narrative of the Exodus, Mr Griffiths accepts Mr Wiener's ingenious rearrangement which places the Israelite victory in the Negeb (Num. xxi 1–3) *before* the defeat at Hormah (ch. xiv). The order of events is as follows: the Israelites enter into unsuccessful negotiations to invade Palestine through Edom, send spies to report on the land, and actually wage a victorious campaign in the Negeb against some of the southern Canaanites. The damaging report of the spies discourages the people, who are ordered to retreat; but they suddenly insist on sallying forth, and are overthrown by Amalekites and southern Canaanites. The disaster leads to some thirty-eight years of wandering in the wilderness, until a new generation in more favourable circumstances conducts a successful invasion from a different quarter (p. 34). Such is Mr Wiener's reconstruction, and it may be left to others to ask themselves whether this clears up the difficulties. Let one consider the sweeping defeat of the southern Canaanites, and contrast the faithlessness of the people with Caleb's faith and the promise he receives, and it will be seen that the solution, if it is accepted as such, raises more questions than it answers.

In the section on the biblical chronology we notice the argument that in the old Hebrew writing abbreviations were common, the letter *m* being a current abbreviation of the Hebrew word for 'hundred' (*mēāh*). But evidence for this is urgently wanted, and even if we agree to read 40 instead of 400 years in Gen. xv 13 (p. 36 sq.), and if we allow that 40 means only 'a period of years', the difficulties are not removed. It is ingeniously suggested, again by Mr Wiener, that we should distinguish a free sojourn of Israel in Egypt from a period of intensified active oppression lasting four generations (Gen. xv 16), or say, a hundred years. But the next step is to associate the friendly Pharaoh of Joseph's day with the Hyksos (p. 41), and to date the true oppression from the reign of Rameses II. The period of the sojourn in Egypt thus extends from *c.* 1662 to 1232 B.C. (p. 38). Now it will

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be observed that, if this be accepted, the period of the more or less peaceful sojourn includes the years when Egypt was repeatedly making war upon Syria and Palestine, it covers the years illustrated by the Amarna letters, and one fails to see how the descent of a family or a community into Egypt, *c.* 1662, and its exodus, as a nation, 430 years later, can be reasonably coordinated with these stirring years of Egypto-Asiatic warfare. True, we seem to have gained some sort of confirmation of some of the biblical data, but Mr Griffiths does not appear to have noticed that, according to one fairly persistent tradition, there were only four generations from the descent of Levi and other 'sons' of Jacob to the contemporaries of Moses (Exod. vi), and that Joseph, if a contemporary of the Hyksos, lived long enough to see the children of his grandson Machir who took part in the conquest and settlement (Gen. l 23). In a word, the data of the Exodus are really exceedingly complicated, and such an explanation as that proffered merely cuts the knots and cannot be reckoned as a piece of serious criticism.

A more remarkable piece of ingenuity has yet to be noticed. Merneptah's Stele of Victory, with its allusion to some defeat of Israel, is supposed to refer to a non-territorial Israel, in fact to the defeat of Israel by the southern Canaanites in Num. xiv 40–45. It is urged that this was so serious that Canaan was protected from further attack until the Israelite conquest under Joshua. Indeed, the long arm of coincidence extends still further, for the exodus of Israel in the early part of Merneptah's reign fits in with the fact that in his eighth year there was room for Edomite Bedouin in Egypt (p. 56). Needless to say, these very clever but very promiscuous combinations of data only become plausible when we shut our eyes to the internal intricacies of the Old Testament, when we ignore the problems of the relations between Israelites, Hebrews, and Canaanites, and when we leave on one side the questions that arise when a more comprehensive, and indeed, a more historical view is taken of the biblical history itself.

There is at times an astounding *naïveté*, as when Mr Griffiths, apropos of Dr Burney's view that Judges i 16 sq. and Num. xxi 1–3 are obviously parallel, points out that the one passage precedes and the other follows the invasion under Joshua (p. 74). Here and elsewhere the gulf between biblical criticism as a discipline and the naïve and almost disarming ingenuousness of its opponents is complete. Thus, reference is made to Dr Alan Gardiner's recent studies of the Delta and the sites of Pithom and Raamses, written with a full knowledge of his predecessors; but we are gravely informed that for the most part they had been refuted in advance by Naville and Petrie. Not in this way can biblical studies be furthered.

There is, throughout, an evident haste, an over-anxiety to refute

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modern critical views, an unwillingness to descend to the laborious task of sifting innumerable details. It is significant that, although there are references to Additional Notes B and C (on pp. 54 n. 1, 75 n. 2), these notes themselves are wanting. What is really remarkable, however, is the unmistakeable agreement with Mr Wiener's article on 'The date of the Exodus' which appeared in the *Bibliotheca Sacra*, 1916, pp. 454–480. I find no trace of any acknowledgement or indebtedness to it, yet the combination of Merneptah's inscription with the book of Numbers was first made by Mr Wiener. I am utterly unable to understand the failure of Mr Griffiths to inform his readers of the source of what is a highly original, though untenable, theory of the Exodus. This failure may not unnaturally be regarded as another indication of haste, if not of an excessive anxiety to attack modern criticism. For my own part I am convinced that Old Testament criticism is passing into a new stage. It has its admitted weak points, and its problems are assuming a new form. New methods and new types of enquiry would be welcome, but we miss, in both Mr Griffiths and in Prof. Naville, any positive contribution, any hint of new lines of approach. Among the opponents of modern biblical criticism there is no lack of conviction, ingenuity, and of repeatedly acute observation, but one must sincerely deplore their narrow horizons, their slender bases, the confined fields of their enquiries, and the absence of any historical spirit.

S. A. Cook.

The Old Testament and After, by Claude G. Montefiore. (Macmillan, London, 1923.)

In the first chapter of two hundred pages of this book the author collects and sets forth the highest religious ideas and teachings which he finds in the Old Testament. He describes the Conception of God, the Relation of God to Man, the Relation of God to Israel, and the Relation of Man to God—all as gathered from the Old Testament. Then follows a section on 'Man: his Righteousness and his Sin', and another (vii) on 'Suffering and Evil in the Old Testament together with the Conception of the Golden Age'. Section viii, on 'Faith, Works, and the Law', contains some interesting remarks on the meaning of the term 'Salvation'. Section ix describes the 'Ethical Ideals of the Old Testament'. The chapter concludes with the confession that some of these Ideals may find in the New Testament and Rabbinic literature 'refinement, extension, deepening', but 'the root of the matter', Mr Montefiore urges, is found in the Old Testament.

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The Liberal Jew, like Mr Montefiore himself, looks to the Old Testament as supplying the chief justification of his own position. He does not hold the Hebrew Bible to be perfect (as his 'orthodox' brother does), but without a doubt he draws his main religious principles from that book. In thus proceeding our author is frank and discriminating. He does not call himself 'Liberal' for nothing. 'When we are not hampered', he writes, 'by having to accept every thing in the Old Testament as good, . . . we seem able to exalt what we do put into the first class in a special and peculiar way.' To 'choose' must imply falling sometimes into error, but it will probably be allowed that Mr Montefiore shews a truly spiritual tact in singling out the most valuable of the religious ideas of the Old Testament. Thus he writes, 'The essence of the divine nature [according to Exod. xxxiv] resides in His moral character . . . Exod. xxxiv 6, 7 says nothing about the divine unity or His omnipotence or His eternity or His immateriality . . .'

On Sin and Redemption, Mr Montefiore writes, 'the higher Old Testament teaching, including Ezekiel and the 51st Psalm, is always healthy and encouraging. It is easily understood, and is true as far as it goes. But . . . it is perhaps not inaccurate to say that [the Old Testament writers] did not sufficiently realize how sin *affects* the heart . . . or again how love can affect the heart. The religious psychology of sin and of regeneration had not been pushed very far.' This is well put and dispassionately stated.

On the Psalter Mr Montefiore had some penetrating sayings. He contrasts the Old Testament thinkers with the Stoics, and remarks that the former 'never despised outward prosperity, or made light of sorrow or pain. . . . The writers of the Psalter are less free, and more worried about outward sufferings than Epictetus or [Marcus] Aurelius, but nevertheless the Psalter has been . . . the comfort of millions, whereas Epictetus and Aurelius can probably never be more than the sober solace of the few'.

Those who have read Mr Montefiore's earlier works will not be surprised to find that he can appreciate highly the teaching of Jesus Christ. 'We find', he writes, 'in his teaching a remarkable fusion of the higher selfishness and of the highest unselfishness. To save others is also to save yourself. Self-surrender is self-development. Or, in his own words, "to love (*lege* to lose) your life is to win it".' In addition Mr Montefiore finds in the teaching of Jesus three other characteristics. It is *heroic*... an ethic of extreme demands; it is an ethic of activity; it contains the germ of a double ethic, i. e. a lower and a higher. Mr Montefiore entitles his second chapter 'Advance of the New Testament'. In this he freely acknowledges that the New Testament marks in certain elements an advance on the Old. His conclusion is, 'Why

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should we not make our religion as rich as we can? Jesus and Paul can help us as well as Hillel and Akiba. Let them do so. What is good in them came also from God.'

This is an inadequate notice of the very noble book which Mr Montefiore has written. He has been for long a student of the Christian religion, and the good effects of his study appear on almost every page. His work raises the reflexion that no man knows his own religion truly, who knows nothing of any other faith. The 'Conflict of Religions' is not wholly a curse: there is a blessing in it.

The Decalogue (the Warburton Lectures, 1919–1923), by R. H. CHARLES, D.D., Archdeacon of Westminster. (T. & T. Clark, Edinburgh, 1923.)

THE main body of this work consists of fifteen lectures or sermons devoted to 'interpreting the Decalogue on the spiritual and ethical lines laid down in the New Testament'. The last four commandments, together with the First, Third, and Fifth, occupy each one lecture, but fuller treatment is given to the Second and Fourth (three lectures each), and to the Sixth (two lectures). The form of lectures involves a certain amount of repetition, which might be removed in a second edition.

Dr Charles treats his subject with his accustomed vigour. On the Second Commandment he remarks on the use of images in the Christian Church. Image worship, he maintains, follows naturally in the wake of the worship of the saints, and he passes a severe judgement on the cult of the Virgin in the Roman Catholic Church. The language of Bonaventura, Liguori, and even of the Roman Breviary as touching the Virgin which he quotes will seem to many extravagant and dangerous. It is strange that Dr Charles, even in so brief a summary, should all but pass over the rise of the use of the epithet Θεοτόκος. He seems (p. 88) to date the rise of the cult of the Virgin in the *sixth* century, but that surely is at least a century late.

His treatment of the Fourth Commandment is good and interesting. The rise of the observance of Sunday is well sketched (pp. 141–151). Dr Charles will not allow the Fourth Commandment to be binding at all upon Christians. While Hooker writes, 'We are bound to account the sanctification of one day in seven a duty which God's immutable law doth exact for ever', Dr Charles, on the other hand, sympathizes with Calvin's dictum, 'I do not cling so to the number seven as to bring the Church under bondage to it'.

To the Lectures an Introduction of fifty-eight pages is prefixed, in which critical questions are discussed. The Nash papyrus represents 'the Hebrew text of the Decalogue as it existed *circ.* 200 B.C. in Egypt'.

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The Decalogue, in outline, including the prohibition of image-worship goes 'back to Moses'. Our text in Exod. xx has been interpolated from Deuteronomy and even from Exod. xxxiv.

Dr Charles is too positive in some of his judgements. He should not state barely that 'Chemosh' is 'a primitive textual error' in Judg. xi 24 (p. 4), nor that Jer. xvii 19–27 is 'not written by Jeremiah' (p. 120, note). Some haste in revision of proofs is patent. Giordano Bruno (not 'Bruno Bauer') was burnt at Rome (p. 196). Moreover, Dr Charles's summary judgement on the text of Matt. v 21, 22, in which he accepts the emendation of Peters and of Bacon, is too confidently expressed (p. 200). Surely it is at least possible that in *ver.* 22 *b* we have the indication of a growing irritation, even though Μωρέ is not a harsher term than Ῥακά. The man who is angry enough to say *Raca* to his brother shall be in danger of the Sanhedrin, but the man who is not content with one such rejoinder, but proceeds to inflame the quarrel further with a fresh abusive epithet (*Mōré*) is in danger even unto the hell of fire.

There are two Hebrew misprints on p. xvii, ll. 16 and 23. Other misprints are p. 23, l. 3 (from bottom), '7,000 *prophets*' (?); p. 49, l. 4 (from bottom), κρίσαντος; p. 139, l. 13 (from bottom), σεσαβάτικε; p. 145, l. 6 (from bottom), '*second* century'. Lastly, should Philo's *de decem oraculis* be referred to the first century 'B.C.'?

Dr Charles has written a vigorous and wholesome book, which should help towards clear thinking on moral problems.

W. Emery Barnes.

Studies in the Christian Gospel for Society, by H. A. Mess, B.A. (London, Student Christian Movement, 1923.)

This is a good book on the thorny subject of the social consequences of Christianity. Many such works are little more than political pamphlets, in which well-meaning idealists give free play to their enthusiasm without reference to the practical difficulties of the subject and quote the words of Christ as final in the solution of problems which had not arisen in the first century.

Mr Mess avoids the usual pitfalls. His sympathies may be with the Labour Party, but he is quite aware of the difficulties of their position, and the tone of his book is fair and reasonable. When in an early chapter he tells us that 'there is no more pathetic fallacy than to suppose that the transformation of society must or can precede the regeneration of its members', we feel that he is a guide who can be trusted. This confidence is increased by the frankness with which

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he states the case against democracy. 'It seems to mean at best the rule of mediocrity, at worst the rule of the mob's favourite. The swift have to accommodate their pace to the slow, the weak count for as much as the strong. Those who know what is needed cannot move a step until they have convinced the blind and the muddle-headed. The wise have to commend themselves to the foolish. And when it comes to a vote, Barabbas is more likely to be the people's choice than Christ.' Mr Mess's triumphant faith in 'God as a democrat' carries him through, but he will not expect to convince every one that the indictment can be met.

Faith is the key-note of the book. The author is not blind to our present dangers. 'It is not only the pessimists who are frightened: there are few thinking men who are not perturbed when they look round the world to-day.' Yet he can find comfort in the achievements of religion in the past; he believes in progress, and he looks forward to a revival of religion, 'a revival with a strong social content, a revelation of the will and plan of God for human society.'

It is to be hoped that Mr Mess's book will be widely read by the students for whom it is written. He shews how to make Politics religious without making Religion political.

Three Measures of Meal: a Study in Religion, by FRANK G. VIAL, Bachelor of Divinity and Professor of Pastoral Theology, Bishop's College, Lennoxville, Canada. (Oxford University Press, 1923.)

MR VIAL'S main interest, as he tells us in the preface to his book, is the practical application of Christian principles to Christian life. But he is right in regarding this as something more than a practical problem. Christian principles are not merely a collection of ready-made rules of conduct, they are the resultant of great forces released in the first century working upon the conditions of life in the various ages. It follows that the rules of conduct are not of primary importance, nor are they necessarily permanent; it is the forces which matter, and the student of Christian ethics must rest his work upon the researches of the critic and the historian.

In this preliminary work there are two fields of study. We may examine the records of the first proclamation of the Gospel as we have them in the New Testament, and we may study the environment in which the new forces worked to produce the Christianity of history. This latter is the field invaded by Mr Vial in the present book. The gospel is as leaven, and the three measures of meal in which it was hidden are the civilizations of Judaea, Greece, and Rome, all of which

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reacted to the leaven, and all of which contributed to the developement of the religion of the Church.

There was room for a small book of this kind, for to-day there are many students of theology who have not served a long apprenticeship in a study of classical literature, and Mr Vial's sketch of Greek and Roman thought will prove very useful to the unlearned. It is certain that no one can understand the growth of Christian institutions who knows nothing of the pagan background.

Mr Vial devotes 180 pages to Greece, but he dismisses Rome with only 40. That Greece was vastly the more important in the early days even the Romans would have admitted, but when we remember later history we feel that the Roman 'measure' has been rather meanly meted.

On the whole, though Mr Vial makes no claim to originality, his treatment of his subject is sound and enlightening. We may wonder whether Apocalyptic really did 'fix the attention of the Jews upon things beyond and above the narrowness of their race' (p. 43), and we may object that Constantine did not 'proclaim Christianity as the official religion of the Roman Empire' (p. 129); but these are small points in a useful book.

P. GARDNER-SMITH.

Byways in Early Christian Literature: Studies in the Uncanonical Gospels and Acts, by ADAM FYFE FINDLAY, D.D. (T. & T. Clark, Edinburgh, 1923.)

THE Lectures included in this volume were delivered in the United Free Church College, Glasgow, upon the Kerr Foundation which has already made so many valuable contributions to theological literature. The subject is a timely one in view of the new attitude which is being adopted towards the New Testament uncanonical writings. No longer are these judged only on the ground of their marked inferiority to the canonical books, but also for the clear evidence they present as to the extraordinary diversity of Christian thought during the first two centuries. This very diversity, however, and the strange and uncouth forms in which it often presents itself, makes the writer's task a difficult one. And Dr Findlay is to be heartily congratulated on his mastery of the immense mass of details which pass under his view, and the clear and attractive manner in which he presents his conclusions.

The volume opens with an introductory chapter, in which we are warned against attaching too high a value to those 'byway' documents in second-century Christian literature, or placing them on even an approximate footing with the earlier writings. At the same time the

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documents are far from being worthless, for 'they give us a glimpse of popular religion among Christians whose outlook on life was largely influenced by their pre-Christian inheritance, and of the interpretation put on the facts of the primitive tradition by believers who in outlying regions stood apart from the main currents of Church life'.

This general position is then illustrated by a brief but singularly comprehensive survey of the various classes of writings referred to—the Jewish-Christian Gospels, the Gospel of Peter, the Gnostic Gospels, the Childhood Gospels, and the Apocryphal Acts of John, Paul, and Thomas.

Each lecture is fully documented and annotated, but, according to a not uncommon practice nowadays, the Notes are brought together at the close of the volume. In a popular work this has a certain advantage in encouraging uninterrupted reading, but in a book like this, with its many valuable and interesting citations, it is somewhat annoying to have continually to turn to the end to discover whence they are drawn.

This, however, is a minor matter, and Dr Findlay has given us a notable and readable volume, which will prove to many an excellent introduction to an important aspect of Early Church History.

Light from Ancient Letters, by HENRY G. MEECHAM, B.A. (Lond.), M.A., B.D. (Manch.). (George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., London.)

CONSIDERING their importance for New Testament study, it is astonishing that the papyri have not attracted a wider field of theological workers. The welcome to be extended to Mr Meecham's Essay is correspondingly greater, especially in view of the careful and thoroughgoing way in which he has carried through his task. Following in the steps of Deissmann and Moulton, he sets out to shew the nature of the new light which the papyri throw upon the vocabulary, the letter-form, and the general surroundings of our New Testament writings, using as the basis for his enquiry the private letters of the first four centuries, which have been published in *Oxyrhynchus Papyri* i–xv. As there are upwards of two hundred of these, exhibiting the most diversified contents, they are amply adequate for Mr Meecham's immediate purpose, and enable him also to present us with many interesting glimpses into the daily life of the inhabitants of Graeco-Roman Egypt. The whole book serves to emphasize the position now so generally admitted, that the New Testament writers made use of the 'common' Greek of their time, while, at the same time, Mr Meecham is careful not to lose sight of the literary strata, which certain of their books undoubtedly present.

G. MILLIGAN.

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RECENT PERIODICALS RELATING TO THEOLOGICAL STUDIES

(1) ENGLISH.

The Church Quarterly Review, April 1924 (Vol. xcviii, No. 195: S.P.C.K.). T. B. STRONG Church Music—F. P. CHEETHAM The unity of the Fourth Gospel—A. T. COLDMAN The self-limitation of God—W. PAGE The First Book of Common Prayer and the Windsor Commission—A. A. COCK The petitionary aspect of all experience—R. B. HENDERSON Spiritual laws—W. R. MATTHEWS Consensus and immortality—C. GORE Apollinarianism—H. D. OAKELEY The nature of intelligence—H. M. RELTON Dr Sparrow Simpson on Modernism and the Person of Christ—Short Notices.

The Hibbert Journal, April 1924 (Vol. xxii, No. 3: Williams & Norgate). THE EDITOR A good word for our 'present social system'—J. H. MUIRHEAD The spirit of Democracy—J. MARCHANT Helping civilization—M. BOOTH The German youth movement—J. W. SCOTT Unemployment: a remedy—A. J. BROCK Dreams, folk-lore, and our present spiritual distress—W. R. BOUSFIELD Human survival—E. W. ADAMS The death of Socrates: a point of contact between two worlds—W. B. SELBIE Theology and the thought of to-day—J. W. POYNTER The present position of Roman Catholicism in England—R. E. G. GEORGE A significant event in a world of peril—G. M. SARGEAUNT A Stoic vision of a living Universe—A. C. OSIER The terror of ideas—Discussions, Survey, and Signed Reviews.

The Expositor, April 1924 (Ninth Series, No. 4: Hodder & Stoughton). THE EDITOR Current Issues—L. A. MUIRHEAD The ten best books on the Fourth Gospel—W. W. CANNON The text of Hosea—T. H. ROBINSON Metre and textual criticism—A. M. POPE Paul's reminiscences of Jesus—A. SOUTAR and R. KILGOUR Notes and notices of recent criticism—W. D. NIVEN Reviews—Current Literature.

May 1924 (Ninth Series, No. 5). THE EDITOR Current Issues—S. CAVE The ten best books on the life and teaching of St Paul—H. J. FLOWERS The Ten Commandments—H. GUNKEL The secret experiences of the prophets—V. BURCH The temptations of Jesus Christ—W. S. BISHOP 'Babes in Christ' and full-grown men—A. DEISSMANN and THE EDITOR Notes and notices of recent criticism—D. W. GREENFIELD Reviews—Current Literature.

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June 1924 (Ninth Series, No. 6). THE EDITOR Current Issues —W. B. STEVENSON The ten best books on the value and use of the Old Testament—H. J. FLOWERS The First Commandment—H. GUNKEL The secret experiences of the prophets—A. T. ROBERTSON Wrong chapter and verse divisions in the New Testament—L. DAVIES Pauline readjustments—Notes and notices of recent criticism—G. H. BOX Reviews—Current literature.

(2) AMERICAN.

The Princeton Theological Review, April 1924 (Vol. xxii, No. 2: Princeton University Press). F. W. LOETSCHER John de Witt—W. B. GREENE, Jr. The inspiration of the Bible—F. D. JENKINS The problem of mental evolution—S. G. CRAIG The testimony of the Scriptures to their own trustworthiness—Reviews of recent literature.

The Harvard Theological Review, April 1924 (Vol. xvii, No. 2: Harvard University Press). J. DE ZWAAN Was the Book of Acts a posthumous edition?—J. T. ADDISON Ancestor worship in Africa—K. LAKE The Apostles' Creed—F. C. CONYBEARE Varia Armenia—W. F. ALBRIGHT Some observations favouring the Palestinian origin of the Gospel of John—A. M. PERRY Acts and the Roman trial of Paul.

(3) BELGIAN.

Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique (Vol. xvi, Nos. 2–4: Louvain, Librairie Universitaire, 1923–1924). Bibliographie de 1914–1919.

April 1924 (Vol. xx, No. 2: 40 Rue de Namur, Louvain). J. LEBON La position de saint Cyrille de Jérusalem dans les luttes provoquées par l'arianisme (*à suivre*)—L. GOUGAUD La prière dite de Charlemagne et les pièces apocryphes apparentées—Mélanges: É. TOBAC Ὀψὲ δὲ σαββάτων: É. TOBAC Note sur la doctrine du Christ, Nouvel Adam—Comptes rendus—Chronique—Bibliographie.

(4) GERMAN.

Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft, June 1924 (Vol. xxiii, Nos. 1 & 2). G. KRÜGER Fred Cornwallis Conybeare—E. VARDAPET and F. C. CONYBEARE The revelation of the Lord to Peter—H. H. WENDT Zum zweiten und dritten Johannesbrief—H. RASP Flavius Josephus und die jüdischen Religionsparteien—G. STUHLFAUTH Zwei Streitfragen der altchristlichen Ikonographie—H. DÖRRIES Das Verhältnis des Neuplatonischen und Christlichen in Augustins *de vera religione*—TH. HERMANN Einige bemerkenswerte Fragmente zu die griechischen Apothegmata Patrum—W. A. BAEHRENS Minucius Felix und Tertullians Apologeticum—R. BULTMANN Das Problem der Ethik

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bei Paulus—P. GLAUE Die Vorlesung heiliger Schriften bei Tertullian—M. MUNDLE Zur Auslegung von Gal. ii 17, 18—M. WUNDT Nachtrag zu 'Augustins Konfessionen'—Notizen.

Theologische Quartalschrift (Vol. civ, Nos. 3 & 4: Tübingen, H. Laupp). SÄGMÜLLER Papst, Völkerrecht und Völkerfrieden—RIESSLER Zur Chronologie des A.T.s—ZOEPFL Die trinitarischen und christologischen Aufschauungen des Bischofs Eustathius von Antiochien—LANDERSDORFER Ueber Name und Ursprung der Hebräer—KRAMP Zur Frage der Konsekrationstheorie—DAUSEND Liturgischer Konservatismus?—Rezensionen.

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